JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume IV **Part II**

APRIL 1956

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

The *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* is published in January, April, July, and October. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by the contributors.

Annual subscription (excluding postage)	...	Rs. 10/- (Pakistani)
Single copy	... ...	Rs. 3/- „

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume IV Part II

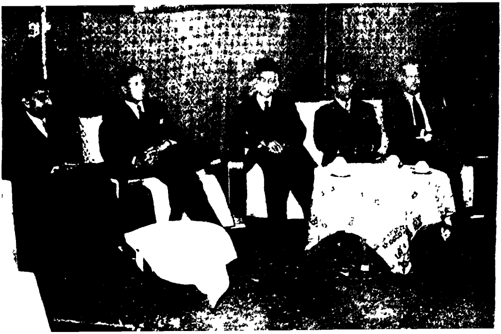
APRIL 1956

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI



(Left to Right) Dr Ahmed Bashir, Mr Hamid Ali, Mr. Mohd Rahim, Mufti Intizamullah, Mr A Bazmee, Mirza Ali Azhar, Mr A Siddiqi Mr Shuja Ahmad Zeba, Mr Ainuddin



(Left to Right) Mr S R Haq, Mr A A Ansari Mr Majiduddin Dr A Rahim Mr I M Khan

RECEPTION

Dr. Caroline F. Ware, one of the author-editors of *The Social and Cultural History of Mankind*, was the chief guest at a Reception given by the Pakistan Historical Society on the 23rd January, 1956. Mr. Fazlur Rahman, the President of the Society, extended a welcome to her in the following words :—

On behalf of the members of the Pakistan Historical Society I take this opportunity of welcoming you and presenting to you a set of the publications of the Society I am glad to be able to say that during the short span of its existence the Society has not only started its own Journal but has also been able to publish several works The Journal has attained a respectable position in the literary world as is indicated by the fact that some of the leading orientalists and scholars of history have been contributing articles to it. The well-known oreintalist Prof. P. Kahle, has been invited by the Society to address its annual Conference. At present he is on a lecturing tour in Pakistan

The Society has also decided to publish "*The Chronicle of Ibn Iyaz*" jointly with the German Literary Society.

We have two major schemes of research and publications before us —

(i) To publish an English translation of Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddamah*,

(ii) To prepare a comprehensive biography of the Prophet on modern and scientific lines.

* * *

Dr Ware writes in her letter from Viena, dated April 7, 1956:

The publications of the Pakistan Historical Society. . arrived safely today I am looking forward eagerly to the opportunity to read the many interesting articles which they contain. These will be of value to me in my work on the Unesco History, as well as being of general interest

Please convey my thanks to your colleagues for their cordiality during my visit to Pakistan and their generosity in supplying me with these publications and please accept personally my thanks for the trouble involved in shipping the books to me.



(Left to Right) Dr Mahmud Husain, Dr. S Moinul Haq, Mr Shaukat Ali Khan, Dr. Abdul Haq, Mr Fazlur Rahman, Dr Caroline F. Ware, K. B. Maulvi Zafar Hasan, Mr. Means.

CONTENTS

*This paper was read at the sixth session of the Pakistan History Conference.

PAKISTAN HISTORY CONFERENCE

(Sixth Session, held at Karachi, 1956)

The Sixth Pakistan History Conference was held at Karachi under the auspices of the Pakistan Historical Society at the invitation of the University of Karachi.

The inaugural session met in a commodious pandal in the lawns of the Frere gardens on Friday. the 6th January, 1956 at 3 p.m. It commenced with a recitation from the *Holy Qur'an*. The President of the Pakistan Historical Society, Mr. Fazlur Rahman, M P. then delivered his speech.

He began by making a brief reference to the work done by the Society during the short period of five years that it has been in existence and mentioned some of its recent publications. He also referred to the donation given by the Asia Foundation for the publication of the English translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddamah.* The main obstacle in the way of the expansion of its research activities being the paucity of funds he requested His Excellency the Governor-General to get the annual grant of the Society enhanced to Rs. 50 000/- at least.

Turning to the historians of Pakistan Mr. Fazlur Rahman drew their attention to the need and importance of re-assessing the value of Islam's contribution to the growth of civilization. This was necessary because the history of Islam has not been presented in its true perspective. "The persistent efforts of the missionaries" said he, "and the literature produced by generations of misguided writers had given currency in the west to ideas and notions about Islam and its Prophet, which were preposterous." To support the above statement he quoted a few instances, as for example, the use of the term 'Mammetry' (Mahometry) which has its origin in the name of Prophet Muḥammad and means image worship!

In Europe the Middle Ages were a period of darkness and therefore we need not be surprised that western scholars have a strong prejudice against medievalism; but what one fails to understand is their failure to appreciate the contribution of the East, which in

the context of the history of that period meant the contributoin of Islam to the evolution of human civilization. To illustrate how deep the poison of this prejudice has injected itself into the mind of the west he referred to a statement of the author of *Medieval Islam* "It may be debatable," says this writer, "to what extent modern occidental civilization can be explained as the continuation of classical civilization—but it would be preposterous so much as to ask whether any of its essentials are of Muslim inspirations" To combat the evil effects of these prejudices it is necessary to study and examine the works of the Muslim thinkers and scientists in a purely objective manner and then estimate the extent to which Islam has contributed to the growth of forces which became the foundation of the Renaissance in Europe He emphasized the need of discovering the various stages through which the light of intellect and learning had to pass during the medieval centuries in order to prepare the ground for the birth and development of modern civilization In conclusion he remarked that Islamic thought has deeply influenced European ideas and inventions but no attempt has been made to examine this problem in detail and on scientific levels It was now time that our historians undertook this task, and at the earliest possible moment

The speech of the President was followed by the address of Mr A B A Haleem. Chairman of the Reception Committee "Under the schemes worked out for the development of the University," he said, "historical studies, which are of special interest to this august gathering, have received special attention The Departments of History General and Islamic History came into existence during the academic year 1953-54 and have undertaken Honours and M A teaching as well as guidance of research students for the degree of Ph. D We have been fortunate in securing the services of experienced and distinguished teachers for both the departments and it may be confidently hoped that these sister departments will play their due share in the furtherance of historical investigation and research." He also made a brief reference to lack of suitable accommodation The initial difficulties have been partly overcome and "it is hoped that within a period of five years or so the University will be transferred to the new campus."

He concluded his address by thanking His Excellency "on my own behalf as well as on behalf of the members of the Reception Committee" and requested him to inaugurate the Conference.

His Excellency Major-General Iskandar Mirza, the Governor-General of Pakistan, then delivered his inaugural address. He referred to the work of the Pakistan Historical Society and its ambitious programme of research and publications "It will be a great pity," said His Excellency, "if this important work is allowed to suffer for want of material sources. I assure you that my Government will take cognizance of this position with a view to taking suitable steps to enhance the grant-in-aid so as to enable the Pakistan Historical Society to undertake and implement its programme of original research, translations and publications." He also made an appeal to the philanthropists in the country "to donate generously to the funds of the Society" Referring to the study of history he said that it can be "as much misleading as it can be a source of enlightenment. Truth may sometimes be coloured by racial or religious vainglory, and accuracy sacrificed on the altar of political expediency" The historian of Pakistan had a momentous task to perform, particularly because he has to 'transfer the bulk of historical record left by great Muslim historians into our own literature," and "re-evaluate the history of Muslims in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and rescue it from inaccuracies and prejudices which have developed around it either through ignorance on our part or by the designs of others." His Excellency concluded his short but forceful address by drawing the attention of the Society to the need of producing an authentic biography of the Quid-i-Azam "I hope," he said, "the Pakistan Historical Society will also consider the necessity of producing an authentic history of the circumstances leading to the establishment of Pakistan and a biography of its founder Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. These are both fertile subjects, and the historians of the future will be grateful to you for giving them an authentic contemporary record"

The Presidential Address of the Conference was delivered by Shamsul 'Ulama. Dr. U M. Daudpota, Member, Public Services Commission, West Pakistan. Though not a historian by profession,

he was interested in historical studies and had edited two Persian works on the history of Sind. At present he was engaged in giving final touches to his English translation of the Prolegomena of the great socio-philohsopic historian, Ibn Khaldūn, which will shortly be published by the Pakistan Historical Society

Dr. Daudpota appealed to the historians of Pakistan "to reconstruct the story of our ancient heritage" through a careful and scientific study of the valuable historical treasures which the excavations in Mohenjodaro and Harappa have yielded Coming to later centuries we find that even the history of Muhammad bin Qasim's conquests in the West Pakistan area 'is not known in the detail it deserves' How this extensive territory was administered by the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid governors and how it came to have two capitals—Multan and Manṣūrah—are interesting but as yet obscure problems of our history In fact the entire history of these regions during the era of Muslim conquests in the north and the earlier period of the Sultanate of Delhi need a critical and detailed examination In this connection he recommended that "a regional survey of all historical works, lying concealed in private collections and at *khanqahs* of *sufi* saints, whose hagiologies will reveal a good deal of indirect historical information, should be undertaken under the auspices of the Pakistan Historical Society, aided by the munificence of the Centre and Provincial Governments of Pakistan" It was necessary to publish a new edition of Raverty's English translation of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* "Similarly," he added, "critical editions of other earlier works on history and allied subjects, which have gone out of print or still exist in manuscript, should be sponsored by the Pakistan Historical Society and published with meticulous care Without such works being readily available to scholars, the rewriting of our early history will be seriously handicapped. Fortunately, there is no lack of historical talent among our young scholars, and it is high time they were afforded facilities of research by collecting all the scattered sources at central places in the form of hand-written copies or photostats or microfilms and making them easily accessible for use" Dr. Daudpota was happy that despite handicaps "we have made considerable progress," and besides several works already published he

referred to the *Dhakhirat-al-Khawanin* which was being edited by Dr. S. Moinul Haq. He also mentioned the Sindhi Adabi Board, set up by the erstwhile Government of Sind, which had an "ambitious programme of publishing the Persian histories of Sind, other than the *Chach-Namah* and the *Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi* which have been already published, *e g.*, the *Beglar-Namah*, the *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, Book III of the *Tuhfat-al-Kiram* and all such literary and sufistic works, as directly or indirectly deal with the history of Sind. Similar steps, he thought, could be usefully taken by the Government concerned in Multan and East Bengal.

In the field of Islamic history some of the Nadawī historians specially Mu'inuddin, Rashid Akhtar and Mas'ud 'Ālam and others of the same school of thought, were doing useful work, but as they write in Urdu, their books have not attracted the attention of the orientalists. He also referred to the Islamic Research Institute and the Editorial Board of Urdu Encyclopaedia. The Muslims have from the earliest days taken a keen interest in developing the science of history, and Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām, Ibn Qutaybah, Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Miskawaihi, al-Bīrunī, al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn Khaldūn have made remarkable contributions to its growth "Even the worst critics of Islam, who attribute every advance of Muslims in the intellectual field to foreign influences, have been constrained to admit that at least the science of historiography among the Muslims had its spontaneous growth and development. To Ibn Khaldun, indeed, belongs the honour of being the first writer, who long before Machiavelli, Vico and Gibbon had propounded historico-social theories, which have ever since astounded the world. While describing the function of a true historian, he says.

> Know that the true purpose of history is to make us acquainted with human society, *i. e*, with the civilization of the world, and with its natural phenomena, such as savage life, the softening of manners, attachment to the family and the tribe, the various kinds of superiority which one people gains over another, the kingdoms and diverse dynasties, which arise in this way, the different trades and laborious occupations to which men devote themselves in

order to earn their livelihood, the sciences and arts; in fine, all the manifold conditions which naturally occur in the development of civilization."

Dr. Daudpota also referred to the "scurrilous attacks" on Islam made by some of the western writers and said that they have not been properly met by the Muslim historians because of "our mental atrophy during the period of decadance." The knowledge of some of the most important of European languages besides Arabic and Persian is an essential qualification for research in Islamic history "It is therefore extremely important," he added, "that students, who aspire to get their M.A or Ph.D. through a dissertation should be compulsorily required to have a thorough knowledge of Arabic which should form an integral part of the school curricula and the college courses, especially for those who wish to take up the study of Islamic culture and history My learned friend, Dr. Mahmud Husain in his presidential address at the Fifth Pakistan History Conference held at Khairpur Mir's last year, has already drawn our attention to the urgent necessity of radically changing our history courses at the Collegiate stage Students who wish to go in for Islamic history and culture should not only read the books prescribed for these subjects, but also should be compelled to study a special Advanced Course in Arabic, besides acquiring a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the contemporary world history Islam and its civilization were not an isolated phenomenon, but had at various points impinged on the history and civilization of other countries, without whose knowledge they cannot be appreciated in their proper perspective Furthermore, such an intensification of the courses will enhance the value of our degrees, which, I am afraid, have become too cheap It is, indeed, high time that the framers of various syllabuses gave their serious thought to this most important aspect of the question "

In conclusion the learned President suggested that the Archaeological Department of Pakistan should direct its attention towards the locating of places mentioned by Arab geographers

Dr. Daudpota's address was followed by that of Professor P Kahle who had been specially invited by the Society to address the Conference. Professor Kahle began his address by referring to

Muslim contribution to scholarship. "Its importance for Europe", he said, "lay in the fact, that in the long interval which seperated the delay of Greek learning from the Renaissance it represented the most faithful tradition of ancient wisdom, and was for a long time the principal source from which Europe derived such philosophical and scentific ideas as she possessed." The information about Latin translations of Arabic scientific texts is very limited and investigations on this problem are still continuing, yet, it could "in fact be said, that the whole of mediavel chemistry, astronomy, mahtematics and medicine is based on Hellenistic science as developed by Islamic scholars. The Greeks had a genius for theorizing and speculation. The Muslims did perhaps not always see clearly the main lines of progress, but they had a keen eye for the details and paid closer attention to the empirical facts. Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) and his elder contemporary al-Rāzī (Rhazes) for long enjoyed an especially high prestige in mediavel European medical circles and the *Qanun* of Ibn Sīnā was almost the first book printed in Arabic to be published in Europe.

'We know that in philosophy the great authority at Paris University for several generations was Ibn Sīnā, and Ibn Rushd (Averroes) had perhaps an even greater influence through his commentaries on Aristotle It was the speculation of Islamic thinkers and their works on Greek philosophy which in Latin translation, paved the way for the scholasticism of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. In the light of these facts, the claim of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, that modern European learning has only become possible as a result of the sciences developed by Islam is understandable "

Professor Kahle thought that two major obstacles stood in the way of the people acquiring an understanding of Arabic or Islamic problems —

"*FIRST*. Arabic books were not accessible in Europe. Indeed Arabic manuscripts were scarcely to be found in European libraries until the early 17th century when on his return from a visit to the East which ended in 1629, the Leiden professor Golius, author of a well-known Arabic dictionary, brought back to Holland a selection of about 250 Arabic manuscripts. Forty years later in 1669 his pupil

Levinus Warner, a Dutch diplomat in the East, made a gift to the Leiden Library of about 1000 Arabic manuscripts as Legatum Warnerianum. Leiden thus became a place of pilgrimage for all students of Arabic for many years. Also for Oxford valuable manuscripts were acquired about the same time by Pocock the elder and other Englishmen who bought them while serving as clergymen in the East. In addition the Escorial Library possessed a collection of valuable Arabic manuscripts which were described by the Maronite Michael Casiri in 1760-1770, and some manuscripts in the Vatican Library and other Italian Libraries were specified by members of the Assemani family The Oxford Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts by the Hungarian Uri was published in 1778 By far the greater number of Arabic manuscripts which we now find in European libraries were not acquired before the 18th and 19th centuries

"*SECONDLY*. Some hundred years ago no European scholar was to be found who knew Arabic Theologians who had begun to study Hebrew as one of the original languages of the Bible had discovered linguistic affinities between Hebrew and Arabic, and as they began to use Arabic to help them understand Hebrew, they could only see in the Arabic language a dialect of Hebrew. From such a standpoint a real understanding of Arabic was impossible, and Islam had for these theologians a missionary interest only."

He then explained that a true appreciation of Arabic studies began with Silvestre de Sacy who became professor of Arabic in Paris in 1795 He wrote an Arabic grammar and edited Ḥarīrī's *Maqamat*. His work was continued by his pupils, Fleischer may be specifically mentioned because it was through his efforts that after de Sacy's death Leipzig became the chief centre of Arabic studies in Europe "A very great number of Arabic texts were edited by the pupils of de Sacy and Fleischer and other European scholars, as for instance Jan Michael de Goeje. They were mostly prepared with great accuracy and were reliable editions Moreover Arabic texts were also published in the East in very great numbers. I would mention particularly those brought out in Egypt where Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā, the Khedive, was greatly interested and in Turkey where Ibrahim Mutaferrika had published the first Oriental texts, the so-called Turkish incunabula, already in the 18th century, and as for

India which supplied the Arabic texts published with the help of Oriental scholars by Alois Sprenger and Nassau Lees, the texts published in the *BIBLIOTHECA INDICA*, and the very great number of texts published during a period of more than 70 years by the *Dairat-al-Ma'arif* in Hyderabad where the Nizam was very active in encouraging Islamic culture in general."

The publications of the Arabic texts enabled the orientalists of Europe to appreciate Islam's contribution to learning. Brocklemann's *History of Arabic Literature* (started in 1898 and completed with supplementary volumes forty years later) proved to be a landmark. The importance of Hellmut Ritter's work at Istanbul under the auspices of the German Oriental Society could hardly be over-estimated.

Fleischer's work was continued by Noldecke whose *History of the Qur'an* is a "book of fundamental importance" for the study of the Holy *Qur'an* The credit of building up Islamic studies in Europe goes principally to his pupils, contemporaries and friends. Of these Prof. Kahle specifically mentioned Goldziher, Wellhausen and Hurgronje and their contributions to Islamic studies. "And it seems to me," he added, "a most commendable idea that the Pakistan Historical Society intends to publish a translation of the *Muhammadanische Studien* " These three with Wensinck "may be regarded as the pioneers of *Islamwissenschaft* in Europe, but they were accompanied and followed by a great many and very able scholars in various European countries. If I may recall only a few who are no longer alive, I would mention Edward G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson, Sir Thomas Arnold and D. S. Margoliouth in England, Edmond Loutte and Rene Basset in France, Wilhelm Barthold and Ignatz Kratcokowsky in Russia, Tadeusz Kowalski in Poland, Alfonso Nallino and Michelangelo Guidi in Italy, Miguel Asin Palacios in Spain, C. H. Becker, George Jacob, Joseph Horowitz and Gotthelf Bergstrasser in Germany, and last but not least A. J. Wensinck in Holland."

As far as the "Muslim oriental scholars of today" were concerned, they were better placed than their predecessors because they could 'reap the fruits' of their contacts with Europe. Referring to the

sub-continent he said that he could not deal with all or even most of the prominent scholars of Hind-Pakistan. "True modernism in Muslim India begins with Sayyid Ahmed Khan, the founder of the Anglo-Muslim College in Aligarh, which subsequently became a university He had seen the decay of the Moghul State and the superiority of British Government and administration of justice and, convinced that this superiority was due to the British political system, he tried to make his countrymen acquainted with it. Moreover, he believed that the ideals inspiring this form of political system were to be found in the *Qur'an* rightly understood. The Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh gave its pupils a modern education based on the English pattern Among the teachers of the College, Shibli Nu'mâni was perhaps the most outstanding in combining deep eastern learning with the western critical method of research

"Among the most outstanding students of Aligarh was Maulana Mohammed Ali whose main achievement was to make his fellow countrymen conscious of modern political work"

Professor Kahle referred to 'Allamah Iqbal as "the most important leader of Indo-Muslim modernism." Iqbal believed that "with the first world war a 500 years long period of political weakness and spiritual lethargy in the Islamic world had come to an end He thought that the superiority of the West had been chiefly due to the fact that the European nations had made better use of the scientific knowledge transmitted to them by the Muslims than the Muslims themselves In the spiritual restlessness which had been observable throughout the Islamic world since the beginning of the century he saw a promising sign of a Muslim renaissance His ideal was an Islamic confederation formed by a voluntary alliance of the individual Muslim nations. He emphasized that a reform of Islamic law was necessary. The medieval system of the orthodox schools of law had to be replaced It must be made possible for elected men to form their own opinions Finally, he tried to remodel Islamic thought in the light of western philosophy.

"Iqbal has exerted a great influence on his countrymen, not only by his philosophy but also by his poetry. The Islamic state of

Pakistan which he had suggested as early as 1930 became a reality in 1947, nine years after his death. The architect of Mohammad Iqbal's dream was one of the most distinguished statesmen of modern age, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah According to the Objectives Resolution framed under the leadership of the late Liaquat Ali Khan Pakistan is to be built on the laws of Islam. This is an ideal to which practical requirements must approximate."

In conclusion Professor Kahle made a few suggestions. The works published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series are far from satisfactory "they have no critical apparatus, no indication of the manuscripts used, no table of contents, no indices and no glossary of the Persian language as used in India Sometimes an English translation has been furnished which is, however, invariably inadequate 'Would it not be an excellent idea for the Pakistan Historical Society to publish a Corpus of Muslim sources for the history of India, especially of Muslim India, edited in a scholarly way ? It would be an advantage to add to this Corpus translations critically made and provided with learned annotations "

Another suggestion made by him was that the Indo-Muslim records should be systematically collected, investigated and edited. The work done through the publication of the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* could very well be continued. Besides this, " a kind of Prosopographia Indo-Islamica that is to say a biographical dictionary of Indo-Muslim Government Officials " could also be published. Professor Khale also emphasized the need of reference libraries for research purposes. These will have to be built up and besides printed works and photo-stats of rare manuscripts they should have series of periodicals on Islam or at least those which have come out during the last 50 years. The learned professor concluded his scholarly address with these words ·

" It has been a very exhilarating experience for me to see how anxious and enthusiastic you are to acquire the material you need for scholarly work and what a high standard of scholarship you have been able to maintain in the publications, particularly the Journal of your Society Evidently learned bodies like the Pakistan Historical Society cannot thrive and fulfil their mission without

substantial aid, financial and otherwise, from the Government. Princely patronage in the days of monarchy and State encouragement in our times have ever been an important factor in the growth of learning. I sincerely wish that your Society may be helped in every possible way by a far-sighted Government."

When the inaugural meeting concluded the delegates and members of the Pakistan Historical Society went to the Governor-General's (now the President's) House, where they had been invited to a tea party by His Excellency the Governor-General.

The same evening the Reception Committee of the Conference had invited the delegates and other scholars to a dinner at the Beach Luxury Hotel.

* * * *

On the morning of the 7th January the session of the Museums Conference was held under the presidentship of Dr. Mahmud Husain in the Frere gardens

The report of the Conference will be published separately by its organisers.

* * * *

After the session of the Museums Conference the opening ceremony of the Exhibition was performed by Mian Afzal Husain, Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University In a few well-chosen words he addressed the audience on the utility of exhibition of records, documents, manuscripts and relics of historical importance. The Exhibition was fairly representative because in addition to exhibits from the National Museum and some institutions of Karachi one could see documents and manuscripts that had come from the Records Offices of Peshawar and Lahore Some of the rare manuscripts belonging to the collection of Maulvi Zafar Hasan were also exhibited.

* * * *

Islamic History Section

The meeting of the Islamic History Section was held at 2-30 p.m. in the Islamic History Hall (University of Karachi) under the

presidentship of Dr. A.H. Siddiqi. After a recition from [illegible] *Qur'an* the President delivered his address in Urdu. The English version was also available for distribution.

Dr. Siddiqi defined History as "a detailed study of the great events of the past and of the rise and fall of nations and states with particular emphasis on dates and causes of the occurences World tragedies may also be included in History, the object of whose study is to draw morals and decide upon one's course of action in given circumstances in the light of one's knowledge of events and affairs. In History one finds the sum-total of the wisest men of the world No doubt, human life is ever changing but man's natural sentiments and basic needs have remained the same throughout the ages. That is why the study of History proves to be the best guide in solving the most difficult problems of life, be they individual or collective" He then proceeded to describe the origin and early growth of Mnslim historiography. The main stimulous came from the anxiety of the Muslims to record the events of the life of the Prophet "There is no parallel in world history," he said, "where the life of a single individual was recorded in such minute details and with such meticulous care as the biography of the holy Prophet"

The major portion of the address was devoted to a discussion of the essential features of the Islamic State. "It is admitted on all hands" he said, "that the Islamic State which was established by the immediate successors of the Holy Prophet Muhammad on Quranic principles and practices of the Holy Prophet was an ideal welfare State; and whenever Muslims deviated from the fundamental principles of that State, they began to lose their power and prestige."

The main feature which distinguished the Islamic State founded by the Pious Caliphs from other States was the Quranic conception of sovereignty. The unrestricted sovereign power enjoyed by human beings in non-Islamic States has resulted "in exclusive privileges for the sovereign authorities and deprivation of equitable rights of the people as a whole." In Islam, on the hand, the principle of the supremacy of *Shari'ah* placed restrictions on power entrusted to individuals or groups of individuals. Liberty was the second

characteristic of life in an Islamic State, but this was not allowed to degenerate into licence. Fraternity was the third and justice the fourth feature of the Islamic society. How strict was the enforcement of justice is indicated by the fact that "even a Khalifah could not claim any exemption so far as appearance before the court was concerned." Another notable feature was "dual responsibility." everybody being responsible to God in addition to some worldly agency. He also explained the important point that an Islamic State was not a religious state in the sense in which a theocratic state was understood in the West The caliph was not a church dignitary: he "was a whole time servant of the people." The next point that he discussed was the importance of *shura*. He also emphasized the fact that in an Islamic State there was no controversy between the state and the individual "Another important feature of the Early Caliphate," he added. "was centralization in matter of administration. The very nature of the State which was based on Quranic principles demanded that there should be uniformity in administration All power emanated from the Caliph who used to appoint Governors, Military Commanders, Quaids and all the other high officials in the State, of course in consultation with his Council.

"The Governors of the various provinces were appointed by the Caliph after taking into consideration the wishes of the people .. An appointment letter was given to every Governor in which the conditions of his service were laid down and he was required to read this letter before the people at the time of taking over charge in the central mosque of the Capital of the Province. If at any time he acted contrary to those conditions, the people were entitled to lodge complaint with the Caliph who would remove him after due enquiries had been made and charges laid against him had been proved. The Governors were given adequate salaries so that they might not succumb to temptation. But in order to ensure honesty, an estimate of the wealth of the Governors used to be made by the Caliph at the time of their appointment; and whenever extraordinary accumulation of wealth by any Governor was noticed, another estimate of his wealth used to be made and surplus, if any, was deposited in the Bait-ul-Mal. The Governors were enjoined upon

to lead a life of simplicity and austerity. If any Governor indulged in luxuries or kept a guard in order to render himself inaccessible to the public, he was punished publicly" Speaking of the economic policy he referred to the verse which says that "wealth should not circulate only among the rich." In this connection *zakah* and its principle were also explained. Lastly he referred to the position of non-Muslims in the days of the Pious Caliphate. "Since the Caliphate was an ideological state," he said, "only those persons could be entrusted with administration who had firm belief in its ideology and were conversant with its spirit and had made the realizations of the aim of that state as their life mission. It was the believers alone who had made all kinds of sacrifices and had undertaken to bear all the responsibilities of running the State and the non-believers had agreed only to live as *Zimmis* with peace and tranquility within its jurisdiction. Since the non-believers did not believe in the ideology of the Caliphate, they could not possibly be associated with its administration and also could not be entrusted with any key position. However, the Caliphate, in accordance with the verse of the Qur'an "No compulsion in matter of faith" did not believe in forcing its religion, culture and tradition on others or adopting coercive measures under the cloak of nationalism for merging the culture of the non-believers into that of believers. It thus provided full scope for the growth of their culture and tradition and the administration of their civil affairs in accordance with their own religious laws. Nay it went one step further and regarded all the non-believers as its own responsibility and as such guaranteed full liberty of conscience, protection of property, life and honour and freedom of religious beliefs to all the non-believers "

In conclusion Dr. Siddiqi threw some light on the causes of the degeneration of the caliphate into a corrupt institution. The introduction of the system of hereditary succession, the abolition of the *shura* and the distinction between Arab and non-Arab Muslims were some of the most important causes of degeneration. Then came the shock of Mongol invasions. Referring to the later period he said, "In the last phase of Islamic glory, two most important and powerful kingdoms arose, one in the east, *i.e.*, India and the

other in Asia Minor. Both of them made wonderful contribution to world civilization and culture and spread the ideals of Islam, *i.e.* equality, liberty, fraternity, justice and tolerance. The Western power was more successful in spreading its influence and prestige and after the conquest of Constantinople had reached the confines of Vienna. The Muslim Turks might have captured the whole of Europe but for their unfortunate war with the Shiite Kingdom of Persia. Both Turkish and Mughal rulers of India kept the monarchical form of Government and did away with *Shura*, *i.e.*, rule by mutual consultation, appropriated Bait-ul-Mal money for their personal luxuries and the needs of their kith and kin. In spite of these defects both these kingdoms were successful for as long as they practised the other Islamic ideals which were not to be found elsewhere. On account of their liberal treatment of the subject races these rulers in both the kingdoms were regarded as liberators of mankind. But both these dynasties had forgotten the first essential of an Islamic State, *i.e.*, the chief objective of this ideological State was the spread of Islam. When after the French Revolution in the eighteenth century, by the abolition of monarchies and Feudalism in Europe, the Muslim ideals of liberty, fraternity, equality, social justice and tolerance found their way into European countries and from there spread to the rest of the world, it was utterly impossible for these Turks and Mughals to continue their hold especially at a time when the degeneration had set in among them on account of hereditary succession, non-applicapability of laws of Shariah due to the wrong notion that the door of *Ijtihad* was closed after the codification of the laws by the four great Imams. If the Turks and Mughals had continued *Tabligh* like the Arabs of the early period, and should have exercised *Ijtihad* in order to make the laws of Islam compatible with the growing need of the time they should have done real service to the cause of Islam, Muslim people of those regions and to the Universe as a whole."

Referring to the birth of Pakistan and the ideology on which its foundations could be laid Dr Siddiqi said, "Pakistan consists of two wings, which are separated from each other by a thousand miles. It is inhabited, no doubt, mostly by Muslims but they speak different languages and possess varying shades of culture. This country

consisting of heterogenous elements cannot build a State on the basis of territoral nationalism as several elements which constitute the nation are absent among the Pakistanis."

In the evening the delegates were invited to a music party which was arranged by Atiya Begam Sahiba at B.V.S. Parsi High School.

* * *

On Sunday, the 8th January, the Indo-Pakistan History Section met under the presidentship of Maulvi Zafar Hasan at 10 A.M in the Islamic History Hall After a recitation from the *Holy Qur'an* the learned President deilvered his address He began by emphasizing the need of preserving the original sources because "the ever increasing popularity of the English language was adversely affecting the study of oriental languages. Indifference towards oriental learning was perhaps the most prominent and certainly the most unpatriotic feature of our intellectual life in the second half of the nineteenth century The natural consequence of this state of affairs was that the glories of our cultural heritage preserved in the form of manuscripts were fast dying out Some of these had no doubt seen the light of print, but it was only a drop in the ocean. The two ways of saving these treasures from ravages of time and weather were printing their texts (or translations) and collecting the original manuscripts and preserving them as best as is humanly possible. The printing of texts and translations requires elaborate arrangements and can be done by Government or learned bodies; but in the collections of manuscripts besides libraries, even individuals can render some useful service Most of us are acquainted with personal collections which though small in size contain valuable works. It was in this spirit of rendering my humble quota of service to the cause of oriental learning that I started collecting manuscripts on Indo-Muslim history, and also edited and published two of them. I consider myself exceptionally fortunate that in the holocaust of 1947, when all my belongings including a fairly good number of printed works were plundered at Delhi by the rioters, the manuscripts escaped their cruel hands, because they were thrown away as things of no intrinsic value. After a few weeks when I sent a relative of mine to see if anything was left in the house he found about half of my collection of manuscripts lying in a heap on the

floor of the room, which I used to call with some feeling of pride as my library. He could manage to bring them and some of them you can see in the Exhibition " Among the rarest manuscripts of his collection were the *Qur'an* transcribed by the famous calligraphist Yāqūt Musta 'ṣimī, the *Diwan* of Prince Dārā Shukoh and *Insha-i-Hamid-al-din*. He then drew the attention of the historians to "the re-writing of history which should .. .... present in its true perspective the glory of our heritage " There are many aspects of the history of Muslim rule in India which need a careful and scientific examination The administrative system of the Muslims, their policy towards religion and society, their contribution to the growth of Indo-Pakistan civilization, the influence of Islam on Indian civilization and culture, the influence of Hindu ideas on Muslim society and the development of the two systems without complete absorption of one by the other are some of the problems which could be specially mentioned Speaking of the historical literature produced in the subcontinent he said, "The art of writing history systematically was introduced in Hind-Pakistan with the advent of Muslims, and it took its people some time to develop a taste for it In the beginning the task of compiling historical works was performed by those who were connected with the court. In course of time, however, matters improved, and we find that most of the histories compiled later, are the productions of scholars who studied the subject for the sake of learning alone It may be added that the Hindus had also begun to take to history writing. They followed strictly the system and style of Muslim writers for instance they started their works like their Muslim contemporaries with *hamd* (praises of God) *na't* (praises of the Prophet) and *manqabat* (praises of the descendents and companions of the Prophet). During the period of Muslim supremacy which lasted for more than six centuries, several dynasties rose to power one after another and ruled the empire of Delhi, while some independent monarchies sprang up from time to time in different parts of the sub-continent. Many of the rulers made it a point to have histories of their reigns and dynasties compiled on the basis of official records explaining the view-point of the government of the day and

describing its achievements. Along with these official histories, which are generally rich in details and accurate in facts, we have also inherited histories written by private individuals who were opposed to the policy of the Government."

In addition to recorded historical material the historian of today could draw upon other sources. In this connection the structural remains of those times naturally occupy a prominent position. "The civilization and culture of a period" he added "manifest themselves very pronouncedly in its architecture. By the time that the Muslims laid the foundation of their empire in Hind-Pakistan Islamic architecture had acquired a fundamental character, adapted to their religious and social needs. These peculiar features of their architecture were freely introduced by them in the buildings which they constructed here. The indigenous Hindu architecture was inherently different in style from Muslim architecture. The former was trabeate based on flat roof, beams and columns, while the latter was archuate characterized by domes, vaults and arches. Other characteristic features which the Muslims introduced were minars and minarates, squinches and pendentives and grand double portals. It may be stated that lime mortar and concrete are not known to have been in use in the sub-continent before the advent of Muslims; at any rate these materials are not traceable in the Hindu monuments, which are noticed to have been built in dry stone or brick in mud. The introduction of lime mortar and concrete was a great contribution made by the Muslims to the Indo-Pakistan art of building. The Western scholars have propounded a theory that the fusion of these styles—Muslim and Hindu—has given birth to a new one which they have called by the name of Indo-Muslim architecture. It is difficult to agree with this view. In fact what they call Indo-Muslim architecture is really Muslim architecture in local setting. The prominent features of the Muslim monuments and their general plans are purely Muslim. Innumerable monuments representing Muslim architecture in local setting are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the sub-continent, and a careful examination of these relics throws a flood of light on the culture, art, social and religious ideals and economic condition of their builders."

Another important source of information is the exceedingly large number of inscriptions. The Muslim inscriptions are mostly in Arabic and Persian. "..... the early inscriptions are written in *Naskh* characters irrespective of their language, whether it is Arabic or Persian. *Kufic* style is also noticed, but it is confined to religious inscriptions of a decorative nature. About the middle of the sixteenth century *Nasta'liq* made its appearance in the Indian epigraphy. Gradually it gained popularity, and in the ninteenth century it almost entirely replaced *Naskh*, which was reserved exclusively for religious inscriptions that were in Arabic. With regard to their nature and subject, the Muslim inscriptions can be classified under three heads: (a) religious, containing quotations from the holy *Qu'ran* or *hadis* (sayings of the Prophet) or pious ejaculations, (b) historical references to any event or bearing names of rulers or dates and (c) ethical, comprising moral precepts and maxims'

The study of inscriptions began after the advent of the British. Referring to the activities of the Archaeological Department he mentioned the publication of the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* as also the fact that, according to Dr. J. Horvitz, as many as 1250 inscriptions have been preserved in print Although "a substantial record of the Muslim inscriptions of India exists in print," it is "a very insignificant portion of the huge material " He suggested that the Archaeological Department of Pakistan or learned bodies like the Pakistan Historical Society should take up the task of publishing the inscriptions Speaking of the official documents he said that the state archives of the Muslims exist no more, but some valuable documents are still preserved in old families "Those which have come to my notice," he said, "include (i) *Farmans* and *Manshurs* (royal mandates) (ii) *Sanads* (grants), (iii) *Parwanas* (letters of appointment, etc.) (iv) *Robkars* (state orders), (v) *Parwana-i-Rahdari* (permits or passports), (vi) *Tashih Namas* (muster certificates), (vii) *Dastaks* (order for payment of revenue), (viii) *Ibra Namas* (certificates of relief from payments). (ix) *Tasdiqs* (attestations of rights and claims by the state authorities), (x) *Mahzar Namas* (public attestations of certain facts in the interest of the persons concerned), (xi) *Tajwiz-i-Adalat* (Courts' judgments), (xii) *Nikah Namas* (marriage contracts) and (xiii) *Bai'-Namas* (sale deeds).

Muslim coins are also a useful source of information. "As in the case of epigraphy the study of numismatics was undertaken after the advent of the British, when specimens of such of them as possessed any importance in that respect were collected and preserved in museums. Subsequently the enactment of the Treasure Trove Act greatly enriched the coin collections of the various museums. To our misfortune only a few museums have published the catalogues of the coins in their possession, while in others they are lying unclassified and unarranged. Unless the coins are properly arranged and catalogued, they cannot be utilized for numismatic study, and it is expected that the coin collections in our museums will soon receive that treatment. I would, therefore, like to draw the attention of the authorities concerned to print the catalogues of the collections of coins in Pakistan museums." Lastly he mentioned folk-lore and rural songs as well as festivals and ceremonies which could be studied with considerable advantage by the scholars of history.

Concluding his scholarly address the learned President who is one of the greatest living authorities on Muslim Archaeology said, "Undoubtedly the collection of the historical material detailed above is a problem beset with many difficulties, but these can be overcome and efforts should be made to collect the material as far as possible. It is gratifying to note that the Pakistan Historical Society has already taken steps to prepare ground for historical research in our country as is evident by its Journal and other literary undertakings. The useful project sponsored by the Government of the preparation of *The History of the Freedom Movement of the Muslims of the Sub-continent* is also progressing, and I understand its first volume will be published very shortly. The Society, however, may extend its activities and devise a scheme for the publication of a comprehensive and reliable history of the period of Muslim supremacy in the sub-continent. It should have wide foundations and in fact should be a comprehensive history of Islam in Hind-Pakistan."

* * *

A number of papers were read in each section by eminent scholars including Professor P. Kahle from Oxford and Dr. Mahmud Husain, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Karachi. In the afternoon

a business meeting of the Pakistan Historical Society was held at the North-West Hotel under the presidentship of Mr. Fazlur Rahman. Before transacting any business the members present offered *fatihah* for the departed souls of Dr. Mohammad Nazim, Professor Qazi Ahmad Mian and Maulana Aslam Jirājpuri and passed resolutions of condolence. The annual report of the General Secretary was read and adopted. Before the meeting came to a close the General Secretary thanked the authorities of the University of Karachi for inviting the session of the Conference and acting as host and the Chairman, Secretaries and Members of the Reception Committe, the Conveners of the various Sub-Committees and the Volunteers for making excellent arrangements for the Conference. He also thanked the delegates and scholars who had participated in the deliberations of the Conference, particularly those who had come from outside Karachi.

In the evening the delegates and other scholars attended a Reception given by the Society.

* * *

On the 9th January the delegates visited Thatta which is noted for its historical monuments.

I RE'IS

The Turkish Sailor and Cartographer

by

PROFESSOR PAUL KAHLE, OXFORD

Piri Re'is, the author of the *Bahriye*, a book on the Mediterranean Sea, was the nephew of Kamāl Re'is, a very famous Turkish sailor. Kamāl had first joined the Azeb soldiery in Euböa, the island which had been conquered by the Turks in 1470, and as he became an Azeb Re'is he must have served there at least 8—10 years. In 1481, he took up the career of a pirate and it seems that he established his main basis on the island of Jirbe in Tunis. For the remaining years of his life we have a few notes in Turkish. We learn particularly that he was engaged in rescuing the Muslim refugees from Spain in 1487 and the following years. Boabdil (abu 'Abdallah Muḥammed XI, the last king of Granada, 1482—1492) had, in a famous *qasidah*, entreated the help of the Turks with the result that Kamāl was sent And at this time Piri Re'is was already with him. In 1494, Kamāl Re'is was appointed an officer in the Turkish navy by Sultan Bāyazīd, and he quickly became one of the leading Captains to whom very important tasks were entrusted. For the subsequent part of his life we have a primary source in the *Diarii of Marino Sanuto*, published in 58 volumes in Venice (1879—1902), which recount everything that happened in the Mediterranean area from 1496 to 1533. Kamāl Re'is is here referred to as a gallant, formidable and terrifying enemy. Kamāl was the outstanding leader in the battles of Modon and Lepanto in 1500, and in 1501 carried-out raids in the Western Mediterranean where he captured, near Valencia, seven Spanish sailing ships which had returned from the newly discovered America. In 1511, the ship which had been put at his disposal by officials who envied him, being unseaworthy, broke into pieces and he was drowned near the island of Naxos.

Piri Re'is, his nephew, had accompanied him for a very long time. When he composed, in 1521, the *Bahriye*, his remarkable account of the Mediterranean Sea, he had more than 30 years experience

of seafaring, the greater part of them in the service of his uncle but subsequently as his own master. In his book he deals in 130 sections with all the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean. Each section has a map, and it seems that these maps derive from Venetian originals which Piri Re'is copied in Gallipoli where his book was written As far as we know these originals have perished. The text of the *Bahrıye* is also valuable as it appears to record observations made by the author himself. Primarily the book was written with a practical aim in view. It gives information of nautical and military interest, and indicates anchorages, rocks in the Sea, drinking water, and fortifications of which it was necessary to be aware. But he includes notes on the cultivation, on inhabited places, and on ruins which are also marked on the maps as *kharab*. Such archaeological notes are particularly valuable, because they mention only what had actually been found, and the historical explanations are written naively from the Turkish point of view.

Piri Re'is had the intention to present the *Bahriye* to Sultan Salim to whom it was first dedicated and to whom, some years previously, in 1517, he had presented in Cairo a map of the world which he had drawn But Salim died before the book was finished, and with Sultan Sulaymān, the new ruler, he had no contact and he did not know how to approach him. Consequently he left the book as it was. We learn that it had been written on single leaves, each leaf having a map of the coast or island which was described in it.

It is not difficult to prove that the maps contained in the *Bahriye* have not been constructed by himself We find in the *Bahriye* maps which must be much older than Piri Re'is. The map of Venice, for instance is the oldest map of which we know, it must have been made a long time before Piri Re'is and has later been replaced by him by much later maps which represent much better the contemporary conditions and we can be sure that the older and the later maps have been copied by the author from originals which he had procured for himself and which he could copy in Gallipoli The same can be proved, for instance for the shape of the island of Euböa which is so similar to the shape of the island in the Iselorio of Bartolomeo da li Sonetti

[illegible] Re'is [illegible] the
which was published more than 40 years before the book of Piri Re'is that we cannot doubt that the two go back to the same original. We must suppose these maps to go back to mediaeval sailing directories which served seamen for practical purposes, but soon became obsolete if not constantly emended. Only the latest editions of such books were of use, copies of older editions being destroyed when superseded, as no one had any interest in keeping them, just as we have no practical interest in antiquated time-tables for the railway, and societies and libraries desirous of preserving them for their historical interest did not exist in those days.

The same must be said of the *text* of the book. It must have been based on nautical guide-books which had come into his hands. These guide-books were based on the experiences of centuries and were very reliable as everybody can see who works on them. In this connection I have made an interesting experiment myself. The well-known German archaeologists, Theoder Wiegand and Alfred Rehm were working near Milet in Asia Minor in 1924. In autumn of that year I sent them the translation of some chapters of the book of Re'is dealing with the coasts and islands near Milet and asked them to verify all the details given by him. They did so and wrote to me that there was not a single instance in which the actual conditions differed. Such a degree of accuracy can only be explained by the fact that Piri Re'is had used nautical guidebooks. It is understandable, that the sources of his nautical handbook have been lost, on the other hand, his book itself had no rival in Turkey. It was unique and was copied again and again.

Now we know from Ḥājjī Khalīfah and other Turkish sources that there existed two editions of the book. Both editions are available. In the Introduction to the second edition of the book, in which the beautiful Aya Sofya manuscript 2612 is reproduced, no less than 29 manuscripts of the book are mentioned, of which 16 contain the first, 13 the second edition. But there are in fact many more known to us. The book has been copied very often. In the poetical postscript to the second edition, Piri Re'is tells us in an interesting way how he came to write the second edition. In October, 1524, the Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, was sent by Sultan Sulayman to Egypt for an inspection. Ships were accordingly

prepared and Piri Re'is was taken as a pilot. The flotilla ran into stormy weather. The safety of the ships and their crews was gravely imperilled. The sailors were panicstricken and Ibrāhīm Pāshā tried to calm them. Piri Re'is had his *Bahriye* with him which he had compiled a few years earlier. He describes the succession of events on the voyage as follows:

> When we ran into difficulties, I always looked in the book.
>
> What was written in it of the diamonds of my knowledge enabled me to steer the right course.
>
> The noble Pāshā saw that in accordance with my book everything was determined.
>
> He saw that there was a work of value and decided to examine it.
>
> He requested that it be brought to him and saw all the details by which I indicated the way.
>
> Finally he obtained an idea of how I could find the right course from it.
>
> He realised that there were rules of navigation and instructions in skilled seamanship.
>
> Thus he came to a right understanding and paid attention to this slave... ..
>
> He said: You have many abilities and are a capable man.
>
> All the conditions of the Sea are known to you Not a single place in your heart is benighted.
>
> I desire you to throw light on everything, in order that you may be mentioned at the resurrection.
>
> You must bring together the book carefully, that it may be helpful to every one who uses it.
>
> The book is of such special value as to earn a place in the treasure-house.
>
> Correct it and bring it about accurately, that we may present it to the ruler of the world.
>
> As to the slave who was given this command, he obeyed it with heartfelt joy.

I had been occupied with it before, but it had not been perfected.

I spent all my energy on it, made a fair copy and finished it.

Thanks God that we arrived at the goal......

This verse narrative informs us that when danger threatened the journey, the Grand-Vizier, Ibrāhīm Pasha, recognised the value of the book. He commanded Piri Re'is to arrgnge it in a form, in which it could be presented to the Sultan. Piri Re'is did so and the second edition was finished in 932 that is to say in the course of about one year. How do the two editions differ?

The modern editors of the second edition mention 7 points of difference. I will not repeat them here. As we have now the two editions to compare we can easily see some essential differences which they have not remarked. The description of the island of Sicily begins in both editions with Messina In the first edition the description proceeds directly to the west. In the second edition we do not find additions or corrections, but an entirely new description. It begins also from Messina but it proceeds southwards and goes in the opposite direction, and the two editions have hardly anything in common. It is clear that Piri Re'is has replaced the description of the first edition by a different description.

The same can be said of the islands and coasts in the Adriatic Sea. It was described in the first edition briefly and inadequately. This description is replaced in the second edition by a different one We can easily find similar specimens by comparing the two editions. It is clear, Piri Re'is is the author of neither of the two descriptions. He has simply copied the maps and translated the description of his sources. He was anxious to replace, in the copy which was to be handed over to the Sultan, old fashioned maps and inadequate descriptions by more modern maps and more adequate descriptions. Besides, he has added poetical chapters in the second edition which were missing in the first edition, as the modern Italian nautical books contained such poetical chapters. And as these poetical parts begin the second edition, he felt it useful to add a special explanation for the following prose description of

the book, although the prose description was the earlier one and existed alone in the first edition of the book.

By comparing the two editions of the *Bahriye* with each other we gain the impression that the first edition is a comparatively exact translation of an existing sailing directory with copy of the maps found in it and a great number of observations which Piri Re'is had made in the course of about thirty years experience of the Sea. It is a comparatively uniform text of an ancient sailing directory. In the second edition he had replaced, both parts of the text and parts of the maps and he has added a great number of maps which he had procured for himself.

It is difficult to give an opinion on the long poetical introduction without comparison with poetry of a similar kind Here I must confine myself to mentioning the 23 chapters of the poetical introduction.

Why the *Bahriye* was written (1-2). Bad weather, compass, the winds (3-5). How old is the knowledge of the maps (6-7). The inhabited quarter and the rest of the earth covered by the seven Seas (8). Henry the navigator and his discoveries (9). Eastern Africa, called Habash (10) Globus, astronomical shore, poles, tropics, equator (11). How the Portuguese came to India (12). The China Sea (13). The Indian Sea (14-15), The Persian Sea (16) Bahr-i-Zanj (17-20) The Atlantic (Bahr-i-Maghrib, 21). The Mediterranean (Bahr-i-Rum) is not treated separately as the *Bahriye* is devoted to it. Bahr-i-Qulzum the Red Sea (22-23).

In the last decades of his life, Piri Re'is was engaged in fighting the Portuguese in the Indian and Persian Seas. Unfortunately we know very little about him during this period of his life. He commanded the Turkish ships. It would be good if we could have details of this period of his life. We hear that he had amassed enormous fortune in the Persian Sea and that his downfall occurred in an attempt to save his treasures when his Egyptian fleet was cut off in the Persian gulf by the Portugue ships entering in the gulf. It was impossible for him to escape with the ships under his command. So he decided to leave his main force of ships near Basrah and to escape with only three ships hoping thus to save

his treasures. One was lost, but with the other two he came safely to Egypt. The affair was reported to Istanbul and the Sultan ordered his execution in Cairo. His treasures were brought to Istanbul.

As for the *Bahriye* we hear that the first edition was on single leaves when he prepared the second edition. But the first edition must have been written in book form, in spite of the second edition; we do not know at what time though it is certain that it was during the life time of the author. The oldest dated manuscript of the first edition in book form is the Dresden manuscript of which we know that it was finished in March 1554, still before the author's death. There can be no doubt that the first edition, inspite of the additions and improvements of the second edition, is the much more homogenous work, a straigtforward translation of an old sailing directory as Piri Re'is had found it In the second edition Piri Re'is provides us with a loose mass of material which has not really been unified. It is fully understandable that the first edition was used more than the second edition and that we have more manuscripts of the first edition

In the Introduction of his book, Piri Re'is mentions that he had earlier designed a map of the world which had incorporated the latest discoveries of his time in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea, and that he had presented the map to Sultan Salîm in Cairo, *i. e*, in 1517, and that the Sultan had graciously accepted it. I decided to try to find the map when, in autum 1929, I had to go to Istanbul on behalt of the German Oriental Society.

I met in Istanbul Professer Deissmann of Berlin University, who was engaged in dealing with literary treasures of the Seraglio and busy in making a catalogue of the non-Muslim manuscripts. He had to describe some Oriental manuscripts which he asked me to help in describing. In this way I had an opportunity of entering the otherwise then inaccessible library of the Seraglio. One day Deissmann, knowing my interest in old sea-maps brought to me a number of such maps and among them I found a magnificent map painted in gay colours on parchment which bore the inscription :

Then author of this is the poor Piri b. Ḥājjī Muḥammad, the nephew of Kamāl Re'is, in Gallipoli—may God have mercy on them both—in the holy *Muharram* 919 (April 1513).

From the beginning I had no doubt that this was the very map I was looking for. It was the map presented by Piri Re'is to Salīm in Cairo in 1517. Salīm had taken it to Istanbul and it was in the palace of the Sultans that it was found. It was a delightful surprise to find on it the Atlantic Ocean with the newly discovered America. It was especially valuable that the author Piri Re'is had indicated on it the sources which had formed the basis of the map He informs us that he had at his disposal about 20 maps and mappemondi and mentions in particular eight Ptolemy maps, one Arabic map of the Indian Sea, four modern Portuguese maps and—a map drawn by Columbus of the Western world He had reduced the different maps to the same scale and declares :

As far as the maps of these regions are correct and reliable, so far is this map of the Seven Seas correct and reliable also.

The map found in the Seraglio is only the Western section of the map drawn by Piri Re is The Eastern part is missing and had not been found. My friend Georg Jacob suggested that Salīm who was a great conqueror, may have detached the Eastern part of the map which could be of value for him when he intended to conquer China! In the long Turkish inscription on the map we are told that the late Kamāl Re'is had a Spanish slave (prisoner of war) who said ; Three times I travelled with Columbus to this territory... and now follows a hitherto unknown account of the discovery of America which is of independent value. I cannot deal here with the whole map which is full of interest I can only discuss that part of the map which is based on the map of Columbus. We have seen that in 1501 Kamāl Re'is, accompanied by Piri Re'is captured near Valencia seven Spanish ships which had returned from America We must suppose that it was on this occasion that the Spaniard was taken prisoner who had been three times with Columbus in America, and that at the same time also a map was seized which had been copied from the Columbus map. We know of only one map which had been sent by Columbus

to Spain, the map which accompanied the letter he had written from Jamaica on his third voyage in 1498. We know that many copies of this map had been made and that, for instance, Amerigi Vespucci had sailed to America with its help. But no copy of this map has been preserved. When we examine the map of Columbus used by Piri Re'is for his map of the world we find that it is so phantastic that we can uderstand the best friends of Columbus being anxious to destroy it. In Europe, already in 1500, a map of the world was made by Juan de la Cosa, which gave a comparatively correct picture of Central America, and in 1513, when, after the death of Kamāl, Piri Re'is made a map of the world, nobody in Europe would have thought of using a map made by Columbus for the Central American Islands. We must suppose that for Piri Re'is the name of Columbus was of great authority even in 1513 and a map of his which had fallen into the hands of the Turks in 1501, could be used for a map of the world. For us this oldest map of America which has been preserved only by the Turks, is of very great historical interest The personality of the discoverer of America is surrounded for us by an intricate web of legends. In this map we have an excellent illustration of Columbus' ideas I wish to mention here only three points .

1 When Columbus came to Haiti, he was convinced that he had come to Cipango, Marco Polo Japan, which was to be found on pre-Columbian maps, as for instance on the Globus of Martin Beheim of 1482. Columbus gives Haiti in the form of Cipango with the ruins of Novidad, the first town founded by Columbus on his maiden voyage, and San Domingo, the capital, founded on the second voyage

2. We know that Cuba was regarded by Columbus as part of the main-land; and the remarkable act of June 1494 is preserved in which everyone in the three ships had to declare himself convinced that Cuba is mainland and anyone who should thereafter contradict this was threatened with the penalty of a fine amounting to 10,000 maravedis and the cutting of his tongue. Now here on the map of Piri Re'is, Cuba is indeed a part of the mainland.

3. We know that when Columbus, on his third voyage, came to Trinidad, he saw the coast of South America, but the mouth of the

Orinoco divided the coast and Columbus was led to take the South American coast for islands. These islands are similarly marked on the map of Piri Re'is There can be no doubt that the map of Columbus used by Piri Re'is is for us of great historical value in so far as it illustrates some of the ideas of Columbus in a way which nobody believed possible

SOME UNIQUE COINS OF HILL TIPPERAH AT THE DACCA MUSEUM

By

MUHAMMAD REZA-UR-RAHIM, RAJSHAHI

The Dacca Museum Coin Cabinet contains several interesting coins of the now defunct native state of Hill Tipperah which is said to have been one of the most ancient states in the sub-continent of Hind-Pakistan. About its origin it is said that "the ancient name of Tipperah or Tripura was Kirat (the hunter) from a person of that name of the Lunar or Indo-Scythian race He was the brother of Puru who was banished to the Eastern provinces by his father Yajati who held the supreme government of India.[1]" Trilochon, one of the early kings of this kingdom is stated in the *Rajmala* to have visited Yudhistir, the Pandava.[2] The kingdom was able to maintain its independent status until recent times and lost it only in the drive for the merger of the native states in the republic of India. At present it is a part of Indian territory on the eastern border of East Pakistan.

Stray notices of the coinage of this kingdom have appeared from time to time. Perhaps the earliest account of some coins of Hill Tipperah is to be found in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia* (p. 793). The following are the coins described by him.

1. Bahu Manikya with Queen Satyavati (Sak. 1607/1685 A. D.).
2. Dharma Manikya Deva (Sak. 1636/1714 A. D.)
3. Krishna Manikya Deva (Sak. 1682/1760 A. D.).
4. Krishna Manikya with Queen Jahnavi (Sak. 1682/1760 A. D.

[1] *R. A. S. B.* Vol. XIX, 1850.

[2] "The *Rajmala* or the annals of Tripura were compiled by Brahmans or the Pradhan Mantris of the Court of Tripura .... "

"The *Rajmala* is a curiosity as representing us with the oldest specimen of Bengali composition extant, the first part of it having been compiled in the beginning of the 15th century, the subsequent portions were composed at a more recent date, we may consider this then as the most ancient work in Bengali that has come down to us".

Ibid.

5. Rajadhara Manikya (Sak. 1707/1785 A. D.)

Two coins of Hill Tipperah have also been described by E. A. Gait in his *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam* (p. 4).

1. Govinda Manikya (Sak 1602/1680 A. D.).

2. Dharma Manikya (Sak 1636/1714 A. D.).

The Coin Cabinet of the Calcutta Museum contains twelve Tipperah coins of which eleven have been described by R. D. Banerjee in *The Archaeological Survey of India, 1913-14* (pp. 249--53, plate LXVIII). These are as under,

(1—4) Dhanya Manikya (Sak 1412/1490 A D).

(5—7) Ratna Manikya (No date)

(8) Krishna Manikya (Sak 1682/1760 A. D)

(9) Ishanchandra Manikya (Sak 1771/1849 A D.).

(10) Virachandra Manikya (Tipperah era 1279/1869 A. D).

(11) Radhakishore Manikya (Tipperah era 1306/1896 A. D.).

The last three in the above list are coins of feudatory chiefs of Tipperah. A coin of Ramganga Manikya has been described by V. A. Smith in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* wrongly under the name "Ramasinha Manikya".

The Dacca Museum Coin Cabinet preserves twenty-two coins of nine rulers of Hill Tipperah ranged over a period of three centuries (1526 A D to 1826 A D) mentioned below:

* (1) Deva Manikya with Queen Padmavati (Sak 1448/1526 A. D.)

* (2) Vijoy Manikya with Queen Laksmi (Sak 1451/1529 A. D.).

(3) Rajadhara Manikya with Queen Satyavati (Sak 1508/1586 A. D.

(4) Jasodhara Manikya with Queen Laksmi Gouri (Sak 1522/1600 A. D.)

(5) Kalyan Manikya (Sak 1548/1626 A.D.).

(6) Ratna Manikya (Sak 1607/1685 A. D.)
* (7) Govinda Manikya (No date)
* (8) Indra Manikya (Sak 1666/1744 A. D.)
* (9) Kasichandra Manikya (Sak 1748/1826 A. D.)

(The coins in the plate are arranged according to the above serial marks.)

Some of the coins in this collection (marked with * above) were hitherto unknown. All the coins are of silver. Three of them are tiny bits representing fractions of the standard unit, twelve are identical specimens of Jasomanikya's coin, while Rajdhar Manikya and Indra Manikya each have two identical specimens in their names. The legends and dates are in Bengali. The reverse in every case invariably bears the image of the "Tipperah lion". The moon on the reverse side evidently refers to the claim of the dynasty to lunar descent. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali a former Curator of the Dacca Museum published a review of the coins of Rajadhar Manikya, Jasodhar Manikya, Ratna Manikya and Kalyan Manikya at the Museum in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,[1] where a detailed description of those coins may be found. These, along with the other unique ones are mentioned here in order to give a complete account of the whole lot of Tipperah coins at the Dacca Museum.

Coins of Rajadhara Manikya and Ratna Manikya:

We have noticed that coins with these names have already been described by Marsden and R. D. Banerjee respectively. But the Dacca specimen of Rajadhara's coins is not the same as that of Marsden. The former bears the date "Sak 1508" (1586 A. D). whereas Marsden records the date as "Sak 1707" (1785 A. D.). The appearance of the same name with different dates on the two coins must signify different persons. For unless it is assumed that there were two Tipperah kings of this name at the different times recorded it is difficult to reconcile these two dates separated by two centuries. This assumption, however, seems to be unwarranted The *Rajmala* does dot record any king of that name at the time mentioned by Marsden. Moreover, as Marsden has not given facsimilies of his

[1] Vol. XIX, pp. 50—53.

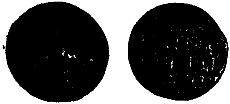
coins it is not safe to accept his view on this point, the only basis of which is the drawings of the coins supplied by him Under these circumstances the only alternative left is to accept the verdict of the Dacca Museum coin as regards the identity and date of Rajadhar.

The coins of Ratna Manikya in the Calcutta Museum bear no date, but the Dacca specimen of this ruler's coin clearly records "Sak 1607" (1685 A. D.). Here it is interesting to note that the coin described by Marsden in *Numismata Orientalia* under the name "Bahu Manikya" bears exactly the same date as that of Ratna Manikya which is "Sak 1607" (1685 A D.) Now if we examine the Dacca coin more closely it seems very probable that due to the somewhat archaic manner of transcription of the Bengali letters used on the coins there is every likelihood of the word "Ratna" being misread for the word "Bahu" Moreover, neither *Rajmala* nor any other source records "Bahu Manikya" as the name of a king of Hill Tipperah Further, the date on the Dacca coin, "Sak 1607" (1685 A. D.), comes very near to the generally accepted date of accession of Ratna Manikya II of Hill Tipperah which is Sak 1604/1682 A. D (*Vide, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14, p. 250). It can therefore be ascertained that the king named by Marsden as Bahu Manikya is none other than Ratna Manikya II of Tipperah.

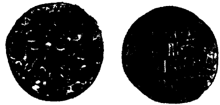
Historical Importance

Some of these coins throw light on the contemporary history of Tipperah. The discrepancy between the accounts of the history of Tipperah written by Kailash Singh under the title "*Rajmala*" and the original "*Rajmala*" about the date of accession of Rajadhar Manikya is a case in point Whereas Kailash Singh records the date as 1611 A. D. the original *Rajmala* gives it as 1587 A. D. The date of Rajadhar's coin "Sak 1508" (1586 A D) now conclusively vindicates the authenticity of the original *Rajmala* and establishes the historical importance of the saga of the Tipperah kings. But as regards the date of accession of Jasodhara Manikya, the son and successor of Rajadhara Manikya we must confess that the original *Rajmala* is not in accord with the verdict of the coins. According o the former, Rajadhara reigned for three years at the end of which

PLATE



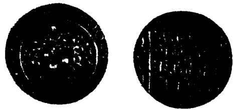
1



2



3



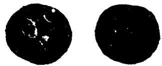
4



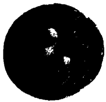
5



7



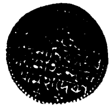
8



9



6



9

he was succeeded by Jasodhara in 1591 A. D. But if the more reliable numismatic evidence is to be accepted the period of Rajadhara's reign must have been fourteen years ending in 1600 A. D. when he was succeeded by Jasodhara. The information of Kailash Singh on this point is wholly untenable. He records the date of accession of Rajadhara, already mentioned, as 1611 A. D. and that of his son Jasodhara as 1613 A. D., thereby making both the kings contemporaries of the Mughul emperor Jahāngir (1605—27). But the original *Rajmala* records Jasodhara only as a contemporary of this emperor And the coins also establish that Rajadhara Manikya was a contemporary of Akbar (1556—1605) only and not of his son Jahāngir.

Another such discrepancy may be detected between the accounts of Kailash Singh and those of Kali Prosanna Sen, editor of the original *Rajmala*. Kailash Singh gives the date of accession of Vijoy Manikya as Sak 1457 (1535 A D) while according to Kali Prasanna Sen it would be Sak 1450 And the verdict of the coin concerned goes nearer to the view of the editor of *Rajmala* Though unfortunately the coin is heavily shroff-marked and the most important digit in the date figure—the last one—is almost obliterated except at the top, considering all the probabilities the digit seems to represent '1' So it seems to be fairly certain that the date of accession was Sak 1451 (1529 A. D).

While studying the Tipperah coins one thing should be borne in mind. Though the generally accepted view is that the kings of Tipperah used to strike coins at the time of their accessions only the editor of the *Rajmala* writes that there is evidence of the coins being struck even after their accession.[3] If it is true all the dates on the coins of Hill Tipperah cannot be accepted as representing the accession dates only.

The records of the Dacca Museum reveal that some of the coins of this collection were presented to the Museum by Mr. Brojendra Kumar Chaterjee, who was an Assistant Manager of the Tipperah Raj State.

[1] Kaliprasanna Sen, *Rajmala*, Vol II, p 33 (Introduction)

Coins hitherto unreviewed

1. Coin of Deva Manikya, son of Dhanya Manikya (Figure 1). silver, weight 161·6 gr., size ·75", date 1526 A. D.

Obverse—In a square :

Sri Sri Deva
Manikya Deva —
va Sri Padma
vati Devyau

"The illustrious Deva Manikya (and Queen) Padmavati".

Reverse—In a circle .

The rampant lion to right, ⌣ over the head of the lion. Below its feet 2[8]8. Two shroff marks and four ornamentation marks, one of them disfiguring the second digit of the date.

2. Coin of Vijoy Manikya, son of Deva Manikya (Figure 2), Silver, weight 161·1 gr, size 75", date 1529 A D

Obverse—In a square :

Sri Sri Vijoy
Manikya
Deva Sri Laksmi
Mahadevyau

"The illustrious Vijoy Manikya Deva (and Queen) Laksmi".

Reverse—In a circle .

The rampant lion to right, ⌣ over the head of the lion. Below its feet 28 Last two digits of the date are disfigured by shroff marks, but can be made out as 82 by careful study.

3 Coin of Govinda Manikya, son of Kalyan Manikya. (Figure 7)

A tiny silver coin, weight 19·3 gr. size. 5".

Obverse—In a square :

Sri Go-vinda.

"The illustrious Govinda (Manikya)".

Reverse :

In a circle within another of dots.

The rampant lion to left. ↺ over the lion. No date, apparently because of want of space.

4. Coin of Indra Manikya, son of Mukunda Manikya. (Figure 8). A silver quarter coin, weight 40·5 gr., size .6", date 1744 A. D.

Obverse—In a square :

Sri Sriju
ta + I
ndra Deva

"The illustrious Indra Deva".

Reverse: The rampant lion to left over the head of the lion. The word between the two four legs. Between the two hind legs and between one of them and the tail.

5. Coin of Kasichandra Manikya, son of Rajadhara Manikya. (Figure 9).

silver, weight 161·7 gr., size 1·1", date 1826 A.D.

Obverse: In a circle of dots

Siva Durga pa —
de Sri Srijuta Kasi —
chandra Manikya Deva
Sri Srimati Chandrare
kha Mahadevyau.

"In devotion to Siva and Durga the illustrious Kasichandra Manikya Deva (and) the illustrious (Queen) Chandrarekha Mahadevyau."

Reveres: In a circle of lotus petals.

The standing lion to left. Trident over the lion. Between the mouth and the four legs, between four legs and hind legs 91 and between the hind legs and tail 81.

THE NATURE OF THE AFGHAN MONARCHY AND THE POSITION OF THE AFGHAN CHIEFS

by

DR A. RAHIM, M.A. PH.D.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Afghāns of India remained essentially a tribal people in their nature, behaviour, social institutions and political ideas. So the monarchy they established in this land represented their tribal characteristics. Their quarrel some nature, their great attachment to their own tribes and tribal chiefs and their love of tribal independence determined the character of the monarchy.

The Afghān chiefs, secure in the allegiance of their respective tribes, enjoyed great power and position either as *jagirdars* or as courtiers of the Afghān kings. They looked upon the king as a comrade and only as a first among equals. Some of the Afghān rulers, (Ibrāhīm Lūdī, Islām Shāh and 'Ādil Shāh), however, tried to strengthen the position of the king for the sake of establishing an efficient centralised administration in the sultanate. This resulted in severe conflicts between two opposing forces—the idea of tribal independence held by the chiefs and the idea of strong monarachy and centralised government adopted by the kings

According to their own historian, Ni'matallāh, the Afghāns formed 345 tribes.[1] A few of them, the Lūdīs, Lūhānis, Sūrs, Farmūlīs, Sarwānis, Niyāzīs, Kākars, Karrānīs and others rose to political importance in the sub-continent.

The Afghān historian 'Abbās says that quarrelling, disputing and fighting were the chief characteristics of the Afghāns in the sixteenth century.[2] His evidence is corroborated by Sher Shāh's remark that it was customary with one Afghān tribe to destroy the other if the former had four more men than the latter.[3] Sher Shāh

[1] *Makhzan-i-Afghani* 205b.

[2] 'Abbas, India Office MS., 121a, BM M.S., 79b

[3] 'Abbas, India Office MS, 33b-34a; *Makhzan*, 96b.

در قبایل افغانان مقرر است که هر که ہ نفراز دیگر داردر هلاک
دیگری میکشته

often lamented over the factious nature of his people and repeatedly emphasised that they lost the sultanate to the Mughuls only because of their internal discords.[1] We accept the evidence of Sher Shāh not because he was an Afghān but because an examination of the causes of the fall of the Afghān sultanate in 1526 shows that their mutual quarrels became the main cause of their great misfortune. Some of the Afghān chiefs were so quarrelsome and unruly that they even fought among themselves even in the court of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil.[2] That they retained this feature even in the eighteenth century is seen from an answer given to Elphinstone by an Afghān, "We are content with discord, we are content with alarms, blood, we are content but we can never be content with a master."[3]

To a large extent their quarrels originated in their anxiety to take revenge for wrongs done to them. The blood-feuds sometimes continued for generations. Even in the reign of Sher Shāh, such a blood-feud was on the point of breaking out between the Sūrs and the Niyāzis over the death of Mubārak Khān Sūr. The prudence of Sher Shāh and the timely action of Ā'zam Humāyūn Niyāzī, however, saved the situation.[4]

A tribal people in behaviour and culture.

The social institutions of the Afghāns particularly marriage ceremonies reveal the tribal basis of their society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries They usually married within the tribe and disfavoured marriage outside the tribe. Numerous instances may be cited to show the prevalence of tribal marriage among the Afghāns. We shall, however, illustrate the point by a few typical examples.

Buhlūl's father Malik Kalā and Buhlūl himself married their cousins.[5] As the marriage of the Lūdī Afghāns took place within their tribe, so also other Afghāns used to marry within their own tribes. Islām Shāh Sūr,[6] Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr,[7] and Sikandar Khān

[1] *Ibid*. 29b.

[2] *Tabaqat*, II, 120-21-: Badayuni, I, 419-20.

[3] Dorn, Preface, vi.

[4] Abbas, BM., 77a-78b.

[5] *Ibid*. 317.

[6] Badayuni, I, 416.

[7] *Ibid*, 421; *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, 162a.

Sūr[1] married the daughters of Niẓām Khān Sūr, the younger brother of Sher Shāh. Sulaymān Karrānī's daughter married her cousin Hasan Karrānī.[2] 'Uthmān Lūhānī's daughter was married to his nephew Dā'ūd, a son of Sulaymān Lūhānī.[3] Walī Lūhanī married a daughter of Walī Mandūkhayl Lūhānī.[4]

There are instances to show that the Afghan disliked marriage outside the tribe. Mubārak Khān Sūr, a nephew of Sher Shāh, being enamoured of a beautiful daughter of Allāhdād Khān Niyāzī, proposed to marry her The Niyāzī chief, who considered his tribe to be more aristocratic in blood, refused the proposal of a member of the reigning Sūr family. Disappointed Mubārak, however, tried to force him; but this resulted in a bloody dispute and the death of Mubārak [5]

The Afghāns detested marriage with non-Afghāns. In 1561 on his way to Makkah, Bayrām Khān halted at Patan and arranged the betrothal of his son 'Abd al-Raḥīm with a daugther of Islām Shāh. The news of this betrothal displeased the Afghāns and they killed him.[6] Other factors, such as Afghān hatred towards the Mughuls and the desire of Mubārak Khān Lūhānī to avenge the death of his father in the battle of Machchīwārā, also contributed to the assassination of Bayrām Khān. But, considering that the Afghān chief Sher Khān Fūlādī received the fallen Mughul *wakīl* and a pilgrim as his guest and he afterwards connived at the murder, we are led to believe that the betrothel was the cause of his connivance.

Intermarriage should in exceptional cases take place. The Afghāns, however, denied the children of such marriages the status of a pure born Afghān. Islām Shāh Lūdī preferred his nephew Buhlūl to his son Quṭb Khān to be his successor as the latter was born of a non-Afghān mother ;and would not have been acceptable to the Afghāns.[7]

[1] *Tabaqat*, II, 172,

[2] *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, MS., 162,

[3] *Baharistan*, I, 173

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] 'Abbas, BM MS., 77-78b

[6] Badayuni, II, 45; *Akbarnamah* II, 131, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 93,

[7] Firishtah, I, 317, *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, 14b.

According to Elphinstone, tribal marriage prevailed among the Afghāns even in the early part of the nineteenth century.[1]

The Afghāns attached themselves to their respective tribal chiefs and settled on tribal lines so as to form different tribal zones in India. Islām Khān Lūdī, the governor of Sarhind under the Sayyid sultān of Delhi, had in his service 12,000 Afghāns of his own tribe.[2] Sher Shāh's grandfather Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr joined the service of Mahābat Khān Sūr and settled in Bajwara in the Panjab with his family and followers.[3] Most of the Sarwānīs attached themselves to their chief A'zam Humāyun Sarwanī, the *jagirdar* of Kānpūr, and they settled in that area.[4] We also learn that Ḥasan Khān Sūr, the father of Sher Shāh, attached to himself his relations and kindred as his followers.[5] The Niyāzī Afghāns are also found attached to their chiefs.[6] In a similar way, the Farmūlī, Lūhānī, Karrānī, Kākar and other Afghāns lived under their respective chiefs in the areas, which they held in *jagir*.

A picture of Afghān settlement on tribal lines and of their zones in India in the Lūdī period (1451-1526) may be obtained from the accounts of Rizq-allāh, whose father Sa'dallāh served Miyān Zayn al-Dīn and his sons at Agra for fifty-five years, His accounts are corroborated by Bābur, 'Abbās and other historians. In this period, the Shahukhayl Lūdīs of the family of Buhlūl were generally settled in Delhi, Agra, Kālpī, Chandwār and Lucknow.[7] Other branches of the Lūdīs, such as the Yūsufkhayls and the Sarangkhānīs settled in Lahur[8] and Jaunpur[9] respectively. Saran, Champāran, Awadh, Shāhābād, Thāneswar and Qannawj formed the zones of the Farmūlī Afghāns,[10] The Lūhānīs colonised Ghāzīpūr and Bihar.[11] Kanpur, Kara and Etāwah were the areas of the Sarwānī Afghāns.[12]

[1] Elphinstone—*An Account of the kingdom of Kabul*, I, 237
[2] Firishtah, I, 317.
[3] 'Abbas, BM. MS, 4b
[4] *Ibid*, 15b.
[5] *Tabaqat*, II, 87
[6] *Ibid*, 102
[7] and [8]. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 67b
[9] *Ibid*, 35a.
[10] *Ibid*, 65a; 'Abbas, 35b
[11] *Baburnamah* II, 523 and 527; 'Abbas, 6a and 7a; *Tabaqat*, I, 351.
[12] *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 34b; 'Abbas, 15b; *Baburnamah* II, 523.

The Sūrs were settled in the *parganahs* of Chand, Sahsaram and Khwāṣpūr Tāndā in south Bihar. [1]

The battle of Panipat in 1526 caused some Afghāns to settle outside the Mughul territories. Bābur, however, did not disturb the zones of those Afghāns, who submitted to his rule. He left Awadh, [2] Saran [3] and other places in the possession of the Farmūlīs. The Sarwānīs retained Kara. [4] Bābur also allowed the Lūhānīs [5] and the Sūrs [6] to hold their respective areas as they promised to be Loyal to the Mughul throne.

In the Sūr-Afghān period (1540-1556) also we see that the Afghāns settled on tribal lines The Sūrs lived in Dihlī, Chunar [7] and Gwalior. [8] The Sarwānīs settled in Lucknow, Kant, Gola and Tilhar [9]. Awadh and Qannawj continued to be zones of the Farmūlīs. [10] The Niyāzīs settled in the Panjab under their chief Ā'zam Humāyūn Haybat Khān. [11] The Karrānīs got their home in Khwaṣpur Tāndā and other Gangetic *parganahs* in south Bihar. [12] The Kākars colonised Milwat, Nagarkot and Dihdawal near the Jammu hills. [13] As the Lūdīs had sank in political importance we do not get any reference to their settlement in the contemporary records.

Even in the eighteenth century, the Afghāns settled in Ruhīlkhand on tribal lines. The Afghān historian Mahābat Khān writes that they belonged to 52 different tribes and each tribe had a separate *mahallah* (quarter in the city of Shājahanpūr, the early seat of their power in Ruhīlkhand. [14]

[1] 'Abbas, 6a and 7a; *Tabaqat*, II, 89 and 86
[2] 'Abbas BM. MS., 34b.
[3] *Baburnamah*, II 675.
[4] *Ibid*. 537; *Akbarnamah*, I, 104
[5] and [6] *Ibid* 659, 669, 676, 652.
[7] Sher Shah kept his treasure at Chunar 'Adil made it his capital.
[8] Islam Shah made Gwalior his capital
[9] 'Abbas, 70a and 57b The places mentioned are in Shahjahanpur district
[10] Badayuni, I, 419-20, *Tabaqat*, II, 120.
[11] 'Abbas, 70a
[12] Badayuni, I, 420 and *Tabaqat*, II, 121-22.
[13] 'Abbas, 70a. The places are between Kangra and Lahur.
[14] *Akhbar-i-Mahabbat*, 65b and District Gazetteer, Shahjahanpur.

The settlement of the Afghāns on tribal lines and their attachment to their respective tribal chiefs suggest that the latter, secure in the support of their own tribal peoples, could exercise great authority over the areas, which they received as *jagirs* from the king

Position of the chiefs as *jagirdars*:

Buhlūl Lūdī (1451-87), the founder of the Afghān sultanate parcelled out the kingdom among the Afghān chiefs, who had joined him in the conquest of the country and helped him against his enemies. When Dihlī was attacked by the Sharqī Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Jawnpūr, he invited the Afghān of Rūh saying, "God has given the kingdom of Dihlī to the Afghāns, but the other kings wish to expel them. Come to this country. The name of sovereignty will remain with me, but the territories we have acquired and may conquer will be shared among us as brothers."[1] True to this word, Buhlūl gave a *jagir* to every Afghān chief, who helped him.[2] As the powerful Farmūlī and Lūhānī chiefs came in large numbers and joined him in the conquest, he gave them one half of the kingdom in *jagirs* and assigned the other half to other Afghān tribes.[3]

Having acquired *jagirs*, the Afghān chiefs settled there on tribal lines. They considered the *jagirs* as theirs by right and not a favour from the king and they held possession of them in hereditary succession. We are informed that Awadh, which was the *jagir* of Miyān Kālā Pahār Farmūlī in the reign of Buhlūl Lūdī, passed in hereditary right to his daughter Fatḥ Malikah and her husband Muṣṭafā Farmūlī at the time of Ibrāhīm Lūdī.[4]

The Lūhānīs held their *jagir* in Bihar for three generations[5] and in the chieftainship Dariyā Khān was succeeded by his son Bihār Khān and then his grandson Jalāl Khān Farīd enjoyed his father's *jagir* in Sahsarām in hereditary succession. The family of

[1] 'Abbas, BM. MS., 3b.

سبحانه تعالی سلطنت ملک دهلی باافغانان عنایت نموده است

[2] *Ibid*. 4b.

[3] *Waqi'at-Mushtaqi*, 67b

[4] 'Abbas, 34b.

[5] *Makhzan*, 96b.

Dawlat Khān Lūdī Yusufkhayl held their *jagīr* in the Panjab for thirty years.[1] The other Afghans also maintained the same hereditary right in their *jagirs*.

The *jagirdars* enjoyed great authority over the area of their *jagirs*. Within them, they were practically supreme. As the deputy of his father, Farīd made new arrangements with the soldiers, the *zamindars* and the subjects.[2] The *jagirdar* could also divide his *jagir* among his sons. We see that Hasan Khān Sūr, in his life time, assigned separate *jagirs* to his sons [3] Shujā'at Khān also divided his *jagir* in Malwa among his sons [4]

The *jagirdars* kept troops of their own to maintain local peace and to help the king in time of need During the period of the Lūdī sultanate, Jamāl Khan Lūdī Sārangkhānī and his son Ahmad, the *jagirdars* of Jawnpur, maintained 20,000 horse.[5] Tātār Khān Lūdī Yusufkhayi, who had a *jagir* in the Panjab, commanded 15,000 cavalry [6] Muhammad Khān Sūr, the *jagirdar* of Chawnd, and Hasan Khan Sur, the *jagirdars* of Sahsarām, kept 1,500 and 500 horses respectively.[7] The powerful Sarwānī chief Ā'zam Humāyūn maintained 45,000 cavalry and 700 elephant in Karā.[8]

The big *jagirdars* could delegate their military authority to a number of subordinate chiefs with assignments of *jagirs* and thus create their respective groups of loyal lieutenants In the reign of Sikandar Lūdī (1487-1517), Ā'zam Humāyun Sarwānī made Sayf Khān, Dawlat Khan, 'Alī Khān and Fīrūz Khān his subordinate chiefs by conferring on them the command of 6,000, 4,000, and 6,000 respectively.[9] Jamāl Khān Lūdī also gave Hasan Sūr the command of 5,000 and a *jagir* in Sahsaram.[10]

[1] *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, 89 *Baburnamah*, I, 439—40

[2] *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, 86a

[3] 'Abbas, 16b

[4] *Tabaqat*, III. 421, *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, I, 196.

[5] *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 35a, Abbas, 6, says that Ahmad maintained 12,000 horse.

[6] *Daudi*, MS 27.

[7] 'Abbas, 6a and 17a; *Tabaqat*, II, 86 and 89

[8] *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 34b.

[9] *Ibid*. 35a.

[10] 'Abbas, 6a.

The soldiers of the *jagirdars* were the men of their tribes. They were also paid by them in fiefs [1] Being the men of their tribes and paid by them, the soldiers were naturally attached to the chiefs and the *jagirdars*.

Jagirdars **in the Sur period**:

In the Sūr-Afghan period (1540-56) also, the *jagir* system and the ideas of the time of the Lūdīs regarding the *jagir* prevailed. Sher Shāh restored the Afghān sultanate with the help of the Afghān chiefs and as such he had to satisfy them by the grant of *jagirs*. The evidence that may be gathered from the contemporary sources shows that he gave them *jagirs*.

In the reign of Sher Shāh (1540-45), Shuja'at Khān held Malwa in *jagir*.[2] We knew that at first Sher Shāh assigned the *parganahs* of Kānt, Golā and Tilhar as a *jagir* to 'Īsā Khān Sarwānī and later on the *sarkar* of Sambhal was added to his area.[3] The Karrānīs received Khwāṣpūr Tāndā and the Gangetic *parganahs* in south Bihar as their *jagir*.[4] In 1542 after Khiḍr Khān's rebellion Sher Shāh divided Bengal in *jagirs* among some tribal chiefs. [5]

The Niyāzīs had their *jagirs* in the Punjab and Multan. The area under them was a fairly big one. They were at the same time, however, a turbulent and ambitious people. 'Abbās says that Sher Shāh intended to remove the Niyāzīs from the Punjab, but before he could do this he died.[6] We, however, see that it was not his death but rather the dictates of prudence and military necessity which prevented Sher Shāh from removing the Niyāzīs. The powerful Niyāzī chief Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Niyāzi, who had distinguished himself in many a campaign of Sher Shāh and in the conquest of Multan, ranked as one of the pillars of the restored sulṭanate. Prudence forbade him from alienating such a powerful chief. Moreover, the defence of the north-west frontier against Humāyūn

[1] *Ibid.* 8b; *Tabaqat*, I, 335.

[2] 'Abbas, BM.MS. 71a and 75a

[3] *Ibid.* 70a.

[4] Badayuni, I. 420; *Tabaqat*, II. 121-22.

[5] *Ibid.* 365; Firishtah, I, 425. 'Abbas, India Office MS, 87b, 'Abbas says that Sher Shah established ملوک طوائف in Bengal

[6] 'Abbas. BM.MS., 79a-b,

who was in exile demanded that the Punjab should be in the hands of a powerful chief and in a tranquil state.

The *jagirdars* of the Sūr period also kept their own troops. 'A'ẓam Humāyun Niyāzī commended 30,000 horse[1] and Shujā'at Khān 12,000 horse[2] We are informed that, while conferring Sambhal on 'Īsā Khān Sarwānī, Sher Shāh asked him to keep an additional cavalry force of 5,000 to maintain peace in the troublesome Sambhal area.[3] The *jagirdars* also paid their soldiers in tiefs[4].

The idea that the *jagir* was a family property of the chief prevailed until the end of the Sūr rule in Northern India. In 1553 Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh held a *darbar* at Gwalior to carry out a scheme of the redistribution of *jagirs*. In the *darbar* he proposed the transfer of Qannawj from the Farmūlīs to the Sarbānīs. Sikandar Khān Farmūlī protested against the interference of the sulṭān in their *jagirs*, which they held from the time of Sher Shāh. This affair resulted in a bloody dispute in the *darbar* and the loss of several lives.[5] This incident illustrates how the Afghan chiefs throughout the entire period of the Afghān rule maintained that they held their *jagirs* by right and not by royal favour.

The hold of the Afghān chiefs on their tribes and their great power over their *jagirs* naturally limited the authority of the Afghān king in the localities. Indeed it may be said that the chiefs established semi-independent political units within the kingdom.

The role of the Afghan chiefs in the royal succession:

The Afghān chiefs exercised great influence in the political questions of their sultanate The significant role they played in the affairs of succession to the throne suggests that the Afghān king was really chosen by them. The reigning king might nominate his successor. He would, however, nominate such a person, who would be acceptable to the chiefs. Even then the chiefs could accept or reject him and place some other relation of the deceased king on the throne.

[1] 'Abbas, BM MS, 77a

[2] *Ibid*, 65b

[3] *Ibid* 70a.

[4] *Ibid*. 70a and 75a.

[5] *Tabaqat*, II, 120-21, Badayuni, I, 419-20; Firishtah, I, 439.

Islām Khān Lūdī, who for the first time united the Afghāns under his leadership, nominated his nephew Buhlūl Lūdī rather than his son Quṭb Khān to be his successor as the latter would not have been acceptable to his people.[1] This shows that the Afghan leader had respect for the opinion of his brethren. In spite of this, the Afghāns were not unanimous in the acceptance of Buhlūl.[2] By his tact and personality, Buhlūl however, made himself acceptable to them. Even when he became the acknowledged leader and monarch of the Afghāns, he behaved with them in such a way as to show that he had been a choice of his people and that he held the high office at their pleasure.[3]

The accession of Sikandar Lūdī is an instance which illustrates that the Afghān chiefs had their choice in succession. When Buhlūl Lūdī died they sat in assembly to decide whom they should place on the throne. At that time the elder prince Bārbak was at Jawnpūr and the third Sikandar was in Dihlī. A few of the chiefs favoured the successiūn of Bārbak, while others wanted to place Ā'ẓam Humāyūn, the son of the eldest prince Bāyazīd who had died, on the throne. Nobody made any mention of Sikandar, who is said to have been nominated successor by Buhlūl.[4] Seeing that her son's case was going by default, Sikandar's mother spoke, from behind the curtain, about the qualities of her son and presented his case to the assembled chiefs. 'Isā Khān Lūdī retorted that the throne was not for the son of a goldsmith's daughter.[5] Khān Khānān Farmūli, one of the influential chiefs, objected to such harsh language towards the wife of the late king. This caused a quarrel between the two chiefts. Khān Khānān Famūli swore that he would support the succession of Sikandar. As he commanded the respect of the majority of the chiefs, they chose Sikandar for the throne and invited him accordingly. Sikandar came in haste to Jalālī and ascended the throne.

In 1517 after the death of Sikandar, the majority of the chiefs favoured the succession of Ibrāhīm Lūdī, who was noted for his

[1] Firishtah, I. 317 ; *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, 14b.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See p. 9.

[4] Firishtah .I. 329 ; Daudi. MS., 27,

[5] *Ibid.* Sikandar's mother was a goldsmith's daughter.

intelligence, bravery and praiseworthy qualities. [1] Accordingly Ibrāhīm succeeded to the throne. A few of the chiefs, however, placed his younger brother Jalāl on the thorne at Jawnpūr. It was after much fight that Jalāl was eliminated and Ibrāhīm became undisputed monarch.[2]

Sūr Period :

In the Sūr Afghān monarchy also we see the great influence of the Afghān chiefs in succession. It was by championing the Afghān national cause against the Mughuls that Sher Shāh became the leader of Afghāns.[3] In 1539 he defeated Humāyūn at Chausa. This made him supreme in Bengal, Bihar and territories upto Qannawj and placed him well on the road to Agra and Dihlī In recognition of the quality of his leadership and his service to the cause of the Afghāns, 'Isā Khān Sarwānī proposed in an assembly of the Afghan chiefs to make him their king. Miyān Babin Lūdī and other chiefs unanimously consented and Sher Shāh accepted the offer saying, "The kingship is an exalted office and is not devoid of trouble, but since the noble minds of my friends have decided to make me king, I agree " [4] This shows that the Afghan chiefs chose Sher Shāh to be their king.

In 1545 the installation of Islām Shāh, the second son of Sher Shāh, in preference to his eldest son and nominated successor 'Ādil Khān, is another instance showing the great influence of the Afghān chiefs in succession in the Sūr Afghān sultanate [5] The assassination of Islām Shāh's son and successor Fīrūz on the third day of accession in 1553 and the raising of Muhammad 'Ādil on the throne by the chiefs[6] confirms our belief that the Afghan king was really the choice of the Afghān chiefs,

Later instances also show the great position of the Afghan chiefs in the monarchy Sikandar Khān Sūr, after being elevated to the throne in 1554, addressed the chiefs in the following words, "I regard myself as one of you. If you think me incapable of rule let an abler head and a stronger arm be elected from among you that I may also

[1] Firishtah, I, 329 and *Tabaqat*, I, 314.
[2] *Tabaqat*, I, 341-42.
[3] 'Abbas, BM. MS., 35b and India Office MS., 32b.
[4] *Ibid*, " " 48a , " " 73a-b.
[5] See Chapter III.
[6] See Chapter IV

swear allegiance to him." [1] This indicates that, even down to the end of the Sūr rule, the Afghan chiefs controlled the succession to the throne and that the idea that the king was an equal of the chiefs held sway.

The position of the chiefs as leaders of the tribes and as *jagirdars* and their significant role in the important political question, such as succession to the throne, suggest that the Afghān monarchy in India was really an oligarchy of the chiefs presided over by the monarch. The chiefs used to look upon the king as one of their equals and they would accord him the honours of a leader in war rather than of a master in peace. So, Dr Tripathi remarks that the Afghān monarchy was a sort of confederation of the tribes presided by the king.[2] Even in the eighteenth century, the state of Ruhīlkhand established by 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Ruhīlā was based on *jagirs* and was really a confederacy of the Afghan chiefs with the *nawwab* as their leader.[3] A study of the relations between Buhlūl Lūdī and the chiefs will show that the founder of the first Afghān monarchy in India gave the chiefs equal status with the king

At the time of the establishment of the Afghān kingdom in Northern India, Buhlūl promised to share the conquered territories among the chiefs as brothers.[4] The *jagirs* that he gave them show that he kept his promise. He even divided the royal treasure among them.[5] Buhlūl also behaved towards his chiefs as friend and never gave himself an air of superiority over them. Either in public or private audiences, he did not sit on a throne and sat on a carpet along with the chiefs. Headdressed them as *Masnad-i-'Ali*, i.e., Your Excellencies, and never issued to them a *farman* savouring of command. If anyone of them was displeased with him he would go to his house and, placing his sword and turban before him, he would say, "If you think me unworthy of the office, choose someone

[1] Firishtah, I, 343-44, Khwafi Khan, I, 215.

[2] Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, 83

[3] Rahman, *The rise and fall of the Rohila power* 13.

[4] 'Abbas, BM. MS., 3b and India Office MS., 3a-3b Babur (*Waqi'at-i-Baburi*, 389) says that six or seven chiefs including Tatar Khan Ludi occupied Hindustan and made Buhlul their king. Tatar Khan occupied the territories of the Punjab

[5] Firishtah, I, 328.

else and give me some other office.'* Buhlūl would eat in their company and would not ride a horse better than those of the chiefs. Such was the founder of the Afghān monarchy in India and his relationship with the chiefs. In fact, Buhlūl, being the first, became the traditional model of a sulṭān of the Afghāns in India.

We wonder why Buhlūl established such a monarchy in which the position of the chiefs was enhanced beyond measure and the dignity of the king was greatly lowered. Indeed he had difficulties in establishing an absolutism of the monarch. The self-willed Afghān chiefs, who valued their tribal independence more than anything else and would not favour an institution, which would have made them servants of the king. Secondly the Afghān kingdom established with the help of the Afghān chiefs depended on their co-operation with the king. Buhlūl's kingdom was essentially an Afghān kingdom in which the non-Afghan section of the people had neither any concern nor any interest. In view of this fact, Buhlūl had to fashion his monarchy in such a way that it might secure him the whole-hearted support of the chiefs at all times. Besides, as the Afghāns in India numbered only a few lakhs[1] he could not afforded to create divisions among them by forcing on them the institution of absolute monarchy. Lastly, Buhlūl himself was a born Afghān and would not be expected to revolt against his own instinct and upbringing

It cannot, however, be denied that in has desire to please the Afghan chiefs, Buhlūl lowered the position of the king more than was necessary. He could have kept on good terms with them without raising them up as equals. By such conduct as sitting on a carpet with them, addressing them as *Masnad-i-'Ali* and asking their forgiveness by putting off the turban, Buhlūl un necessarily humiliated the monarchy. As the first Afghān king he could have given kingship more dignity and could have handed on a better tradition for his successors. His actions towards the chiefs reveal him as an average

[1] Firishtah, I, 328.

اگر لائق نمیدانید این کار دیگر اختیار بکنند ومرا کاری دیگر فرمایند ۔

tribal chief devoid of any political knowledge and ideas. His conduct created a dangerous precedent for his successors.

Sikandar Lūdī (1489-1517) perceived that the great power of the chiefs was an obstacle in the way of an efficient administration and the stability of the kingdom So he wanted to check their power and improve the position of the king. He, however, proceeded very cautiously. Sikandar would not sit on the throne in the presence of the great chiefs.[1] He would also alight from his horse to receive them.[2] At the same time, he took steps to introduce a mild control over them. He provided for inspecting and auditing the revenue accounts of the chiefs.[3] But he did not push it too far.[4] 'Abdullāh says that Sikandar allowed them to settle their accounts with the finance department in a manner most convenient to themselves [5]

Still they clamoured against this interference of the king in their affairs. Sikandar's tact and ability had however, silenced their opposition.

The conflict of ideas that originated at the time of Sikandar came to a head in the reign of his son and successor Ibrāhīm Lūdī (1517-26). In his reign, the great power of Afghān chiefs became a positive danger to the Afghān monarchy. They challenged his authority by instituting his younger brother Jalāl as a rival king in Jawnpūr. They even ignored his orders. Ibrāhīm appointed Miyān Myakhan to the command in place of Miyān Ḥusayn Farmūlī in the campaign against Rana Sanga of Mewar. Miyān Ḥusayn, however, could not tolerate it. He joined the Rana and helped him in defeating the forces of Miyān Makhan.

Ibrāhīm felt that the kingdom could neither be made stable nor be efficiently governed if the Afghān chiefs were allowed to have unchecked power. He also came to the throne with his own ideas of raising the power and dignity of the king and of placing him as an impartial head of the kingdom. Hence we find him proclaiming that the king had no friend or relations and that all were servants of royalty. Firishtah has introduced the above statement to show

[1] *Daudi*, BM.MS., 56a; *Shahi*, 78-79.

[2] Firishtah, I, 329.

[3] *Ibid* 331.

[4] *Ibid*, 334-35; Briggs-Firishtah, 574.

[5] *Daudi*, BM. MS. 24a.

the arrogance of Ibrāhīm Lōdī, who departed from the manners and practices of his father and grandfather.[1] We, however, find in it the spirit of a dutiful king, who wanted to be the king of all the people of the kingdom irrespective of race and to give them the benefits of an orderly and efficient government.

The ideas of Ibrāhīm Lōdī naturally brought him into conflict with the ideas of the chiefs, who would not redily consent to part with their power and privileges. His ideas made them his bitter enemies. Ibrahim, however, was not daunted; he proceeded boldly to crush the opposition. He nearly succeeded. The defeated and humiliated chiefs, however, in their rage, forgot their common interests as Afghans and by inviting Bābur to India, they caused the destruction of the Afghān monarchy at the battle of Panipat in 1526.

Ibrāhīm Lōdī was, no doubt, intelligent and able and was inspired by a sound idea of introducing an efficient administration in the kingdom There were, however, defects in the method of attaining that object He was uncompromising in principle and hasty in action. He did not allow for the prejudices of the Afghān chiefs. The chiefs were also uncompromising in their ideas So, the inevitable result of the conflict of two uncompromising ideas was to confound them both

Sher Shāh's reign.

In Sher Shāh Sūr's Afghān sultanate also, we see that the tribal associations of the Afghāns, their ideas regarding the *jagirs* and the great position of the chiefs as *jagirdars* and courtiers continued to exist. Being favoured by circumstances, Sher Shāh, however, established a comparatively stronger monarchy than that of Buhlūl Lōdī.

Sher Shah's was a restored Afghān sultanate After fifteen years of misfortune, his leadership restored sovereignty of Northern India to the Afghāns. Naturally they looked upon him as their great saviour and reposed confidence in his intelligence and wisdom.[2] His love and care for them endeared him all the more to them. Badāyunī says that Sher Shāh would not give the head of a soldier

[1] Firishtah, I, 347.

[2] 'Abbas, MB.MS., 48a and India Office MS., 72a

even for a kingdom.[1] So, when in the battle of Jodhpur a few Afghān soldiers were killed Sher Shāh said, "I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindustan for a handful of *bajra* (a kind of grain)"[2] 'Abbās writes that Sher Shāh gave the Afghān *jagirs* or stipends in such a scale that everyone of them whether in India or in Rūh became a man of substance.[3]

Moreover, the brilliant victories and conquests of Sher Shāh held the Afghāns spell-bound and they brought fresh fortune to them. The conquests also diverted their attention from the internal affairs to the theatres of war and the wealth of new territories. Being thus diverted, the Afghāns did not realise how much power was being quietly engrossed by the monarchy

Favourable circumstances as well as his prudence and sagacity enabled Sher Shāh to establish a stronger monarchy than that of Buhlūl. This is seen in some of his measures. A few of his coins mention him as Khalīfatuzzamān,[4] *i.e.*, the caliph of the age, showing that Sher Shāh did not own even theoretical allegiance to the caliph of Islām. In view of the fall of the caliphate in 1517 at the hands of the Ottoman sulṭan Salīm, the institution of caliphate had lost its significance So, the assumption of the title of caliph by Sher Shāh did not mean much from the point of view of the relationship of a Muslim king with the caliphate; it, however, contained some implications regarding his relations with his people. The assumption of the title of Khalīfatuzzamān meant that Sher Shāh wanted to be more than an Afghān king in the tradition of Buhlūl Lūdī.

We notice in Sher Shāh's scheme of dividing the empire into *Sarkars* and in the introduction of revenue reforms and branding regulations a tendency towards centralised administration under the direct control of the king. Sher Shāh however acted very cautiously and made concessions where necessary. He granted *jagirs* to the chiefs and allowed them to maintain forces. He left Ā'ẓam Humāyun Niyāzī in the Punjab and Multan though he would have liked to remove him from such a big area.[5] Sher Shāh also exempted

[1] Badayuni, I, 368.
[2] 'Abbas, India Office MS., 100a; *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, 140b.
[3] *Ibid*, 113b; ... 74b. ... ...
[4] Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 109.
[5] See p. 11.

Islām Khān from the branding system as the latter did not like that his horses should be branded.[1]

This shows that Sher Shāh did not push far his idea of centralisation and he made allowance for the sentiments and prejudices of the Afghan chiefs. So, there was no occasion for his conflict with them. His son and successor Islām Shāh, however, carried his ideas of centralisation too far and hence his reign witnessed a bitter conflict of two opposing forces

[1] 'Abbas, India Office Ms., 84b ; BM. Ms., 55b.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT SHOWING RESEARCH WORK WHICH IS BEING DONE IN THE SUB-CONTINENT

Note—This is in continuation of the statement published in Vol. IV, No. 1

Name of Institution	Problem or subject on which work is being done	Name of the scholar	Remarks
1. University of Dacca	Pre-history and Proto History of Eastern India	Dr. A. Dani	
	Muslim Architecture of Bengal	do.	
	History and Monuments of Dacca	do	
	Early Muslim History of Bengal	do.	
	The Buwaihid dynasty of Baghdad	Dr. M. Kabir	
	Cultural development under Buwaihids	do.	
	Bengal under Independent Sultans	Mr, A. Karim	
	Hindu Revival Movement during 18th & 19th Centuries	Dr A Halim	
	Economic, Cultural & Artistic History of Hind-Pakistan during 15th & 16th Centuries	do.	
	Minor Provincial Dynasties—The Khanzadas of Mewat and the Khokhars	do.	
	Bengal during the reign of Shah Jahan	do.	
	A History of Indo-Pakistan music	do.	
2. University of Dehli	Means of Transport and Communications during the Medieval Period	Syed Hasan Mehdi	

Name of Institution	Problem or subject on which work is being done	Name of the scholar	Remarks
3. University of Hyderabad	A Survey of Larkana District		
	Shibli		
	Persian poetesses of Iran and India		
	Muslims in India (1857-85) A political study		
	Do (1917-47) Do		
	Cultural State of Muslims and their Achievements during the Kalhora and Talpur periods		
	Development of *sufistic* thought in Sind		
	Amar bin-'Aas		
	The Independent Arab Kingdom of Mansura in Sind		
	Cultural Achievements during the Umayad Period		
	Alauddin Khalji—His life and times	Prof Qudratullah Khan	
4. University of Agra	Malwa in *Transition*—A Century of Anarchy	Raghubir Singh	
	History of Shujaud Daulah	Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava	
	History of Early Chawhan Dynasty	Dashrat Sharma	
	Relations between the Supreme Court and the Governor General and Council and the Courts of the Company between 1774-1803	J. S. Rawat	
	Mutiny in Central India—Malwa	K. L. Srivastava	

History of Aryan Expansion in India during Vedic Age	P. L. Bhargava
Abul Fazal and his Times	S A. A. Rizvi
Sir George Barlow in India	B. N. Mehta
Mewar and of The Moghul Emperors (1526-1707)	G. N. Sharma
Toynbee's Philosophy of History	Buddha Parkash
All India Muslim Leage—Its History, activities and achievements	Lal Bahadur
Armies of East India Company in the Presidency of Bengal (1757-1857)	J P Gupta
Anglo-Maratha Relations, (1772-83)	S. P. Verma
Influence of European Foreign Politics on India	Shri Ram Tyagi
Liberal Party as a factor in Indian Politics and Statesmanship	Bisheshwar Dyal Shukla
History and Administration of Agra Province (1834-58).	Dharma Bhanu
Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in 16th and 17th Centuries	S A. A Rizvi
Ibn-Khaldun's Philosophy	Budha Parkash
History of Malwa	G C Sughandhi
History of N W. Provinces. (1803-53)	V R. Chaterji
Influence of Contemporary British Politics on Indian Constitutional history	B.N. Verma

Name of Institution	Problem and subjects on which work is being done	Name of the scholar	Remarks
4. University of Agra—*contd.*	Social Life as depicted in Sutras	A.N. Pandey	
	The relations of Mewar and Marathas	P.S. Mehta	
	Famines and Famine Policy of Government of India (1858-1918)	H.S. Srivastava	
	Main Trends of Indian Culture (1772-1856)	M.L. Vidyarthy	
	The Foreign and Diplomatic Policy of First Earl of Minto in India (1807-13)	S.K Singh	
	Organization and Functioning of the Governor-General's Executive Council in the Pre-Mutiny Period	D N Gaind	
	Jain Sources of the History of Ancient India	J.P. Jain	
	The Indian Administration of Lord Elgin II (1894-99)	M L. Gupta	
	Administration of Lord Hastings (1813-23)	Moti Chand Jain	
	The Centralization of Authority in India (1838-1861)	Shyam Kumari Joshi	
	Pre-Mutiny Afghan Policy of British India	P D Pathak	
	Architecture in Mdhya Bharat	B.L N R Luniya	
	Administration of Lord Curzon	Mahendrapati Yadav	
	Akbar's Relations with Deccan	Sushil Kumar Srivastava	
	Political Relations of the East India Company with Indian States under Sir John Shore	Kundan Lal Sharma	

	Post-Mutiny Settlements in India (1858-70)	Troloki Nath
	Life and Times of Raja Chhatarsal Bundela	Purshotam Lal Saxena
	Lord Wellesley and Awdh	Chaman Singh Bhalla
	The War of Independence in Awadh (1857-58)	Ram Shankar Tiwari
	The Ruhelas and the Rampur State till 1858	Sham Saroop
	History of Home Rule India	Gopi Nath
	Life as depicted in the Khujraho Sculptures	Smti. Umrila Agarwal
	The War of Indian Independence in Ganga Jamuna Doab (1857-58)	P.N. Mukerji
	The History of Tehri-Garhwal (1816-1949)	Km. Sushilla Bhatnagar
	The Rising of 1857 in Bundelkhand	B R. Misra
5. University of Lahore	Monograph on Muslim Inscription	Dr Abdullah Chugtai
	Inscriptions Fill in Missing Links in History	do.
	Historical Inscriptions in Urdu Language	do.
	Historical Documents of Aurangzeb's Period	do.
	Lahore's Six hundred years old Idgah	do.
	The Largest Dome with a Whispering Gallery	do.
	Inscriptions as an important sourse of History	do.
	Alamgiri *Band*	do.
	Book Trade in the Early period of Islamic History	do.

Name of Institution	Problem and subjects on which work is being done	Name of the Scholar	Remarks
5. University of Lahore—*contd*	Kangra Valley Painting	Dr Abdullah Chagthai	
	Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi	do.	
	The Architect of the Taj and its place in the World Architecture	do.	
	Kashmir in the light of Islamic History	do.	
	Geronimo Veronco was not the Architect of the Taj	do.	
	Lahore is the First Mughul Garden	do.	
	The Anarkali Myth	do.	
	Badshahi Masjid, Lahore	do	
	Sarw Wala Maqbara	do.	
	Bahadur Khan's Tomb	do	
	Lahore ke Athar-i-Qadima	do	
	History of Repairs of Taj Mahal	do	
	A Comprehensive History of Lahore	do.	
	Indo-Muslim Architecture	do.	
	Routes adopted by the Invaders from the North	do.	
	Promotion of Printing under the Mughul Rule	do.	
	A Survey of Muslim Calligraphy	do.	

6. Government College Campbellpur	War of Succession under Shah Jehan	Mr. Iftikhar Ahmad Ghauri
7. Government College Lahore	History of Muslim separation in India (1857-1947)	Dr A Hamid
8. Islamia College, Lahore	The Life & Work of Sultan Ghiassuddin Balban.	Prof. Shamsuddin
9. Dyall Sing College, Lahore	Qutbuddin Aibak and his Times	Prof. Shujauddin
10. C. M. H., Jhelum	A Collophon of Futuh-al-Harmain of Mohy Lari	Lt. Col. K A. Rashid
	The Persian Inscription of Margalla	do.
	Mutashabihat of Holy Qur'an—Historical and philosophical portion	Khwaja Abadullah Akhtar
11. Department of Archaeology, West Pakistan	Mansraj	Muhammad Waliullah Khan, Superintendent
	A Study into the Architectural Methods and Processes during the Mughuls	do.
	Hasan Abdal and its Monuments	do
	Tomb of Prince Parvez, Lahore	do.
	Colour decorations in Lahore Fort	Mr. Iftikhar-ud-Din, Assistant Superintendent
	Pir Roshni	do.
	Developement of Minar in Mosque	do.
12. Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Karachi	Arab Invasion on Southern Europe	Najmuddin Ahmad Shakeb
13. Dacca College, Dacca	Shah Shuja's administration in Bengal	Prof. Nurul Karim

LIST OF RESEARCH SCHOLARS

Name of Institution	Problem and subjects on which work is being done	Name & Designation of the scholar	Remarks.
Central Records Office Peshawar	Khushal Khan Khattak	Dost. Mohammad Khan Kamil, Advocate Peshwar	
do.	Economy of the NWFP	S. M Idris, Asstt. Prof, Govt. Islamia College, Peshawar	
do.	Economic conditions of NWFP	Mohammad Ismail Sethi, Lecturer, Govt Islamia College, Peshawar	
do	History of the Tribes	Afzal Iqbal, Station Director Radio Pakistan, Peshawar	
do.	Economics of NWFP	H. L Phillips, Vice Principal Edwardes College, Peshawar	
do.	Economic Developments of NWFP	Miss Asif Jan Zuberi, Lecturer Govt, College for Women, Peshawar	
do.	The Wahabis of Hind-Pakistan	Dr. Mahmood Husain, Professor of History, Karachi University	
do.	Abul Fazal (Thesis for Doctorate)	Zahurruddin Ahmad, Lecturer Govt. College, Lahore	
do.	History of Hazara District	Dr. Sher Bahadur Khan. D. I. G Prisons, Peshawar	
do	History of Nowshera Cantt	A. I. Durrani, Executive Officer Nowshera Cantt	

do.	History of Mardan Cantt	Malik Mohammad Siddiq, Executive Officer, Risalpur & Mardan Cantt
do.	Afghan wars (Thesis for Doctorate)	Mr Mazharul Haq, Lecturer Govt. Islamia College, Peshawar
do.	Urdu in Sarhad (Thesis for Doctorate)	Miss Sardar Haider, Lecturer Govt. College for Women, Peshawar
do.	Archives of the Mughal Empire	Mr. S M. Jaffar, Director of Archives, Peshawar
	Tarikh-i-Sarhad (Urdu)	

Notes : It is requested that information may kindly be supplied by the institutions or scholars concerned for statements to be published in future.

Reviews

Tarikh-i-Da' wat wa 'Azimat, Part I

By

Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi· Matba' Ma' Arif, Azamgarh.

Mulana S Abul Hasan has selected an interesting subject for his book. We have voluminous literature on Islam as far as history and biographies are concerned. The modren scholar can very well utilize this invaluable treasure of informa'ion for the history of social, cultural, religious and economic movements which have contributed to the growth of Islamic civilization. The book under review is an attempt in this direction The author refers to the subject of his book as 'a history of reform and the lives of prominent leaders.' The latter phase, however has received greater attention and the author has scrupulously avoided the discussion and criticism of the actual movements of reform in various periods He has confined his remarks to bringing to light the efforts that have been made by the various reformers and presenting them in the context of contemporory times The selection of reformers has been made on a broad basis and contains, besides thinkers scholars and the mashaikh, some of the noted princes and statemen

The present volume comes up to the period of the famous mystic poet, Mawlānā Jalāl-al-Dīn Rūmī The author seems to have made an extensive use of original authorities and has taken considerable pains in selecting relevent material from a number of well-known works. An attempt has been made to determine the views and ideas of the various thinkers in the light of their own works and sayings; in case where this has not been possible reference has been made to their pupils, friends or contemporaries. For lengthy and frequent quotations the author gives a justification: it is difficult to appreciate the position of the writer in the ranks of reformers or to get a deep insight into the trends of his thought without reading the relevent quotations in original.

It is rather surprising that the author speaks of the enormous biographical literature on Islam merely as "catalogues of events

with princes as central figures." These remarks are made in connection with the elucidation of the fact that there are no books dealing with the history of Muslim thought and religious reforms; but they are likely to give an impression that the Muslims do not posses enough material for the study of their cultural heritage. This of course is far from the truth One has to be careful in making statements which appear to signify what perhaps one does not mean. Never-the-less, in view of the scope and the nature of its subject, the *Tarihk-i-Da' wat wa 'Azimat* is a laudable and, to a large extent, a successful attempt. It will be read with interest by the students of Islamic history and culture. It would have added to the value of the book if a bibliography had been added.

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume IV

Part I

JULY 1956

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

The *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* is published in January, April, July, and October. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by the contributors.

Annual subscription (excluding postage) ... Rs. 10/- (Pakistani)
Single copy ... ... Rs. 3/-

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume IV Part III

JULY 1956

Edited by

DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

CONTENTS

SOME THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE OF PAKISTAN

by

ERWIN BIRNBAUM, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the eight years of its existence Pakistan has gained the respect of the nations. From feeble beginnings it has developed into a power that no interested nation can overlook.

The tremendous strides Pakistan has been making in the economic, military and political fields are accompanied by the unceasing aspiration of giving concrete expression to the tradition of Islam in the form of an Islamic State. In this paper I am trying to describe and analyze some concrete happenings, attitudes and feelings that accompany the process of transition from the Islamic tradition to a twentieth century mechanized society on a national scale.

The body of the essay is divided into two sections, the historical background and the character of Pakistan. While the treatment of the first section is purely historical and, as far as possible, chronological, an attempt has been made to emphasize in different subsections three of the basic factors that shaped Pakistan : modernization (Ch. IIA), nationalism (Ch. IIB), and communalism (Ch. IIC).

The second section, which is the main part of the essay, is rather analytical. Great attention has been given to the term "Islamic State," to the changes in emphasis from "Islamic" to "State" within the country, to the question of *ijtihad* (Ch. IIIA : Adjustments in Islamic Law). The discussion about the "Religious State and Islamic State" (Ch. IIIA), was added only after much hesitation in full knowledge of the opposition it might arouse. More concrete and descriptive parts deal with the economic achievements of Pakistan (Ch. IIIB : Some Concrete Achievements of the Islamic

State). While only indirectly linked to the problem of the "Islamic State," it seemed important to emphasize that Pakistan is a healthy State, facing virtually the same problems that any other mordern nation does.

In its scope, the paper deals with the first seven years of Pakistan, from its birth, in 1947, till after the adoption of the Basic Principles Committee Report in 1954 by the Constituent Assembly.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND : SOCIAL FORCES DETERMINING THE FUTURE CHARACTER OF THE STATE

Muslims on the Indian Subcontinent and the Impact of the British Rule upon Them

Muslims in India

About the same time that Muslim contingents crossed the Mediterranean into Spain, we see the first assertion of Muslim power on the Indian subcontinent. The period of Muslim Power in India, which began in 712 with the conquest of Sind, lasted until 1857, when the Mughul dynasty fell and the British formally took over the administration of the subcontinent.

The rule of the first six Mughul Emperors is undoubtedly the highpoint of the history of the subcontinent until the creation of Pakistan. One of them, Akbar (1556-1605), aspired to base his power on the loyalty of all his subjects, irrespective of their race or religion. By increasing the number of appointments of Hindus to positions of great responsibility, by prohibiting the collection of the *jizyah*, a tax claimed only from the non-Muslims, and by declaring the slaughter of the cow—an animal sacred in the eyes of the Hindus—as illegal, he incurred the anger of the orthodox Muslims, but he gained thereby the appreciation of the majority of the population.

One other ruler of the period of glory deserves special mention. Aurangzib (1658-1707) was a deeply religious person who wanted to organize his empire in strict accordance with the laws of Islam. He reimposed the *jizyah* on all the infidels, destroyed some Hindu places of worship, permitted the slaughtering of the cow, and, in general, was prejudiced in favour of his co-religionists.* Some Musilms, therefore, consider him "the Hero of Indian Muslim history."[1] Non-Muslims, however, say that "his reign was a tragedy, for his

*[These steps were taken under special circumstances and for specific reasons, which were of a political and disciplinary rather than religious nature. It would be a wrong interpretation of historical facts to regard them as basic principles of the policy of his Government—Editor].

[1] Mahmud Brelvi, *Our Pakistan* (Karachi : Ferozsons, 1949), p. 26.

religion, as he understood it, compelled him to wreck his empire by reversing the policy adopted by Akbar, which had made its existence possible."[1]

With the death of Aurangzib internecine strife broke out in the country which, coupled with the menace of the Maratha power and the expansion of the European mercantilists, led to the ultimate ruin of the Mughul Empire. Mughul Emperors continued to reign with a semblance of authority until the "Mutiny" of 1857 when even this shade of independence was erased by the British.

Beginning of British Rule

Before the Mughul Empire reached its zenith, a new influence swept across the Indian Ocean into the peninsula from the distant lands in Europe. With Vasco de Gama, who arrived in Calicut in 1498 Europeans stood, for the first time since Alexander the Great, on Indian soil. Vasco de Gama's voyage to India reaped a profit of 6000 per cent.[2] One can, therefore, easily understand the mad scramble of European Powers to establish trade with the sub-continent and, if possible gain a monopoly of it Soon we find, besides the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the British engaged in profitable trade with the peninsula. By the end of the eighteenth century the British East India Company had, to a great extent, disposed of its European rivals. It then continued to absorb the States that had sprung up in great number on the ruins of the Mughul Empire after the death of Aurangzib.

British expansion was greatly helped by constant strife between rival claimants to the thrones, which gave them a chance to place puppet rulers at the helm of the States, while they themselves collected the revenue. The leaders of the Company pretended to pay nominal allegiance to the Emperor in Delhi until 1857 when they finally discarded that flimsy front, too. By that time the British felt sure that they had laid the foundations of a large, permanent, and well-grounded English dominion in India. But there was a bitter surprise in store for those who were overconfident.

[1] W. H. Moreland and A. C. Chatterjee: *A Short History of India* (London : Longmans, 1953), p. 249.

[2] K. Goshal: *The People of India* (New York : Sheridan 1941), p. 71.

The "Mutiny" of 1857

Before the advent of the British the indigenous population of India had undergone many conquests by different cultural, racial and ethnic groups throughout its long history. Prior to Muslim penetration the conquerors were absorbed into Hindu society; but the Muslims maintained their entity. Though some of the rulers were anti-Hindu in their feeling still the Muslims succeeded through tolerance in gaining the loyalty of some sections and in converting to their faith and way of thinking, through their missionary activity, a substantial minority of the population. Simultaneously, the conquerors were influenced by the vanquished Hindu neighbours and accepted many of their customs. Onec an reasonably assume that this intermixture of cultures and the proselytizing activity helped in building a strong core of loyal followers for the ruling power. The British in their seclusion of white supremacy could not elicit such loyalty and at best could hope that the people would be grateful for the era of peace and order they introduced after the long anarchy that followed the collapse of Mughul power.

Until the middle of the first half of the nineteenth century the masses cared little to distinguish between the present ruler and the past ones. Soon, however, the Muslims and Hindus began to resist certain British measures. The utter neglect of the Mughul Emperor wounded the Muslim spirit. The policy of annexation, continued by the Company, heedless of group loyalty or budding national sentiment, offended the politically conscious groups. In many provinces taxation had become unbearable. The imposition of English as the official language was resented by the Muslims. The inevitable consequence was "the terrible cataclysm of the Indian Muitny."[1]

From a British point of view "the Mutiny was in part a reactionary movement, a recoil from our disturbing and alarming innovations— even from our railway trains which suggested black magic:"[2] it was "a military revolt, not a movement of the people,"[3] Others,

[1] H. G. Rawlinson, *British Achievement in India* (London: W. Hodge, 1938), p. 92.

[2] H. N. Brailsford *Subject Indian* (New York: J. Day, 1943), p. 121.

[3] G. Schuster and G. Wint, *India and Democracy* (London: Macmillan 1941), p. 63.

particularly Muslims, would be inclined to consider the revolt as "the First War of Independence misnamed Mutiny of 1857."[1] Since the mutineers proclaimed the last surviving Mughul Emperor as their nominal leader, in English eyes the revolt appeared as an overt Muslim attempt to re-establish the extinct Mughul Empire. The fact, however, seems to be that the outbreak was a reaction to the British when they overstepped the boundary of common sense in their policy of direct rule and annexation.*

Some Significant Results of the Mutiny of 1857

By the Government of India Act of 1858 the Company was officially dissolved. The position of Secretary of State for India, created in the British Cabinet, was to be the point of contact between the Governor-General (Viceroy) and the English Parliament. The direct responsibility for the government of India thus fell upon the Crown.

British feeling against the Muslims hardened unreasonably and disastrously because of the suspicion that the Mutiny was instigated by Muslim ambitions. If the economic, political, and cultural decline of the Muslims in the past century was caused by their inability and unwilingness to adapt themselves to new circumstances, the decline was now rapidly accelerated by the attitude of the ruling power. Hunter, writing in 1871, says that "the Muhammedans are now shut out equally from Government employ and from the higher occupation of non-official life."[2] To cite some examples:

> The Law Officers of the Crown were six in number—four Englishmen, two Hindus and no Musulman Among the Officers of the High Court of sufficient rank to have their names published, twenty one in number, there were seven Hindu gentlemen and not one Musulman . (Among the Pleaders of the High Court) up to 1838 the Musulmans were almost as numerous as the Hindus and the English put together .... The list shows that out of two hundred and

[1] Brelvi, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

*If we examine the causes and nature of the war in the context of the work and achievements of our reformers and leaders such as Shah Waliallah and Tipu Sultan—we shall have no difficulty in realizing the true character of the movement—Editor.

[2] W. Hunter, O... ...

> forty natives admitted from 1852 to 1868, two hundred and thirty nine were Hindus and only one a Musulman ...The proportion of the race which a century ago had the monopoly of government has now fallen to less than one twentythird of the whole administrative body.[1]

The downward trend and impoverishment of the Muslim upper classes continued until about 1870. It was only then that the British revised their attitude towards the Muslims of India. The period when the Muslims were officially singled out for oppression did not last long. But it was long enough to awaken or deepen the slumbering antagonism against the successful Hindu upper classes and againts the English who brought the star of Islam in India from the heaven into the dust.

In order to allay the general discontent as expressed in the Mutiny, Queen Victoria's Proclamation of November 1, 1858 "to the Princes, Chiefs and People of India" contained the following promise: "It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge."[2] It was not the first proclamation of equality given by the British to India. One was delivered in 1833 to no practical avail. While there were Hindus serving in various capacities, they were not admitted into the high ranking Indian Civil Service:

> It was not until 1864 that the first Indian was admitted to the I.C.S.; three more entered in 1871. As late as 1915, after 82 years of equality, the Indians in the I C.S. amounted only to five per cent, after 90 years, the proportion had risen by 1923 to ten per cent.[3]

The Mutiny of 1857 was to some extent a turning point in the progress of India and in its relationship with the colonial power. It brought to the British the disillusioning realization that the conquest of the sub-continent was not permanently accomplished by

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 167-169.

[2] Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[3] Brailsford, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Quoting from R. Coupland, *Britain and India*, pp. 38 and 73, and E. Thompson and G T. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* (London: Macmillan. 1934), p. 583.

Clive in the battle of Plassey, but that it is a continuous process which needs tact and diplomacy, with a capacity for giving occasional concessions to Indian demands. This does not mean that the effects of British rule up to the Mutiny were completely negative, but they smelled of white arrogance and utter disregard for Indian emotions. They unwittingly fostered Indian nationalism which, combined with the communal sentiments, could but lead sooner or later to the creation of an independent Pakistan and India.

The Impact of English Contact on India

A fairly exhaustive study of the impact of the British on India would consider not only changes brought about by governmental action, but also those generated by philosophical and political ideas current in the English society and propagated in India and by "the economic forces which were generated by the political union of the two countries and which operated so powerfully to change the structure of Indian society."[1] We propose here to deal only with changes brought about by the action of government. The reader, however, should bear in mind that there were other, subtler and perhaps greater influences interplaying in weaving the new fabric of the Indian society. Obviously no agreement can be expected as to the extent of English influence on India between the British and the Indians, the former trying to exaggerate, the latter to mitigate its effect.

The British restored stable government and the rule of law which had broken down in the anarchy following the decline of the Mughul Empire. They introduced representative institutions which had a lasting effect on the political development in the subcontinent. The first significant step towards Indian representation was taken in 1861, four years after the Mutiny. It was not until 1909, however, that the Indian representatives gained power in the provincial assemblies over that of giving advice to the English governor. In the central government the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 did not increase the influence of the Indians. This happened later, in successive stages as concessions to the Indian demands for home rule and independence through the Montagu-Chelmsford

1 Schuster and Wint, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

Reforms of 1919, the Constitution of 1935, and finally Indian Independence Act of 1947.

While the above changes helped to remake the political pattern of India, innovations of immense dimensions were introduced into the economic life of the country. The vast majority of the population have always subsisted from agriculture. But now the conditions of the peasant population have changed substantially. Like previous conquerors the British, too, considered the collection of revenue from the land as the most important feature of their administration. While, however, previous administrations had permitted payment in kind the British demanded only money payments. In order to simplify the collection of taxes, the British converted the old revenue officials into landlords (*zamindars*). They had to pay to the government periodically a specific sum of money, but could extort from the peasants as much as their conscience permitted. This brought unbelievable misery to the village inhabitants. The misery was increased by the deliberate destruction of the handicraft economy that flourished in the past on the subcontinent in order to create an excellent market for imported British goods, forcing a great number of artisans to live on the land. In order to be able to fulfill their financial obligations, the poor peasants had to borrow money from the notorious moneylenders, who charged as much as a hundred per cent or higher interest, bringing inevitable ruin and death by starvation upon hundreds and thousands of families.

But British economic policy in India was not in all its effects so sad. Throughout their long stay in India they built a railway system that ranks among the very best in the world. They began slowly the establishment of a modern power industry. They initiated the slow development of the great coalfields of Bengal and Bihar.[1] They expanded the irrigation system, especially in the Punjab and in Sind.

Other changes were introduced in the standard of public health. Often this met religious opposition from the orthodox elements, "as in administering smallpox vaccine, which, being made from the sacred cow, is liable in the eyes of fanatical Hindus to involve

[1] Brailsford, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

sacrilege."[1] The new public health system lowered the mortality rate which led to a phenomenal increase in the population.

Public education was also fostered by the British. While on the lower levels instruction was in the vernacular, the official language of higher education became English as a result of Macaulay's famous Minute in 1838. English instruction gave to the multilingual country a common language, serving as an important factor in unifying its intelligentsia. The results of the educational system in India were poor. By 1941 only about 15 per cent of the population was literate.[2]

Political Orientation in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Comparative equilibrium was established in India after the Mutiny, which lasted almost uninterruptedly until the year 1885 when the Congress movement was launched. Even hidden signs of nationalist stirrings in the country were hardly discernible. The British were in full control, doing much as they pleased. For some years the intellectuals of Muslim India, coming from the slowly rising middle class, were absorbed in reinterpreting and reshaping their traditional beliefs and outlook to the new needs of the bourgeois class. But before entering into this new phase of activities in India, it will be desirable to stop for a moment to review briefly the history and influence of a curious movement that developed in the beginning of the nineteenth century in India.

Sayyid Aḥmad's Movement

In order to gain a sufficient understanding of Sayyid Aḥmad's movement, erroneously known under the name of Wahhābī movement in India, it is necessary to inquire into its origin. Such an inquiry would lead us back to a seventeenth century Muslim savant, Shāh Walīallāh.

Shāh Walīallāh was born in a critical period of Indian Muslim history. His lifespan covered the reigns of several Emperors, from the last years of 'Ālamgīr to the beginning of Shāh 'Ālam II. Internecine strife was rampant in the country. A man of Walīallāh's genius and erudition could not fail to notice the general decline of the once glorious Mughul Empire. Neither

1 W. N. Brown, *The United States and India and Pakistan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), p. 49

2 *Ibid.*

could he suffer quietly and despondently, seeing its ultimate ruin. Driven by his own zealous enthusiasm and by the instigation of his teachers in Mecca, under whom he perfected his learning in the course of fourteen months, he devoted all his energies to the revival of Islam and to the resuscitation of the decadent Muslim society in India. In order to bring the *Qur'an* within easy reach of the masses, he translated the Holy Book into Persian. Facing violent opposition and charged with *bid'ah* (innovation), he devoted many of his books, whose number exceeds thirty, his sermons and writings to purge Indian Muslims of their surperstitious beliefs and practices, to rid them of fanaticism and bigotry and to place the interpretation of Muslim tradition on a more rational and scientific basis. Fearlessly he declared himself the reformer (*mujaddid*) of his time. The influence of Waliallāh was tremendous in his lifetime and in the century following his death. The emergence of Sayyid Aḥmad's movement was closely connected with Waliallāh's reform activities and his attempts to save Islam in India by bringing it back to its pristine purity.[1]

Sayyid Aḥmad of Rāi Barelī was a mystic and a warrior. He felt a burning desire to restore Indian Islam to its preeminent position in the body politic In this endeavour he was joined by Shāh Ismā'īl, the grandson of Shāh Waliallāh Sayyid Aḥmad secured a large following for his religious reform movement whose noble aim initially was to purify Islam and return it to the simplicity of the faith of Muḥammad's Arabia. After his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1822, where he probably became acquainted with the tenets of the Arab *Wahhabis*, his following vastly increased in his native country. At that time, the movement, though still religious in spirit, had adopted political connotations It appealed to the Muslims of India to unite for liberating the Muslims of the Punjab from the Sikhs. For all practical purposes the military movement of Sayyid Aḥmad was limited to the Punjab and aimed at liberating the Punjabi Muslims from the Sikhs by means of an organized *jihad* that conceivably was supported by Muslims of all strata of the pupulation both rich and poor.

[1] M.S. Hasan al-Ma'sumi, *An Appreciation of Shah Waliallah al-Muhaddith al-Dihlawi* in *Islamic Culture*, XXI, 4, Hyderabad: October, 1947.

Simultaneously with Sayyid Aḥmad's *jihad* movement, the *Fara'idi* movement was organized by Sharī'at-allāh in Bengal. Under his successor Tītū Miyān, the Muslim peasants near Calcutta were driven into a peasant uprising. Despite the strong tendency of modern historians to consider the three movements as one, there are no substantial reasons for doing so

Sayyid Aḥmad's movement was not, in the strict sense of the word, a nationalist movement, since its immediate aim was a limited and localized one—to help the Muslims of the Punjab, though it created a wide organization and led to considerable awakening among the Muslims. The first widespread nationalist movement on the Indian subcontinent was not Muslim, but had a great influence in fostering Muslim national consciousness. The Indian National Congress was created comparatively recently, in 1885.

The Congress Movement

Many reasons have been advanced by scholars of Indian history for the origin of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Opinions are expressed that it was organized for the purpose of expressing a common Indian view,[1] or for the sake of urging "the enlargement of the Legislative Councils and wider opportunities for admission to the higher ranks of the Indian Civil Service"[2] The argument is also advanced that civil servants who were already for some time in the service of the administration "were beginning to outgrow their opportunities, and to feel themselves strong enough to venture asking for more opportunities."[3] These views were propably correct, all stemming from that spirit of nationalism that began to stir the intelligent strata of the population under the impact of Western learning and example to feel a gradual increase in self-confidence and a desire to come into their own.

Despite the agitation of Muslim leaders against joining the National Congress, Muslims have participated in its deliberations in substantial numbers. In the beginning it had no specifically Hindu character, was open to all groups and was loyal to the British. The influence of morderate Hindus like Gokhale, prevailed. With

[1] Moreland and Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

[2] Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[3] W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (Lahore: Minerva, 1943), p. 198.

the turn of the century, however, the anti-Western and anti-Muslim policy of Tilak gained the upper hand, forcing the Muslims to organize themselves into an independent party.

In order to understand adequately the creation and the composing elements of the Muslim League, it is imperative to start at an earlier period when the task of building the spiritual foundations of the new movement began.

Muslim Conciliatory Movements :

Sayyid Ahmad and Amir 'Ali

The history of the Muslims in India in the nineteenth century makes rather sad reading. Especially from the Mutiny of 1857 onwards there was a progressive cultural, political, and economic deterioration that was partly caused by the suspicious attitude of the British toward Muslim ambitions and partly by the inability of the Muslims to adapt themselves to the changed situation. When English was *introduced as the official language of the country* and schools built on a Western pattern began to function, the Hindu city-dwelling upper and middle classes were on the alert to grasp the opportunity. The Muslim gentry, proud of its traditional culture and resenting the intrusion of a foreign culture fell quickly behind. As a consequence, Hindus entrenched themselves in government service from which the Muslims were excluded. They also succeeded in taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the English commercial and industrial expansion, thus succeeding in creating a Western minded Hindu middle class which the Muslim society lacked. This disparity was artificially stimulated by the British to the detriment of the Muslim upper classes. The situation changed somewhat around 1870. The English began to realize that they had made a mistake in putting all the blame for the Mutiny on the Muslims. They also conceived that the Muslim community could be an effective weapon against the rising demands of the Hindus, all the more so since the small Muslim upper classes were at that time, under the capable leadership of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, completely loyal to the Crown.

Sayyid Ahmad's loyalty to the British was of old standing. During the Mutiny he supported the English, for which he was decorated by the government. Distressed by the decadence of his co-religionists, he worked hard to clear them of guilt in the eyes

of the rulers and to bring about a political reapproachement. His belief in the benefits of Western culture was strengthened by his visit to England in 1859. After his return to India he concentrated on awakening the Muslims to the necessity of Western education. In 1875, helped by the British who had in the meantime adopted a benevolent attitude towards the Muslims, he established the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University It soon became the cradle of Muslim polilitical thought in India "That marked the turning of the tide, the end of the decline and the beginning of a recovery."[1] The following year he began his work on "a radically new interpretation of the Quran and Islam in the light of nineteenth century rationalism."[2] Throughout his life he took a keen interest in the problems of government, where he voiced complete loyalty to the British and introduced the notion of separate electorates for Muslims in the system of representation[3] when the Indian National Congress was formed, he begged his co-religionists not to join it, warning them that the Muslim community was still too backward to defend itself against "majority rule," which meant the continuous rule of the Hindus and the constant repression of the Muslims

Professor Symonds ably summarizes the activities of Sayyid Ahmad Khan as follows

> In theology he had reconciled Islam with Western learning. In education he had given the Muslims their own college where they could pursue Western studies without becoming worse Muslims. In government service and commerce he had made openings for the new educated Muslim middle class. In politics he had stated that the Muslims were a nation who could not and must not be submerged in a system of government by majority vote. The Pakistanis rightly claim him as one of the fathers of their country.[4]

Sayyid Ahmad Khan admired Western achievement He, therefore, founded a movement in favour of contemporary Western culture.

[1] R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem* I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 32.

[2] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 10 (Ch. I deals with Sayyid Ahmad in detail).

[3] Coupland, *The Indian Problem*, I, appendix II, p. 154. Extracts from *Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India*, 1883.

[4] R. Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan* (London : Faber, 1949), p. 32.

Amir 'Ali admired Islam in its simplicity, purity and dynamism. He started a movement in favour of the Islamic culture of the past.[1] Amir 'Ali was more aggressive and positive than Sir Sayyid. While the latter tried to prove the advantages of Western learning to the Indian Muslims, the former triumphantly proved the historical achivements of Islam. Sayyid Ahmad Khan tried to adapt Islam to progress; Amir 'Ali proclaimed that Islam is identical with progress. His greatest contribution lies in awakening the religious consciousness and pride of the Indian Muslims and in giving them a powerful emotional impetus in pointing to the glorious record of Islam.

The Muslim League

At the beginning of the twentieth century the relationship between the Hindu and Muslim communities became strained. Under the impact of recent developments and the adoption of a new attitude, the Muslim middle class had just begun to enter the clerical professions for which it still needed the support of the government. The Hindu upper classes, on the other hand, had passed that stage already and were now entering independent industrial enterprises. This economic difference had its strong political repercussions. The Muslims were loyal to the government, though sometimes mildly critical. The Hindus, however, turned militantly nationalistic and began to demand 'colonial self-government.' Simultaneously, the National Congress become predominantly Hindu in ideology (in composition it was so from its start). This scared many Muslims who were by no means willing to exchange the old British rule for the new Hindu one. Especially impressive was the vigorous agitation of the Hindus against the partition of Bengal in 1905 by Curzon into two parts, one of which would have a Muslim majority, the other a majority of Hindus. The agitation was accompanied by boycott of British goods, terrorism and murder.[2] The success of extremist groups in Congress and the fear of them led the Muslims to organize into a separate party, called the Muslim League, in 1906, mainly in order "to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musulmans of India."[3] The same

[1] Smith, *op. cit.*, Chs. I and II.

[2] Thompson and Garratt, *op. cit.*, p. 579. "Between 1906 and 1909 over 550 political cases came before the courts in Bengal, two British magistrates were murdered.......... and an attempt was made upon the life of.. ......Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.'

[3] Form the first Resolution of the Muslim League at Dacca, quoted by Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

year the Muslims appealed to the Viceroy, Lord Minto, to grant a separate electorate to the Muslim community in the forth-coming political reforms. The government reacted favourably to the request, and in the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 the principle of separate electorates was introduced.

A great change in Muslim sentiment took place in 1912, when the British government revoked the partition of Bengal. This compromising step in favour of the Hindus antagonized the growing Muslim middle class. Although they were none-the-less suspicious of Hindu motives, they co-operated now with the National Congress in the fight against the common foe. In 1913 an objective already adopted by Congress was accepted by the League, demanding self-government for India within the Empire. On the threshold of the First World War this was a dangerous phenomenon for Great Britain that might have easily turned into a disaster if the leaders would have been willing to take advantage of British weakness. However, the Indians were magnanimous, and instead of hindering the British war effort, they helped it in proportion to their strength.

The war period and its aftermath saw one of the unprecedented instances of co-operation between Hindus and Muslims. They agreed, for the only time in their common history, on the future Constitution of India. In the Lucknow Pact of 1916, Congress recognized the League's claim for separate Muslim electorates, and the two parties reached an agreement on the proportional division of seats in the legislatures. A year later, Montagu, Secretary of State for India, announced the forthcoming Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (Government of India Act of 1919), wherein some concessions were made to the Indian nationalists that were not altogether satisfying. In addition, the Rowlatt Acts of 1918, which, seriously interfering with individual liberty by permitting incarceration without open, regular trial in courts, aimed at crushing the extensive terrorism in the peninsula, had by their provisions so enraged nationalist India that all the nice promises of the Reform Act were soon forgotten. To top all that, the news of the infamous Amritsar massacre, in which 379 unarmed Indians were killed and 1200 wounded by the British, brought the Congress to a frenzy wherein they decided to

launch a nation-wide non-co-operation movement to break the government. The Muslims joined the Congress whole-heartedly in its efforts, partly prompted by the desire to weaken the British hold on the Muslim world.

The Khilafat Movement

The end of World War I saw the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. The last free Muslim state in the world was tottering and nearing extinction. The share of Great Britain in the overthrow of the Empire was known to the Muslims in India and was exaggerated to the point where it was considered "a general conspiracy among the Allied Christian nations to dismember Muslim unity and scotch pan-Islamism." [1] Muslim reaction in India resulted in the formation of the intensive Khilafat movement, which helped to whip up anti-English sentiment to the highest degree. The Muslims, fighting for the Turkish Caliphate, and Congress, fighting for home-rule, were united for a while under the leadership of Gandhi in their hatred of the English. In 1920, after the issuance of the Khilafat Manifesto, Mohammed Ali, the leader of the movement, left for Europe to present the Khilafat case. His efforts were fruitless. In 1922 the Turks themselves abolished the Caliphate. The campaign thus ended in complete failure. It, however, had a lasting effect on the Muslims in India, who "were drawn back by the enthusiasms of these years into a religious loyalty. [2] The Khilafat movement, having joined hands with the Congress in the effort of non-co-operation until called off by Gandhi in 1922, is the last example of Hindu-Musilm harmony good-will and fraternization.

Movement for Pakistan

After the close of the first non-co-operation movement the League and Congress were never on the same side again. They worked like two titanic forces against a common enemy, but they were themselves unable to come to terms. The reasons for the breakdown of Hindu-Muslim co-operation following the harmonious unity of the early twenties are manifold. In general, they naturally can be derived from the deeply ingrained cultural differences that made prolonged

[1] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[2] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

partnership between the two communities practically impossible. In particular, the fall of the Turkish Caliphate brought the Indian Khilafat movement to an end, while simultaneously the breakdown of the non-co-operation movement awakened the deep-seated antagonism of some Hindu segments of the population against the Indian Muslims. The sudden Hindu reaction against their Muslim neighbours following the non-co-operation movement could be explained by the realization of the Hindus that the Muslims played a substantially greater and more active part in the movement than was to be expected, considering their numbers. The reaction expressed itself in the re-organization of anti-Muslim movements, like the Shuddhi movement, the Sangathan, and the Rashtriya Swem (Sewak Sangha). In turn the Muslims formed organizations, like the Tabligh and the Tanzim for self-protection. Co-operation between the two communities had thus degenerated into an unfriendly attitude that continued throughout the years to come.

In the meantime, the Congress continued its struggle for freedom un-interruptedly. The League, however, fell into a stupor from which it did not wake up until the disastrous elections of 1937. We will deal with the relevant details in our next section on communalism. Let it suffice here to say that the tragic results of these elections had an electrifying effect on Muslim leadership Urged by Iqbal, a vigorous propaganda campaign was conducted in the country to shake off the apathy of the Muslim population. The torch of Indian Muslim nationalism was finally beginning to burn brightly under the auspices of the League led by Mahomed Ali Jinnah. No half measures were to be taken. The League was fighting on all sides: against Congress, against the English, and against the lethargy of its own followers. The culmination of this nationalistic upheaval was the Lahore Resolution of March 26, 1940 demanding the establishment of an independent Muslim State in India

The Lahore Resolution, March 26, 1940

Thus it was in 1940 that the League formally endorsed the creation of an independent Muslim state as its main objective.[1] The resolution ostensibly came as a reply to the futile and protracted

[1] For the complete text of the Lahore Resolution see B. R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan* (Bombay: Thacker, 1946), p. 3.

efforts of the Simon Commission 1927-29, the Round Table Conference, 1930-32, and the Government of India Act, 1935, to form a workable scheme of federation in the country. Dr. Ambedkar summarizes the Muslim demands expressed at Lahore as follows :

1, What the Muslims are asking for is the creation of administrative areas which are ethnically more homogeneous.
2. The Muslim want these homogeneous administrative areas which are predominately Muslim to be consitituted into separate States;
   a. because the Muslims by themselves constitute a separate nation and desire to have a national home, and
   b. because experience shows that the Hindus want to use their majority to treat the Muslims as though they were second-class citizens in an alien State. [1]

The Muslims received the declaration with enthusiasm; Hindu leaders considered it as a chimerical play or as a treacherous act to break the integral unity of India and refused to take it seriously. But their opposition could not stop that flow of nervous energy, creative enthusiasm, nationalist feeling and religious devotion that was led into positive channels by the Lahore Resolution, that opened a new vista of action, achievement, and glory to a people downtrodden and trampled upon, which could be satisfied only with the supreme achievement of an independent, sovereign Islamic state of Pakistan.

Muslims and Hindus: The Issue of Communalism

The Religious Factor

"Modern nationalsim has displaced religion as the chief factor in human group relationships. Throughout human history, however, there has been a constant interplay between religious denominationalism and those basic elements of state and territory, ethnic descent and language which have always consitituted the major ingredients of national feeling."[2] Because of this interplay between nationalism and religion the latter has a strong appeal to nationalist elements and continues to be a powerful force even in those countries where

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[2] S. Baron. *Modern Nationalism and Religion* (New York: Harper, 1947), p. 7.

Church and State are separated. Wherein lies the appealing power of religion is hotly debated by theologians and philosophers and cannot be dealt with at this point in any detail. What we are here concerned with is that religion, besides striving for a high ethical ideal, is also "inextricably interfused with the general complex of social relations and endeavors which constitute civilization."[1] It is thus that religion can become nationalized, assuming the aspect of cultural nationalism which again often turns into political nationalism.

One can correctly assume that Indian political nationalism was but such a development from cultural nationalism that originated when the ancient faith and culture of the Muslims and Hindus was in danger of extinction. A writer of pre-partition India tells us that

> the secret of Indian unrest is to be found in the efforts of the Hindus to save their ancient faith and culture from being submerged by the tide of Western civilization. The Muslims are fighting the same battle and they are also struggling to prevent themselves from being overwhelmed by the Hindus when the British legions are with-drawn. This explains both the Hindu-Muslim entente, which is so difficult for the British to understand, and the growing friction between the two communities, which is so difficult for the Indians themselves to understand.

Religious consciousness and, thereby, the power of religion was intense. Until the British occupation the country had lived for hundreds of years under governmental systems where religious law was the law of the state With the advent of the British rule there was substantial secularization on the subcontinent. Still, religion continued to be the directing principle in the every day life of the masses. Before long, religious differences where an effective political weapon in India and were used by the interested parties to their greatest advantage under the collective term "communalism."

[1] S.S. Cohon, "Religion" in *Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia* (New York 1943), IX.

[2] W. R. Smith, *Nationalism and Reform in India* (New York Yale University Press, 1938), p. 305, quoting from the Marquess of Zetland, *The Heart of Aryavarta.*

Definition of the Term 'Communalism'

Communalism in a popular sense could be considered an acute self-consciousness of the different religious groups in India. One might add that it also entails "the sense of insecurity which any community feels and the accompanying action it takes to protect itself and further its own interests."[1] Religious loyatly seems to be its basis and it is assumed on that ground that the community is strong enough to overcome any inner social political or economic friction. It is supposed to be a strongly cohesive group, embracing the peasants and landlords, the indebted and the moneylender, the fanatic believer and the sceptic who profess to belong to one religion. "In imposing its categories of thought upon its victims, it aims at exterminating all other sociological and political categories."[2] It assumes that a Muslim proletarian has more in common with a Muslim capitalist than with a Hindu or Sikh who shares his misery.

In a sense a communal group might be compared to a nation. With few exceptions, history proves that within a nation internal discord gives way to co-operation and unity in the face of external danger. To cite but one example, when World War I broke out, the French revolutionary socialist and the French capitalist fought side by side against the common national enemy, despite all the efforts of the Second International to foster solidarity among the workers of all Europe and make them resist a call to war. Neither did the workers of the other countries hesistate to rally around the banner of their beloved fatherland All slogans of brotherhood and common interests of the proletariat transcending national boundaires were forgotten when the nation called to its childern. The emotional appeal of the nation was found irresistible.

[1] Brown, *op. cit*, p 113. In order to gain a more complete picture of the complex situation on the Indian peninsula, it is important to note that communal friction did not involve only Muslims and Hindus. Other minorities also continued, on a relatively smaller scale, intense agitation for the benefit of their community. The Sikhs and some Pathans even went so far as to demand an independent Sikhistan and Pashtunistan respectively. Fortunately, this example was not followed by the Parsis, Christians or the Untouchables, who satisfied their political ambitions by clamouring for more substantial representation on official bodies.

[2] Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 185.

Similarly, on the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, too, the appeal of nationalism—popularly known on the subcontinent as communalism—was strong enough to unite the various economic, political, and cultural factions of the Muslim community or nation. Facing the danger of losing their identity in the face of an overwhelming Hindu majority, the different interest groups among the Muslims allowed any inner conflicts to give way to mutual co-operation. The common cause was paramount in the eyes of the Muslim populace. It is, thus, possible to equate communalism in pre-partition India with nationalism, religion and culture being the *uniting factors* of the group subject to a common emotional appeal.

Hindu-Muslim Co-existence

There is evidence in history that communal loyalty was not always so overwhelming as it appeared to be in the twentieth century; neither was communal antagonism. Hindus and Muslims had lived, after all, side by side for a few hundred years There were periods in the past when Hindus and Muslims shared equally in the spoils of government and were treated with equal respect. A notable example of such internal harmony would be the reign of Akbar. How far political interests can go in healing communal antipathy can be shown by the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and the first non-co-operation movement, when Hindus and Muslims were *fraternizing* as never before. They drank from the same water and Muslims even invited Hindus to preach in their mosques. These examples, however, might seem spurious when *taking* into consideration the host of arguments that were lined up in the twentieth century to convince the people of India, the English authorities, and the world that communalism is an active factor in India to which one can close his eyes, but whose bitter consequences one cannot avoid.

Communalism : An Artificial or Natural Cleavage

Two views are generally accepted by writers on Pakistan and pre-partition India on the issue of communalism. One view is that communalism is an artificial cleavage, the other is that it is embodied in the history of the subcontinent. Those who claim that this feeling of separatism was artificially instilled into the Indian population point out that there were no communal riots before British occupation and

even during the occupation they were sparse until the turn of the last century. One writer says : "The Hindu-Muslim problem is an artifical English irritant."[1] Further, "The Muslims are not a separate people. They are Indians who happen to attend a Muslim mosque instead of a Hindu temple."[2] Professor W. C. Smith says : "It is usual now to recognize that the communal antagonisms of India's middle class are due to the British imperial policy of 'divide and rule.' "[3] Brailsford, an English liberal and a strong critic of his government's India policy agrees with Professer Brown that "it was the Morley-Minto Reforms that inaugurated modern Indian political communalism"[4] by introducing the principle of communal representation through separate electorates. He is extermely bitter against the Indian administration for having adopted this measure that retarded the development of India's social conscoiousness for purely selfish—and in the long run detrimental—reasons.[5] On the other hand, Rawlinson thinks that "there is of course no foundation for the accusation that the British government pursued a policy of divide and rule The authours of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, like Morley, were deeply reluctant to accept communal electorates."[6]

While many writers disagree with Rawlinson, they also disagree with the opposite contention, that the monster of communalism was an English creation for the sake of devouring Indian nationalist sentiment in its tender age. They claim that, while the British did their best to take advantage of prevailing communal sentiments, communal friction existed from the moment when Hinduism and Islam first met.

> In spite of centuries of association, Hindus and Muslims represent two distinct cultures; their religious conceptions stand as a great barrier against a complete merging together. There is no interdining and intermarriage and these two factors have been a bar to social assimilation. Their admired

[1] F. Gunther, *Revolution in India* (New York : Island Press 1948), p. 12.
[2] *Ibid* p. 21.
[3] Smith, *Modern Isla in India*, p. 208.
[4] Brown, *op. cit*, p. 125.
[5] Brailsford, *op. cit*.
[6] Rawlinson. *op. cit.*, pp 188 ff

> legendary heroes and historical personalities are different; in fact, those revered by one group are either hated or ridiculed by the other...At every railway station there are separate Hindu and Muslim restaurants, denominational tea-stalls and even the drinking water is labelled 'Hindu' and 'Muslim.'[1]

The author then goes on enumerating the striking differences in food, dress, personal appearance, and names between the two communities.

No unanimous opinion of the nature of communalism and its development will ever be reached. The fact, however, is that as a political weapon it was frightfully effective, leading to the partition of India on a communal basis.

Communalism on Economic Lines

There is no doubt that the underlying factor of communalist feeling is religion and culture. As was explained above, the cultures of the two groups, which are inextricably interwoven with their religion, although they developed side by side for a thousand years, clash on more points than they have in common. A peculiar feature of Hindu-Muslim communalism, however, is that the religious differences happen to coincide with the economic differences to such a great extent that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two.

It will be remembered that the Muslims ruled India before the advent of the British. Changes came about with British penetration. The Hindus did not lose anything with the coming of the British. To them it was a routine change in masters to which they adapted themselves as quickly as conditions permitted. The Muslims, however, naturally resented British interference in their affairs that culminated in the destruction of the Mughul Empire, their loss of liberty and self-determination. This resentment was partly shown in their reluctance to assimilate Western culture. Further, the British viewed with suspicion the former matters, lest they have designs to regain their freedom, and were more favourable toward the Hindus. The tragic Mutiny of 1857 also victimized the already backward

[1] Nafis Ahmad, *The Basis of Pakistan* (Calcutta : Thacker 1947), p. 27. See also Ambedkar, *op. cit.*, Part I, Ch. II and W. R. Smith, *Nationalism and Reform in India*, Ch. XI.

Muslim upper and middle classes. Changes in anti-Muslim policy were introduced only by the end of the nineteenth century, when the realization dawned upon the British that that the Muslims could be utilized in hampering resurgent Hindu nationalism. Innovations in governmental policy with the intent of helping Muslim advance could change the economic situation but slightly. In the race for higher economic standards the Muslims had no chance to beat, or even to catch up with, the Hindus. Big industry and finance, banking, money lending, and land ownership were largely in Hindu hands.[1] Soon the Muslims began to associate their economic oppression and backwardness with Hindu unscrupulousness and greed, fighting it as class against class. Obviously, the communal dividing line and the economic class divisions coincided only very roughly. The majority of Hindus were peasants, just like the Muslims and there were some Muslims competing with Hindus in big business, too. Still, the economic differences were directed into communal channels.

Whether the communal problem is strictly religious or whether it is economic with a revered religious garb as some writers would like us to believe, the fact is that once it struck roots in the heart of the peoples of the Indian peninsula, it became a strong motivating factor in their political activities, to an extent that the history of the first half of the twentieth century in India can plainly be called communal history.

Solution of the Problem : Independent Muslim State

As the twentieth century progressed in its course, a curious dichotomy developed in the Muslim nationalistic aspirations on the Indian subcontinent. On the one hand, they increasingly demanded more freedom from British rule. On the other hand, the more freedom was given by the English and the closer came the day of final liberation from the colonial power, the more obstructionist did the League become, the greater were its demands and the more frequent were the bloody communal riots. "The more sharply the contours of Indian nationalism stood out in the Congress Party, the more widespread grew the anxiety among the Muslims lest, failing timely precautions, Islam should be submerged in a Hindu sea. As the

[1] Brailsford, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

prospect of Indian self-government drew nearer, anxieties and hesitations naturally grew still more acute."[1] The reason for this restless behaviour can be found in communal antipathy that had by the end of the 1920's become so ingrained that it formed part and parcel of every Indian's social and political thinking. While desiring to throw off the foreign yoke—the Muslims were not willing to exchange it for the yoke of a seemingly antagonistic, indigenous Hindu majority. They wrangled with this Gordian knot, searching in haste for a solution to their weighty problem

Until the election of 1937 the Muslim League at least half-heartedly cooperated with Congress in the fight against the common enemy. The demands at the Round Table Conference in London (1930—1932) were mainly confined to the insurance of the separate electorates and greater weightage in representation Previously, political activity was largely centered on this point for many years. But the situation changed radically in 1937 According to the provisions of the Constitution of 1935, provincial elections were held that year in India for the Legislative Assemblies of the eleven provinces Congress won a resounding victory, attracting for its Muslim candidates a large number of the Muslim votes. The League made a very poor showing in the elections and there was a hope of co-operation in the legislature. Obviously, this strengthened the contention of the Congress that it represented a united India on the political scene, irrespective of denominational differences within it, and it acted as a setback to the Muslim claim that they are a distinct nation in India who deserve the right of self-determination. Jinnah who was permanent president of the League since 1934, instigated by Iqbal, immediately began feverish activity to re-establish the prestige of the party The League, which was up to now mainly middle class in composition, turned now with its appeals to the masses. An All India Committee was formed, presided over by the Raja of Pirpur, to establish the grievances of the Muslims against Congress domination and oppression. The findings of the committee were sufficiently propagated to arouse widespread sympathy among the Muslims for their oppressed brethren and turn them against the

1 Faruqi, *Muslims on the March* (New York : Knopf, 1954), pp. 199-200.

Congress. The Report stated that Muslim children had been made to worship the portrait of Mr. Gandhi, that they were forced to sing the anti-Muslim *Bande Mataram*, that Muslims were intimidated from eating beef, etc. Within a short time Muslim League became the only popular rallying point for the Muslims of India. Rigorous discipline was enforced in the League. Double allegiance was forbidden. Nobody could be a member of the Congress who joined the League. The organization became active, dynamic and efficient.

At the outbreak of World War II, when the Congress ministries resigned in protest for not having been consulted before India was drawn into war by a declaration of the Governor-General the League celebrated 'Deliverance Day.' The resignation of Congress strengthened the influence of the League substantially. The English were now facing a non-co-operative majority and consequently had to turn for support in their war effort to the larger minority groups, promising, in turn, concessions to some of their demands. English promises to the League further enhanced communal friction In 1940 the League proclaimed its demand for a fully sovereign, autonomous Muslim state in the famous Lahore Resolution. But the war slowed down the communal-nationalistic efforts of both Muslim and Hindu. The Japanese threat was real and had to be the first concern. The English Cabinet, seeking to gain full cooperation from the peoples of India, sent out Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942 with the promise of Dominion status, but complete freedom was requested in turn, not after the war, but immediately.

With the end of the war events began to move swiftly. Dramatic national elections were held in 1946, which decisively proved that the League commanded the support of the overwhelming majority of the Indian Muslims. The Indian Independence Act was passed in July, 1947. Partition and Independence came into effect on August 15, 1947. While songs of joy and triumph, were being sung hundreds of thousands of people were killed in large scale communal rioting, millions were made homeless in the largest migration of peoples in history, and anarchy ruled on the throne where the shadow of imperialistic Britain was still lingering. On broken homes, shattered communication systems, abandoned factories and fields, ruined

economy, there emerged from the disastrous floods of blood and sweat and water a new spirit, a new promise, a new will dedicated to build on the yesterday, full of agonizing enslavement, a new home for the highest ethical ideals of humanity, a haven for the religion of Islam and its adherents.

CHAPTER III

THE CHARACTER OF PAKISTAN

Islamic State

Problems of Partition

The partition of the Indian subcontinent and the creation of Pakistan brought innumerable problems in its wake These could be divided into three groups: problems of national administration, problems arising from the extremely poor economic conditions in the country and problems concerning the establishment of an Islamic State.

The job of "setting up house" on their own was urgent and pressing as the Muslims of the subcontinent found themselves independent. Central leadership had to assert itself immediately in order to prevent the development of anarchic conditions. The difficulties that the Muslim leaders encountered in that direction were staggering. There was no city at a safe enough distance from the border that would have offered itself as a natural choice for a capital, possessing the necessary office space and living quarters. There was a dire need of trained personnel, since most of the officials, financiers, businessmen. and technicians in British India were Hindus who chose to remain in independent India The technical means needed for an efficient administration were also lacking. During the process of distributing them between the two countries which became heirs to the British administration, Pakistan was on the receiving end and therefore fell short of satisfying its needs. The division of the country into two parts East and West Pakistan, separated by more than a thousand miles of foreign territory with unsatisfactory links of communication between them and a strong tendency toward regionalism in the provinces constituting the new nation, offered an additional administrative headache. That these problems were at least partially solved, that Karachi, with a population of 360,000 in 1941[1] was able to be turned into a capital for a country of 75 million people, can be attributed to the wonderful

[1] *India, Pakistan, Ceylon*, ed. W.N. Brown (Cornell University Press, 1951 p. 193.

creative spirit and enthusiasm of the official personnel, many of whom were inexperienced in the type of job they had to perform.

A similarly great problem arose from the economic backwardness of the country. Millions of refugees streaming across the border into Pakistan had to be given food and shelter and had to be rehabilitated. Refugees leaving the country in great numbers left behind farms that fell into disuse and crops that were spoiled from lack of care, thus adding to the general misery caused by the extensive floods in some regions and failure of rains in others. However, not only the agriculture of Pakistan suffered in the few years following partition. In finance, Pakistan as an infant nation had difficulties in obtaining badly needed loans from other countries. Its financial assets, a heritage from the British rule, were withheld by India for a time on the pretext that they would be used against them in the Kashmir war. Industrially, too, the country was left without materials for heavy industries and without factories.

Economic backwardness goes hand in hand with a low standard of living. The United Nations estimates of 1950 show that the per capita annual income in Pakistan was only $51.[1] This income is not enough even for bare sustenance. Obviously, adequate housing, education, health and other aspects of our culture that result from a higher standard of living have to be neglected in the struggle for sheer survival.

In addition, one has to keep in mind that Pakistan, in the first years of its existence, spent a substantial part of its budget on military expenditures to build up an adequate defence force. Even today the defence budget costs the nation more than half of its federal income.[2] It is thus understandable, that urgent measures were needed to ameliorate the economic situation.

Islam and Pakistan

Basically, these economic problems were not new in the provinces from which Pakistan was carved. Independent India and prepartition India had to grapple with the same or similar problems. What

[1] *National Per Capita Incomes, 70 Countries—1949*, Statistical Paper, Series E, No. 1 (New York: United Nations Statistical Office, 1950), p. 15.

[2] *New York Times*, August 15, 1955. Article, "Karachi Premier didn't want Post" p. 3. The figure mentioned is 80 per cent, but this is slightly exaggerated.

was new in Pakistan was the intention to apply a fresh approach in order to find soultions for the ills of the vast, backward Muslim masses of the country. This intention led to the most turbulent controversy in the short history of Pakistan. The controversy revolved around the question: What kind of a state should Pakistan be? Opinions varied on this point. The minority wanted it to be a secular state that would evolve its own character and system of government in a democratic, evolutionary process. The majority, however, seemed to believe that "Pakistan was founded because the Muslims of this subcontinent wanted to build up their lives in accordance with the teachings and traditions of Islam."[1] The controversy assumed vast practical significance at the moment when the country was on the brink of adopting a Constitution, a blueprint for their new way of life

The question was rather hypothetical We learn from history that Pakistan "has been deliberately created not on an economic, linguistic or racial basis, but on that of religious unity;"[2] that under English rule the Muslim population rose to the outcry, 'Islam is in danger,'[3] that communalism could be identified most exactly by differences in culture or religion rather than economic status. It was, thus, a natural culmination of the aspirations of the Muslims in India that their religion and culture should play a vital role in the development of their country.

The Muslim and His Religion

What is actually the relationship of a Muslim to his religion? "Islam has never accepted the view that religion is a private affair between man and his creator and as such has no bearing upon the social or political relations of human beings."[4] Submission to God's commands,[5] to His revealed word in the *Qur'an*, is practiesd by the

[1] Liaquat Ali Khan in *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates*, Official Report, V (March, 1949), p. 2 (hereafter referred to as *C A.D*).

[2] R. Symonds, *op cit* p. 13

[3] *Ibid*, p. 55.

[4] Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani, *C.A D*. V (March, 1949), p. 44.

[5] M. Khadduri, *The Law of War and Peace in Islam* (London : Luzac, 1940). "The word Islam is derived from the verb *aslam* (surrendered) and its religious meaning is 'Surrendered to the will of Allah.' " (P. 3. n.)

Muslims in every walk of human life. In the words of Jinnah :

> The Qur'an is a complete code of life. It provides for all matters, religious or social, civil or criminal, military or penal, economic or commercial. It regulates every act, speech and movement from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life, from the salvation of the soul to the health of body, from the rights of all to those of each individual, from punishment here to that in the life to come.[1]

It is this all-embracing discipline of Islam that is most characteristic of an ideal Muslim society Thus, Islam does more than simply regulate the worship of the true believer ; it is also his culture, his way of life. Or, in other terms, Islam is his religion which embraces his culture, his way of life, his noble ambitions and his appetites. It is a framework of which he might be more or less conscious but which he takes for granted Because of its all-encompassing nature, the religion of the Muslims could, therefore, be an integral part of the new state of Pakistan.

The Objectives Resolution, March 7, 1949

The founding fathers of Pakistan were conscious of this fact. No wonder, therefore, that as soon as conditions permitted it, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan passed an Objectives Resolution[2] proclaiming the identification of Pakistan with Islamic ideals. In the words of the Resolution : "The Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunna."[3] Further, "the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed "[4] These two provisions were the key points of the Resolution and were supposed to set the standard for an Islamic Pakistan. In fact, the Objectives Resolution became the light which led the drafters of the forthcoming Pakistani Constitution in a certain path throughout the stormy years following its adoption.

[1] Osmani, *loc. cit.*
[2] *C.A.D.* V, March, 1949).
[3] Liaquat Ali Khan, *op cit.*, p. 1
[4] *Ibid.*

As was already noted above, the question in so far as the relevancy of Islamic principles as an integral part of numerous phases of life and the functioning of the state appratus were concerned, never became a serious one. With the sole exception of Mian Iftikharuddin, the Muslim League Party, the majority party of the Constituent Assembly, acted with unanimity in adopting the Objectives Resolution ard thus virtually proclaiming Pakistan an Islamic State [1] The minority voiced grave doubts about the advisability of this act. It evidenced stiff opposition to the passage of the Resolution. But all opposition was futile The Pakistani Muslims were not willing to consider the renunciation of an experiment that could redound to the glory of an ideal in the name of which Pakistan was created Thus, the opposition's argument that a modern state has to be a secular one [2] was overridden, while the plea that the state be a religious one but not particularly Muslim[3] was cast aside. The majority of Pakistan did not want a religious state they; wanted an Islamic State

Religious State and Islamic State

In order to understand this attitude it is important to realize that many Pakistani Muslims looked at the State as a means toward the earliest and fullest attainment of the Islamic ideal of good life. Taking for granted the eventual Islamic quality of the State, they had to answer the questions, what form it was supposed to take, what methods it whould have to apply, what technique could it have used for the fulfillment of this ideal. In search of an answer, they began to study the existing forms of government to see whether any of them would serve to attain their ideal properly. However, while adopting some external features of twentieth century governmental forms, Pakistani Muslim lawgivers were repulsed by the spirit that lay behind them. Although they believed in democracy and claimed that Islam in its true expression is democratic, they disliked many of its pratical aspects as manifested in the modern world. They pointed out the fact that communists, just as well as

[1] The term "Islamic State," however, is lacking in the phraseology of the Resolution.

[2] Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya *C. A. D*, *V* (March, 1949), p. 9.

[3] Prem Hari Barma, *C.A.D.*, V, p. 33. (March, 1949).

socialists and capitalists, call themselves democrats and, despite that, act according to different standards of values. Neither of these standards was lofty enough to carry Islamic ideals to their complete realization. Therefore, Islam needed a new form of government that might as yet have been without precedent. For lack of any better nomenclature "Islamic" was applied to it.* The true meaning of the word was not, and still is not, clear to the Pakistanis themselves.** To many it did not mean that the State had to be necessarily religious in the conventional sense, even less did it have to be theocratic but it should be based on principles that are derived from the *Qur'an* and the Muslim tradition.

Although it is hardly possible to avoid ambiguity on this point, an inquiry has to be made for the purpose of clarification into the differences between Religion and Islam, if such differences exist at all. Generally, no such differences are recognized. The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* states that "Islam is the name which Muhammadans in every country give to their own faith."[1] The *Dictonary of Islam* gives a similar definition : "The religion of Muhammadans is called Islam."[2] These statements are based directly on the following verse in the *Qur'an* ; "This day I have perfected your religion for you, completed my favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion.[3]"

While we thus know that Islam is generally identified with religion, we have to recognize that religion is a term that encompasses a broad scope of human feelings, emotions, attitudes, practices and thoughts. It encompasses what we can now distinguish as social, cultural, psychological, hygienic, ethical, moral, political and economic activities and standards Similarly, science was once but one and

*[It would be nearer the truth to say that no term in modern political phraseology can fully express the concept of the Islamic State ; hence it is necessary to use this term—Editor]

**[The statement is too sweeping to be accepted as unexceptionable—Editor.]

[1] T. M. Arnold, "Islam", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (London : Luzac), II, pt. I. The *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, ed. A. J. Wensinck and J. H. Kramers, gives exactly the same definition but it uses the word "religion" instead of "faith."

[2] Thomas P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam* (London : Allen, 1885), under "Religion"

[3] V : 4, A. Y. Ali, *The Holy Qur'an* (Cambridge, Mass. ; Murray Printing Co., 1946.

inseparable, and only progressively did it branch out into different fields that—though still interconnected—can be viewed independently of each other. The faster the civilization progressed, the more compartmentalized did the sciences become. Being conscious of the shortcomings of this comparison, it would be a staggering, and perhaps sacrilegious idea to suggest that religion might eventually have the same fate ; but it might be interesting to note that in Pakistan and other civilized countries people do have a tendency to compartmentalize some of the religious functions. This compartmentalization seems to result from attempts to discover the essence of religion.

To a number of people it might seem that if Islam essentially endeavours to produce an ideal man and an ideal society, then stress has to be put mainly on Islamic ethical and moral principles Others—and this is the conventional view of Islam and as a matter of fact of any religion—consider it as a body of laws and regulations that have to be meticulously observed by the believer. Frequently, however, people belonging to the second category have a tendency to lose themselves in the legalistic maze of petty observances, ignoring the eternal religious values. Taking one random example, the *Qur'an* says (II : 177) :

> Righteous is he who believeth in Allah and the Last Day and the angels and the Scripture and the Prophets ; and giveth his wealth, for love of Him, to kinsfolk and to orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and to those who ask, and to set slaves free ; and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor due. And those who keep their treaty when they make one, and the patient in tribulation and adversity and time of stress. Such are they who are sincere. Such are the God-fearing.[1]

Individuals belonging to the first category mentioned above might not accept belief in "the Last Day and the angels." Still, they would consider themselves righteous and sincere and "God-fearing." Those belonging to the second category might not necessarily give their wealth "to orphans and the needy and the wayfarer," or they

[1] Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an*, a Mentor Book (New York : New American Library, 1053).

might not be "patient in tribulation and adversity and time of stress." Still, they would consider themselves devout Muslims.

Stress on external observance and stress on ethical observance could by no means be tightly shut compartments of religious thinking. Neither are they the only two compartments. There are those who see in religion a bond of kinship resulting from the common faith of its adherents, from the pride in its history and its outstanding cultural contributions. History and culture are obviously deeply rooted in religion, still they are now considered by many as only aspects of it, independent of belief in a supernatural power. Those who follow the historical or cultural approach to Islam might observe most of the laws in the *Qur'an*, not with the attitude of fear, reverence, love or devotion, but as aspects of the Islamic culture. In that respect they contribute to the preservation of Islamic values. To the extent of their contribution they consider themselves religious individuals.

While the legal definition of Islam requires complete adherence to the *Qur'an* and to the principles derived from it, individuals and groups consider themselves Islamic by adhering to what they consider the essence of Islam observance, or ethics, or culture, or whatever it may be. We, therefore, draw a distinction, however contradictory it may seem to be, between a Religious State, where the majority would be endeavouring to implement the totality of *Qur'anic* laws into the affairs of the nation, and an Islamic State, where the majority agrees on the implementation of *Qur'anic* laws but disagrees on the degree and extent of their application, on the basis of the different interpretations of the essence of Religion and Islam, prevalent at present in modern societies. While a Religious State would be a more or less homogeneous unit with little disagreement among its members as to ideology, purpose and method, an Islamic State is a sort of melting pot for the different concepts of Islam. Many disparaging remarks, like the statement that "Republic based on the Qur'an can't be democratic" and consequently "jurists protest Islamic Pakistan,"[1] are based on the opinion that an Islamic State is by sheer definition a Religious State where homo-

[1] *New York Times*, April 24, 1954. Article: "Jurists Protest Islamic Pakistan."

geneity will be enforced, opposition silenced free discussion, free press, criticism, not permitted to flourish, since the *Qur'an*, the accepted Constitution of the country, could never be questioned, being considered divinely inspired. Keeping in mind that the Islamic State presupposes disagreements that need airing and discussion on the degree and extent to which *Qur'anic* laws can be applied in the country, one does not have to fear the iron hand of the past 1350 years choking the budding future of Pakistan. No such thing can conceivably happen In an Islamic State the people are the best judges to say what is Islamic and what is not Islamic A country can be no more Islamic than the people inhabiting that country.[1] It is, therefore, no iron hand that would rule Pakistan, but rather the Common Will that would take shape in the melting pot of the different concepts of Islam.

It would be important that the difference—which is legally a pure fiction but practically a reality—between a Religious State and an Islamic State should be recognized by students of the Islamic State of Pakistan. If such a distinction would be drawn, even though it is not generally recognized by Pakistanis, much of the haze encircling the Islamic State could be dispelled and one could easily recognize the potential dynamic quality of such a State.

The above was by no means an attempt to define the Islamic State. It was an endeavour to see the Islamic Religion in various aspects and connotations, as it is viewed by a considerable number of Pakistani Muslims. We are not arguing the validity of this approach, but however critical one might be towards it, one must not overlook it as a potent factor in the shaping of the Constitution, and thereby the destiny, of Pakistan. A technical definition of the Islamic State will be attempted later on in this thesis.

Muslim State or Islamic State

While the attempt to make a distinction between an Islamic State and a Religious State might seem sacrilegious in Pakistan, opposed to the generally accepted notion about Islam and contrary to traditional Muslim thinking, no similar inhibitions arise when the question is being discussed whether there is any difference between an Islamic State and a Muslim State. There are prominent Pakistanis

[1] See I. H. Qureshi, *Pakistan, an Islamic Democracy* (Karachi).

who are convinced that no such difference exists. An Islamic State, they would say, is one where the majority of the population is Muslim. This definition would make an Islamic State even out of Turkey, which is considered by its leaders a thoroughly secular state.

To the equation of "Islamic" with "Muslim" some writers would take exception. Khan Durrani, speaking about Islam in India in a historical setting, says : "The Muslim Empire in India was Muslim only in the sense that the man who wore the crown professed to be a Muslim."[1] In so far as adherence to Islamic standards was concerned, it fell short of the expectations. Similarly, W. C. Smith remarks that,

> "an Islamic State is not one in which Muslims live and rule ; but one through which their purpose is to live and rule. . as Muslims. Some Pakistanis drew a distinction on the score between the newly won dominion and say Egypt ; pointing out that most of the populace of such a state as Egypt may be individually Muslims, but they are politically, not only by statute but by intent, Egyptians ; the integrating and guiding principle of their state is not and does not pretend to be their religion "[2]

While it would be hard to imagine an Islamic State that does not have a majority of Muslims such a majority does no necessarily secure the establishment of an Islamic State An Islamic State and an Islamic way of life is not birthright or an arbitrarily bestowed privilege. Its existence hinges on a determined, zealous will to build life upon ways and principles derived from the *Qur'an* and the Muslim tradition.

The term " Islamic State"

According to the Objectives Resolution an Islamic State would be one which enables people to order their lives in accordance with the *Qur'an* and the Muslim tradition and where the noble principles of Islam are fully observed. Dr. Omar Hayat Malik, a member of the Constituent Assembly, said that "an Islamic State is simply a

[1] F. K. Khan Durrani, *The Meaning of Pakistan* (Lahore : Sh. M. Ashraf, 1944), p. 36.

[2] W. C. Smith, *Pakistan as an Islamic State* (A monograph to be secured from the author, Mc Gill University, Montreal Canada). p. 12.

state that uses its power, its influence, for promoting the cause of Islam inside and outside the country."[1] Similarly, Mr Fazlur Rahman defined the Islamic State as one based "on the Islamic concepts of life and from where they [the Pakistani Muslims] could give to the world a way of life which alone could ensure peace and happiness."[2] These definitions, as all definitions of an Islamic State, are not very helpful since they are not self-explanatory. They usually raise questions like, what is the cause of Islam that Dr. Malik is referring to, or what are the Islamic concepts of like mentioned by Mr. Rahman ? The answer to those questions is usually looked for n the lofty spheres of humanitarian ideals. This, however, is a fallacy, since the Islamic concepts of life, if examined from a humanitarian angle of what we call justice, righteousness, brotherhood, etc, can hardly be distinguished from the Christian and Jewish ideals of life. The real distinction between a truly Islamic, Christian, and Jewish State would not be in the ideals. These are universal and their concretization on earth is the aim of every great religion. If these lofty ideals would be the only sacred objects of veneration, it might not even be far-fetched to say that every pious Muslim could also be considered a pious Christian and a pious Jew and *vice versa* A label "Islamic" might strike the eye when attached to an ideal, but does not reach the core of the problem. The Muslims mentioned in a preceding section who consider themselves "Islamic" by virtue of the fact that they adhere to the ethical ideas of the *Qur'an*, would exemplify this description, unless they also adhere to any of the traditions peculiar to the religion of Islam. Therefore, we could conclude that it is rather in the symbolic expressions of the ideals where the differences lie between Islam and other religions.

The instinct of self-preservation makes the religio-national units conscious of the above fact. Thus, a Muslim will cling to the *Qur'an*, just as a Christian will to the New Testment and a Jew to the Old Testament. They will each observe his respective holiday, they will say their respective prayers, they will venerate distinct holy sites, they will observe distinct customs of eating, dressing and

[1] *C.A.D.* XV, 10 (October, 1953), p. 265.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

behaviour, they will each have an allegiance for his kin, a binding loyalty to his natio-religious group, or a certain pride in the history and glorious achievements of that group. Any of these symbols help the individual to identify himself with a bigger unit, or cause, and are, therefore, from the point of view of sheer religious survival, more important than high-strung ideals. Thus, an Islamic State, as distinct from a Christian or Jewish State, is one that will take care, in an organized way, to preserve its peculiarities, applicable to its stage of development, that are the product deriving from the genius of the Muslim past.

This attempted definition, like virtually all definitions of an Islamic State, is not self-explanatory, because it leaves unanswered the question of what these peculiarities or principles are that are applicable at some definite stages of the country's development Since these applicable peculiarities might differ from year to year, similarly, definition will, in its specific meaning, have a new application from time to time.

The difficulties in recording and analyzing the changes in so far as development of the idea of the Islamic State is concerned, are twofold: Firstly, the process (and the Islamic State can now be considered as an unfolding process and not as a pertrified ideal) cannot be measured by a yard-stick. Secondly, as already mentioned, the sheer definition of the term "Islamic State" can change from year to year. To measure the success of a process by drawing a single standard and then comparing the past and the present to that standard in order to see which period fits t more perfectly, is an imprecise—although the most convenient—method of coping with the issue at hand. The expression "process" implies evolution, constant change, a change in the definition of the very process itself. Thus the definition of the ideal Islamic State of the year of labour pains and emergency, 1948-49, might have been different from what it developed to be in 1953-54, after the first painful childhood experiences of the youthful country were over, and it might change even more by the time the new Constitutent Assembly convenes in August, 1955, when one of its most urgent tasks will be to comply with the popular demand to adopt a Constitution. In an attempt to trace the change in the concept of the Islamic State in Pakistan, it seems

to be most feasible to choose two milestones in its short history as the leading thread. The first one, the Objectives Resolution, has been taken note of already. The second is the *Report of the Basic Principles Committee*.[1]

Report of the Basic Principles Committee

There were actually three Reports of the Basic Principles Committee published at two-year intervals. The first one, the Interim Report of 1950,[2] and the second, the regular Report of 1952,[3] were not accepted by the Constituent Assembly. Opposition to two Reports was based equally on political and religious grounds. Political difficulties resulted mainly from the disagreements on the division of powers between the federal and provincial governments, on the question of representation between East and West Pakistan, and on the popular, chauvinistic issue of State language, called the Urdu-Bengali controversy. Opposition on religious grounds can be derived to the procedure to avoid repugnancy of the *Holy Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* in the Federal Legislature.

The Reports order that the head of the State should appoint "for five years a Board consisting of not more than five persons well versed in Islamic laws".[4] The Board would have to be consulted on the laws passed in the Legislature if any of the Muslim members should raise an objection that it was contrary to Islamic law.

The third Report met a better fate. It was passed by the Constituent Assambly, Pakistan's legislative and constitution—making body, on September 21, 1954. The consideration of this Report is all the more significant since this document, having been adopted by the Assembly before its dssolution at the end of 1954, has a good chance to become the living Constitution of Pakistan and to exert a lasting influence on the thinking and doing of the future generations of that country. Every further reference to the Report concerns the

1 *Report of the Basic Principles Committee* as adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, September 21, 1954 (Karachi, Government Printing Press, 1954).

2 *Basic Principles Committee Interim Report 1950* (Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi).

3 *Report of the Basic Principles Committee 1952* (Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi).

4 *Ibid.* Pt. I, Ch. III, 5(1).

one that was adopted by the Constituent Assembly in 1954.

Changes in Emphasis within the Islamic State

Before we begin to compare the notion of the Islamic State in 1949 to that of 1953-54, we have to recognize that since we are dealing with concepts, we are on very slippery ground at this point. Sometimes it is not so much what is expressed as what is not expressed, or the context in which things are said, that is the most eloquent witness of a pervading feeling. It is therefore difficult to pin down a certain definite trend that we could call the "Islamic State" or that we could recognize as leading to the ideal Islamic State.

"Pakistan first and Pakistan last was the only motto toward which they worked day in and day out,"[1] said an honourable member of the Constituent Assembly in 1953, referring to the members of the Basic Principles Committee. In reference to the same members one could have paraphrased the statement five years earlier in the following way: Islam first and Islam last was the only motto toward which they worked day in and day out. This shift in emphasis from Islam to Pakistan is rather felt than expressed. On both occasions, in 1949 and in 1953-54, the leaders of Pakistan grappled with similar problems. On the latter date they repeated the same arguments that they had already advanced once earlier in their solemn assembly, sometimes even using identical phraseology for or against the Islamic State. Still the difference in emphasis from Islam to Pakistan was quite palpable. This feeling might have resulted from the relatively greater stress on practical application of *Qur'anic* law within the framework of governmental machinery in 1954 as compared to an abundance of theoretical-religious slogans in 1949. One can also sense that during the debates of the *Basic Principles Committee Report* (1953-54) in the Constituent Assembly, the Muslim representatives seemed to be driven rather by anxiety for the possibly greatest good and happiness of Pakistan and only secondarily for the glory of Islam—frequent assertions to the opposite notwithstanding.

[1] Mafizuddin Ahmad, *C.A.D.*, XV, 120. (6 October, 1953).

The healthy development of the country would also lead us to expect such a development. In 1949 the country was drunk with the ideal that made its independent existence possible and gained it a place among the sovereign powers of the earth. The Muslim majority clung to the principles for which it fought, in the name of which Pakistan was created. It did so with the unbounded pride of a people that has gained the first opportunity to reassert its cherished national heritage after two centuries of servitude. It might have done so under the sheer momentum of the recent struggle for an Islamic Pakistan, which momentum was still a dominating force in the life of the new state. Consequently, the emphasis on Islamic values overshadowed the need of a working economy and a modern governmental machinery. Everything Islamic was to be accepted and incorporated into the life of the new state. The *Qur'an* and the *Sunna* were to become the undisputed fundamental law of the country in all aspects of life : political and economic as well as social and ethical, in accordance with the accepted notion that Islam is a way of life. By 1953, however, the leaders of Pakistan must have realized that first and most of all Pakistan must exist before it is to be completely Islamicized. Problems of building up a sound economy, of getting more cereals for the people of raising the standard of health, sanitation, education and literacy, soon became the main preoccupation of the Pakistan government. The basic needs of the country had to be taken care of, preferably in agreement with the principles of the *Qur'an* and *Sunna*, but if there is no other way, then in spite of them.

Similar developments are frequent phenomena in history. The Russia of 1918 was to be built on communist doctrines. But when the proper functioning of the state was endangered by resistance to collectivization, the khulaks (independent landowners) were permitted to retain their farms temporarily. The safeguarding of the country was paramount in Lenin's eyes to the Communist ideals. In the United States, too, while the Declaration of Independence proclaimed the doctrine of human equality, the institution of slavery was permitted to thrive simultaneously as long as the economic stability of the country so required it. Muslim history also offers

similar examples. Thus, when the Muslims occupied Sind, they were faced with the problem of adopting a certain *modus vivendi* with their Hindu subjects.[1] Hitherto only the followers of the four religions mentioned specially in the *Qur'an*—Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Sabianism—had been accorded the status of *dhimmis*, provided they recognized the political supremacy of Islam. On the other hand, the pagans of Arabia had not been given that status. Hindus were considered to be pagans. Evidently, the Hindus were not to be treated as *dhimmis*. However, this would have made Muslim rule over a Hindu majority impossible. In order to secure the Muslim hold on Sind and to make co-existence possible, the Muslim doctors of law declared that Hindus should be treated as *dhimmis*. They actually did not act contrary to the *Qur'an*, but they extended its provisions concerning non-Muslims farther than the simple, obvious reading of the passage would permit. Although they were devout Muslims, the survival and prosperity of their people were paramount in their eyes. In the light of these examples a devout Pakistani Muslim need not feel bad when realizing the shift in emphasis from Islam to Pakistan that took place within the first eight years of the country's existence.

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, ed. Sir Richard Burn (Cambridge, Eng.: The University Press, 1928.) III, 3-4. See also I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (Lahore: Ashraf, 1942), pp. 2-3.

THE MUGHUL EMPERORS WERE WHOLE TIME PUBLIC SERVANTS

by

M. B. AHMAD, C.S.P. SECRETARY, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

Studies in medieval Indian History have often presented to us a cumulative picture of what was achieved by the governments and rulers of those days. But a detailed study of the routine working of the departments of administration and the functions and responsibilities of the heads of governments has not so far been undertaken. A number of original documents relating to the Mughul administration have been discovered and are preserved in various museums and libraries. The *ruznamchahs* collected in the *Daftar-i-Diwani* in Hyderabad (Deccan), India, throw a good deal of light on the actual working of the machinery of the administration under the Mughuls. A few extracts from these collections are given below :

No. I

روز نامچه

وقائع قلعه فتح آباد عرف دهارور۔ صفر ختم بالخیر والظفر سنه ۱۰۷۲ هجری ۔ یوم الاربعاء ۳ مطابق ۴ جلوس میمنت مانوس آنکه "سیادت و اقبال‌پناه"، مفتخر خاں دو گھڑی روز برآمده نشیمنے که بجهت عدالت مقرر نموده اند تا یک پهر نشسته بمعاملات وارسیده برخاستند۔

Translation:

Chronicles of Fort Fathabad 'urf Dharor

On 3 *Safar* which may end in goodness and victory, Wednesday, 1072 H. fourth year of the auspicious accession, *Siyadat wa Iqbal Panah* Muftakhar Khān, having fixed two *gharis* for court work daily, sat in his court for one *pahar*. He heard cases and then rose for the day.

The practice of recording court sittings was started in India by Aurangzib. The Mughul Empire had then attained its maximum territorial limits and the task of supervising the work of a large

number of officers was greatly hampered by the fact that the officers had no fixed hours for sitting. The Codes that were in force up till then had left it entirely to the discretion of the presiding officers. As the author of the *Mira't-i-Ahamdi* observes. .. .."Aurangzib promulgated an Act that the presiding officers must announce their hours of sitting in courts to the public and must adhere to them."[1] The practice is followed still in India and the judicial officers in various provinces now have to maintain a register of daily sittings themselves, whereas this register in those days was kept by the court *waqai'-nigar*[2] (chronicler), or *akhbar-nawis*[3] who recorded the daily proceedings of the court and sent them on to the Emperor.[4] The Emperor was in this manner able to supervise the work done by his officers. These reports were scrutinised by the *qadi al-qudat* (chief justice) or the *qadi-i-subah i.e.*, 'chief *qadi* of the province.

The Mughul Emperors employed another class of officers called *sawanih-nigars*, who used to tour about the districts and check the reports sent by the *waqai'-nigars*.

The date on this report, *i.e.*, 4th shows that the reports were sent on the next day when the previous day's work was over.

The reports of these *waqai'-nigars* were despatched to the capital without delay. The Mughuls had a "wonderful system of post." In the time of Aurangzib "one could send a letter from Delhi to the Deccan in eight days."[5]

No. II

نقل روزنامچه

وقائع سرکار رامگیر ۳شوال سنه ۰ ازجلوس یوم الاثنین

خواجه بیک فوجدار و قاضی محمد فاضل و بولچند دیوان

از دو گهڑی روز برآمده بکچهری نشستند - فوجدار مسطور قرارداد

که روز شنبه ودو شنبه و چهار شنبه بدین دستور در هفته

[1] Compare order of Aurangzib, dated *Rab.* 13, 1089, A. H. MS. *Baqiyat al-Salihat* f. 6.

[2] *'Alamgir-Namah*, p. 1078.

[3] *Mira't-i-Ahmadi*, vol. I, p. 335.

[4] *Mira't-i-Ahmadi*, Supplement, p. 150; Storia, vol. I, 421.

[5] Hamilton, *A New Account of the East India*, vol. I, p. 149.

سه روز کچهری می شده باشد که بنده هائے درگه سلاطین
سجده گه آمده جمع شده امور سرکار خاصه شریفه را باتفاق
واستصواب(صواب؟) دید یکد یگر انجام میرسانیده باشند۔

دیگر

دوپاس ازروز گذشت بنده هائے درگه از کچهری برخاستند
بخانه هائے خودر فتند۔

Translation:

Copy of Diary

Chronicles of Sarkar Ramgir:

3 *Shawwal* year 5, *az Julus*, Monday,

"Khwajah Beg Fawjdar, Qaḍi Muḥammad Fāḍil and Būl Chand Dīwān sat in their courts for two *gharis* of the day. The said *fawjdar* made an announcement that he would sit in his court on three days Saturday, Monday and Wednesday, in each week, so that the servants of the threshold which is the place for the prostration of the sultans should come and perform their duties pertaining to the affairs of the Exalted Government in harmony and cooperation among themselves.

Another: Two *pahars* of the day having expired the servants of the threshold left the Court and went to their homes, on which days he would hear cases."

The above diary shows that three kinds of officers in those days had power to decide cases. Firstly, the *fawjdar*; secondly, the *qadi*: and thirdly, the *diwan*. I have discussed the duties of each of these officers in detail separately in my book, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*. Briefly speaking, the *fawjdar* decided only such cases as are now dealt with under Secs. 107, 109 and 110, and also under Sec. 145, Criminal Procedure Code in order to maintain peace and tranquility in the district. The *fawjdar* was the military commandant and the chief executive officer of the district. As an executive officer he was subordinate to the governor and was sometimes called upon to hold charge for him as a *locum-tenens*.[1] When dealing with the cases under Sec. 145, Cr. P. C., the *fawjdar* or his assistant used to

[1] Khwafi Khan, vol. II, pp. 257 and 258.

sit on a bench along with the *qadi* of the district to decide criminal cases, ('Azmatallah vs. Ghulām Muḥammad.)[1] The appointment of *fawjdar* was generally made on the recommendation of the governor.

The *qadi* of the *sarkar* was appointed on the recommendation of the *qadi-i subah* or independently by the *qadi-al-qudat*, or by the emperor directly.[2] No salary seems to have been fixed for the *qadis* but they were given some daily allowance and *madad-i-ma'ash*.[3]

The duties of the *qadi* in addition to deciding civil and criminal cases of any value included the certification of current market prices[4] The *qadi* had also power to try security cases that were usually tried by the *fawjdar* (Azmatallāh vs. Ghulām Muḥammad).[5] He was assisted by a *naib-qadi* where necessary, (Dina Murari vs Shahāmat 'Ali)[6] The duties of the *qadi* included (1) Leading the Friday and the 'Id prayers, (2) Attending State and other important funerals; (3) Conducting marriage ceremonies

In the warrant of precedence, the *qadi* of the district held the first place (*kalan-tar · Akbar-Namah*). He was expected to be present to receive the emperor or the viceroy when they came to his district. When Maharaja Ajit Singh, viceroy of Bahādur Shāh, visited one of his districts in Gujrat, Qaḍi Khayrallāh led the reception.[7] The district *qadi* could be removed by the emperor[8] The district *qadi* had a staff of these ministerial officials (1) *peshkar*[9] (2) *katib*. (3) *sahib-al-majlis*[10] (4) *amin*[11] (5) *nazir, daftari, mirdahs*.[12] (6) *muchalka'mawis*[13] and, (7) orderlies.[14]

1 MS. *Baqiyat-al-Salihat*, f 5 and 'Ali Raza and others vs. Mir Muhammad Wali MS. *Baqiyat-al-Salihat*, f. 18.

2 Khwafi Khan, vol II, The person selected was usually a lawyer of some standing. The title of the District *qadi* was *Shari'at-panah* (MS. *Baqiyat al Salihat*. f. 10. and *Mira't-i-Ahmadi*, I, 406).

3 *Mira't-i-Ahmadi*, MS 5820, f. 425, British Musum and *farman* granted to Qadi Razaullah Khan, (MS *Baqiat-al-Salhat*, Appendix)

4 Br. Mus. MS. Addl. 6599, f. 196.

5 *Baqiyat-al-Salihat*, f 5.

6 *Ibid*. f. 25,

7 *Mira't-i-Ahmadi*, vol II, p. 2

8 Dow: *History of Hindustan*, vol. III pp. 334, 335.

9 "*Collection*" (original documents, in the *Daftr-i-Diwani* Hyderabad Deccan.

10 Balkis, p. 767.

11 Ms. 370, India Office Library, London.

12 Br. Museum Ms. 1779.

13 *Collection*,

14 *Faramin-i-Salatin*, p. 228.

The *diwan* as a judicial officer decided such revenue cases as are now tried by Assistant Collectors, first class, for example, ejectment, fixation of rent, in which appeals are filed to the Commissioner. The duties of the central *diwan* at the headquarters included those of the present Finance Minister, but the central *diwan*, who was also called *diwan-i-'ala*, did not as a rule hear any revenue case. His main duties related to the matters of high finance and revenue administration. The revenue appeals did not go generally beyond the governor of the province, who was the final arbiter in such matters.

No. III

فوجدار دیگر تعین نمایند　　　　　والا قدر

امر صادرشد که وزارت پناه

شفیع خان امین معتبر فرستاده

تحقیق نمایند

حقیقت

دا د خواه ناروجی دیس مکهه که وسکو دیسپانڈیه و مقدم
رعا یاۓ قصبه چار تهاله سرکار باسم صوبه برار بالا گهاٹ انکه
صاحب و قبله سلامت نصرت پسر فتح جنگ فوجدار مال و متاع
خانه واسپان و دهان و مال پنجهزار روپیه باراج نموده گرفته است
ونیز پتی سه صد روپیه از پرگنه کروه گرفته د ختران و پهوهاۓ
مقدم در قید نموده ازهر کدام صددوصد روپیه می گیرد واز محمد سعید
سازش کرده از او دو هزار روپیه رشوت خود گرفته عمر کهیڑه
ده را زده چنان ظلم و ستم نموده پرگنه راخراب وویران نموده است
امیدوا رندکه فوجداری بنام اعظم فوجدار پرگنه منهکر مقرر گردد
وحسب الحکم صادر شود که مال و متاع خودرا بیابند هر چه امر شود

"The petitioner Naroji Desmukh Vaskodespandia and the *muqaddam* of Qasbah Char-Thana, Sarkar Subah Berar, Bala Ghat, states that Nusrat, son of Fath Jang *faujdar*, has confiscated horses and Rs. 5,000 and other property belonging to the people and also Rs. 300 from parganah Kiroh and that he has also imprisoned the

daughters and daughters-in law of the petitioner. He was in the habit of extorting Rs. 100 or Rs. 200 from every one. The *fawjdar* was in league with Muḥammad Sa'īd and had accepted a bribe of Rs. 2,000. He had been damaging the whole *parganah* which he had made desolate. The petitioner, therefore, prayed that the *fawjdar* might be asked to hand over charge to Ā'zam *fawjdar parganah* Mahankar and the people might be ordered to be given back their property."

The first order on this application written by Aurangzīb on the right hand corner showed that the governor Shafī' Khān was directed to send a reliable man to make local enquiries On the left side of this petition is the final order of the emperor, Aurangzīb which runs as follows:

"The *fawjdar* should be replaced "

All the papers relating to this case could not be found in the *Daftar-i-Dīwanī* but the petition revealed a fact which has been frequently mentioned by the contemporary European travellers that Aurangzīb looked into every petition that was filed in his court with great interest, and that he used to write his own judgments. The orders written on the top of this petition are in pencil (*shanjaraf*) and in the handwriting of the emperor himself. The petitioner, as it would appear, was a Hindu and the *fawjdar* was a Muslim. The prompt steps taken by the emperor in dealing with all kinds of oppression had, in the words of Lt Col. Dow, the effect of completely winning over the subjects over whom he held sway. Among the European travellers Ovington who visited India in the time of Aurangzīb, says that the Great Mughul "was the main ocean of justice" .. .."He generally determines with exact justice and equity; for there is no pleading of peerage and privilege before the Emperor, but the meanest man is as soon heard by Aurangzeb as the Chief Omrah which makes the Omrah very circumspect of their actions and punctual in their payments."

Manucci, another contemporary traveller and nearly always hostile to Aurangzīb, says, "This Monarch is also desirous of appearing a great lover of justice. This is why he said one day that it was the bounden duty of Kings to apply themselves unweariedly and painstakingly to the dispensing of equal justice to everybody."[1]

[1] *Storia*, vol. III, p. 261.

The petitions in appeal, says Lt. Col. Dow[1], were heard with the attention which a jealous prince pays to his power and there are many instances in which the governors of the provinces have been severely punished for an act of injustice to the poor peasants. Never to forgive oppression against the helpless and low was the established maxim among all the princes of the house of Timur.

IV

سوانح سیاهه

ربیع الثانی سنه ۱۷ جلوس

باباجی دیس مکهی پرگنه رنجی‌رامحمه قلی برق انداز از رعایا آنجا خبر یافته که پسر بابا جی زن خود راکشته بدر رفته بنا برآن محضرنامه نموده همراه کرده نزد مدارالمهامی رجوع کردلد ـ مدارالمهامی حواله عبدالله بیگ کردند درقید باشد ضامن گرفته خلاص کنند

Report

Rabi'-al-thani 17th year of Accession (Aurangzib). Muḥammad Quli *barqandaz* was informed about Babaji Desmukh, Parganah Ranji, that Babaji's son having killed his wife had run away. A charge-sheet was accordingly prepared and the matter was laid before the *madar-al-muham*, who handed over the prisoner to 'Abdal-lāh Beg with the direction that he should be kept in the lock-up till he furnished security."

From the above report it would appear that Des-Mukhi was a *mukhya* or the head of the village and the *barqandaz* who was an ordinary policeman, possessed the power to arrest any person suspected of having committed a serious offence. In this case the allegation was that the accused had killed his wife This was a murder case and yet bail was allowed, as it was a right of the accused. The procedure in Indian courts to day is to accept bail in murder cases only in exceptional circumstances.

It is not clear from this report as to who passed the order of release on bail. *Madar-al-muham* was the term usually applied to

[1] *History of Hindostan*, vol. III, p. XXXIII.

the prime minister in the Deccan and *madar-al-muhami* obviously refers to his office. There was a custom in the time of the sultans of Delhi to invest the prime ministers also, as occasion arose, with the power of trying criminal cases. This practice was, however, discontinued by the Mughuls[1].

The diary does not, however, show that the *madar-al-muham* himself passed the order. He handed over the accused to one 'Abdallāh Beg. It is not clear who this 'Abdallāh Beg was, whether he was a *qadi* or some administrative officer of the court. As bail was usually allowed in murder cases in those days, it is possible that the officer to whom the custody of the accused was given, might have suggested to him (accused) that he would be kept in the lock-up till he furnished security demanded by the court of justice.

It may be of some interest to note that the words *mahdar-namah* and *zamin* are still used in modern Indian courts, *mahdar-namah* is now generally known as *chalan* in criminal cases.

V

سوانح سیاهه

جمادی الاول سنه ۱۷ جلوس

مداری فقیر دربازار قدیم شب در خانه یک بیوه درمی آمد بنا بران آن بیوه غوغا کرد - پاسبان گرفته درقید کرد - بنائے مد کور بهشرع شریف رجوع کردند - باوچیزے دزدی برنیامد - گفت که برائے آب رفته بود - بیوه مذکور غوغائے بنا بران گریخته می رفتم که پاسبانان گرفته آوردند - باو چیزے نیست خلاص شده -

Report

Jamadi-al-Awwal, 17th year of Accession (Aurangzib). Madāri Faqir trespassed into the house of a widow in Bazār Qadim. She shouted for help and the *pasban* (watchman) arrested the culprit and brought him to the *qadi* for prosecution. Madāri Faqir had nothing with him to show that he had stolen any property. He explained that he had gone inside the house to drink water and when the widow shouted for help, he ran out but was arrested by the

[1] See Chapters 3 & 4 of my book, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*.

watchman. The *qadi* did not find anything to suggest that Madārī Faqīr wanted to commit theft and released him."

Obviously the case is one under Sec. 457 of the Penal Code now in force in the sub-continent. The court gave the accused the benefit of doubt on the ground that there was nothing to suggest that he had the intention of committing theft. This judgment deals only with one aspect of the occurrence, because the allegation seems to have been made by the widow that Madārī Faqīr intended to commit burglary. No suggestion of criminal trespass of any other offence appears to have been made. It is not clear if the court at all considered the question whether the accused could have any intention to commit theft and whether he had any licence to enter the house of the widow without permission even to get water. The *qadi*, however, was impressed by the fact that the accused admitted the circumstances which were alleged by the prosecution against him. The finding of the *qadi* in fact is not much different from what a present day Magistrate usually does in such circumstances. The case, no doubt, shows the efficiency of the watch and ward system in a town that the mere shouting of a widow brought forth to the spot the vigilant watchman who promptly arrested the accused and produced him before the *qadi*. The Mughul emperors devoted considerable attention to the work of guarding the property of their subjects. Robbers, thieves and dacoits were given the maximum penalty under the law.[1]

[1] See Chapter on the Prevention of Crimes' in *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*.

ZAFAR KHAN GHAZI OF TRIVENI

by

ABDUL KARIM, UNIVERSITY OF DACCA

All scholars working on the history of Bengali agree that Sātgāon or Triveni area was first brought under the Muslims by Zafar Ḵhān Ghāzī. The name Zafar Ḵhān is to be found in two inscriptions[1] in the mausoleum, known as Zafar Ḵhan's tomb at Triveni, one legened—*Kursinamah*[2]—preserved by the *khadims* of the tomb of Zafar Ḵhān and also from one inscription found at Gangarampur[3] in the Dinajpur district

The first inscription is dated 698/A.D 1298 It records[4] the erection of a *madrasah* in the reign of Sultan Rukn-al-Dīn Kaykāūs, (grandson of Sultan Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Balban and son of Nāṣir-al-Dīn Maḥmūd Bughra Ḵhān) by one Zafar Ḵhān who "destroyed the obdurate among infidels with his sword and spear and lavished the treasure of his wealth in (helping) the miserable." The second inscription is dated 713/A D 1313, and records that one Zafar Ḵhān built a *madrasah* known as Dār-al-Ḵhayrāt[5] (house of benevolence), in the reign of Sultan Shams-al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh. The inscription found at Gangarampur, Dinajpur, is dated 697/A.D. 1297 and records the erection of a mosque[6] by one Zafar Ḵhān Bahrām Aitigin in the reign of Sultan Rukn-al-Dīn Kaykāūs. The *Kursinamah* found by D. Money in 1847, records that Zafar Ḵhān Ghāzī, " came to Bengal for the purpose of converting the infidels to the Mahomedan faith." But "having made a proselyte of Raja Man Nriputi, he was killed in a battle fought with Raja Bhoodev at Hugli. Later on Ugwhan Ḵhān, son of Zafar Ḵhān Ghāzī marched against the raja of Hugli in Sarkar Sātgāon, conquered

[1] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1917-18 p 13, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* thereafter referred to as *J A.S.B.*, 1870, p. 287.

2 *J.A.S R.* 1847, p. 395.

[3] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, pp. 11-12.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 13.

[5] *J.A.S.B.* 1870, p. 284 and *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1917-18p. 34.

[6] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1917-18, pp. 11-12.

him, "converted the infidels to the Mahomedan faith, and married the daughter of the Raja."[1]

These sources make it clear that Sātgāon or Triveni area was first conquered by Zafar Khan in or about the year 698/A.D. 1298 in the reign of Sultan Rukn-al- Dīn Kaykāūs. But the question that baffles the historians is, which Zafar Khān, was the conqueror of Sātgāon ? The name occurs, as pointed out earlier, in three inscriptions. The Gangarampur inscription gives him a lofty title.[2]

خسرو زمان شهاب الحق والدين سكندر الثانى الغ اعظم همايون
ظفر خان بهرام ايتگين السلطانى

(Lord of his time Shihāb-al-Haqq w-al-Dīn, the second Alexander, the great, the exalted, the auspicious Zafar Khān Bahrām Aitigin-al-Sultānī.) The first Triveni inscription[3] dated 698/A.D. 1298 calls, Zafar Khān, "lion of lions", while the second Triveni inscription[4] dated 713/A.D. 1313 gives the title

نصير الاسلام ظهيرالانام شهاب الحق والدين معين الملوک
والسلاطين مربى ارباب يقين خان جهان ظفر خان

(the helper of Islam, the aider of mankind Shihab-al-Haqq-w-al-Dīn, the supporter of the kings and soverigns, the patron of believers Khan-i-Jahān Zafar Khān).

These three Zafar Khāns have been assumed to be one and the same person by D. Money, R. D. Banerjee and H. E Stapleton.[5] According to them Zafar Khān was first appointed governor of Devkot in the reign of Rukn-al-Dīn Kaykāūs ; then he was transferred to the southern area for its conquest and was ultimately appointed governor there.

Dr. K R. Qanungo is the first to propound the theory[6] that "this Zafar Khān Khan-i-Jahan of the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-Dīn

[1] *J.A.S.B* vol. XVI. 1847, p. 395.

[2] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1917-18, pp. 11-12.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 13 ; the inscription is broken, so the full title cannot be deciphered.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 34 ; *J.A.S.B.* 1870, p 287.

[5] *J.A.S.B.* vol. XVI, 1847, p. 394-97 and New Series. vol. v, 1909, pp 248-51; 1922, pp. 410-414.

[6] *History of Bengal*, vol. II published by Dacca University, 1948, p 77.

Firūz was an altogether different person from Zafar Khān, the warrior-saint who had built a Madrasah in the same locality (Triveni) fifteen years earlier in 698 A. H." He however identifies Zafar Khān of the time of Shams-ud-Dīn Fīrūz with Zafar Khān Bahrām Aitigin of Gangarampur inscription of the time of Kaykāūs. His arguments may be summarised as follows :—

(i) Zafar Khān Ghāzi died a martyr in a battle with some Hindu chiefs at the initial stage of the conquest of Sātgāon a few years after 698 A. H. in the reign of Kaykāūs, and not as late as A. H. 713 in the reign of Shams-al-Dīn Fīrūz.

ii) "This second Zafar Khān, the builder of the Dār-ul-Khayrāt at Triveni, (in A H 713) styles himself Ziaul-Haqq-w-al-Din Zafar Khān, drops Bahram Aitigin as-Sultani, adds Khān-i-Jahān, his official title". By this he perhaps wants to mean that Zafar Khān Ghāzī did not use the official title Khān-i-Jahān, because he was not an officer, but a saint who dedicated himself to the spread of Islam.

(iii) Zafar Khān Ghāzī does not call himself, 'aider of kings and monarchs', which is proclaimed by Zafar Khān of the inscription of A H 713.

From the arguments put forward by Dr. Qanungo, it seems that the learned scholar gives too much importance to the evidence of *Kursinamah*, the legend preserved by the *khadims* of the tomb. The authenticity of the legend is not beyond question. Moreover the *Kursinamah* simply says, Zafar Khān died a martyr, but it does not supply even an approximate date. The interval between the issue of two inscriptions under discussion is only fifteen years. Could we not suggest that the battle was a protracted one and lasted for over fifteen years ? Keeping in view the fact that it was the last point where the Hindus made a final attempt to check the Muslim march towards the south and south-west this seems to be a logical proposition. On the strength of the word 'Vijaya-Samaye', in the Kendua Patna inscription of Narasimha II, the Ganga ruler of Orissa, R. D. Banerjee[1] suggests that the king invaded Bengal in

[1] R. D. Banerjee : *History of Orissa*, vol. I, p 273, Calcutta 1930.

1296 A. D. In Oriya language, the word Vijaya means presence and not victory and Dr. D. C Sircar[1] is of the opinion that "there is no reference to any victory here as often wrongly supposed." The *Kursinamah* mentioned two names[2]—Raja Man Nriputi and Raja Bhoodev, who were adversaries of Zafar Khān. It appears that these are not proper names but titles, because in Bengali both Nriputi and Bhoodev mean king. Hence it is difficult to identify them ; either they were local chieftains, who made a common cause against the Muslims or they were vassal chiefs of Orissan king.

As for the second argument of Dr. Qanungo, it is not wholly corroborated by facts. No scholar who published the inscriptions (D. Money, Blochmann and Yazdani)[3] has read the title of Zafar Khān as Ḍiyā-al-Ḥaqq w-al-Dīn, but all of them read Shihab-al-Ḥaqq w-al-Dīn. I have examined the inscription published by Yazdani in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18. The title شهاب الحق والدين (Shihāb-al-Ḥaqq w-al-Dīn) is quite legible. The name بهرام ایتگین السلطانی (Bahrām Aitigin al-Sultānī) was of course dropped probably because he was by this time (A. H 713), more famous as Zafar Khān As for Khān-i-Jahān, his official title, as suggested by Dr Qannugo, it is quite clear The title might have been conferred upon him after he issued his first inscription, dated 698/A. D. 1298.

The third argument hardly needs be refuted. The author himself suggests that Zafar Khan claimed the title معین الملوک والسلاطین (aider of kings and monarchs) in his inscription of A. H 713 as he had perhaps helped Fīrūz in the dynastic revolution after the death of Kaykāūs.[4] Admitting his own suggestion, it may be reasonably argued that Zafar Khān did not claim the title in his first inscription of Triveni dated 698/A D, 1298, only because the dynastic revolution itself took place about three years after the inscription was issued[5].

[1] *J.A.S.B.* vol. XVII. 1951, No. 1, p. 85 note.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. XVI, 1847, p. 394.
[3] *Ibid.* vol XVI, 1847, p. 394 ; 1870 p. 287 ; *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1917-18. p. 34.
[4] *History of Bengal*, vol. II, p 78.
[5] The earliest extant coin of Sultan Shams-al-Din Firuz Shah is dated 701/A.D, 1301. *Vide*, *Catalogue of the Provincial Coins Cabinet Assam*, second edition, Allahabad, 1930, p. 137.

Dr. Qanungo seems to have been obsessed with the term *Ghazi*. *Ghazi* means one who fights for the sake of religion and comes out successful. The *Kursinamah*, the only source which adds the title *Ghazi* with the name of Zafar Khān was found in possession of the *khadims* of the tomb, the authenticity of which is not beyond question. It is not acceptable that Zafar Khān fought against the infidels solely with the idea of converting them to the Muslim faith without any political motive, as *Kursinamah* would have us believe. The *Kursinama* has given a religious garb to the event. Zafar Khān must have been commissioned by the ruling Sultan and it must have been a part of the policy of expansion of Rukn-al-Dīn Kaykāūs and Shams-al-Dīn Fīrūz, as it was the case with other parts of Bengal.

The above discussion leads us to the logical conclusion that Zafar Khān of the three inscriptions and the *Kursinamah* may be identified as one and the same person.

Reviews

HUMOUR IN EARLY ISLAM

by

PROF. F. ROSENTHAL

Published by E. G. Brill/Leiden

At the very outset, it is to be pointed out that the title of the book is misleading. It does not deal with the wit and humour of the Muslims of the early period as it should have done under this title, but its scope is confined to one particular person, named Ash'ab. The humour of one person, whether historical or legendary or both, however wellknown a humourist he may be, cannot be taken to represent that of a whole community even for a particular period. The proverbial greediness of our author's "hero" cannot therefore be taken as a general feature of the life of the Muslims at any stage of their history, nor can it be concluded from his jokes that there was a general trend of mind among the early Muslims to ridicule religion or any matters pertaining to it. It is therefore not possible to accept the author's view that "the Ash'ab legend, and the history of Muslim humour in general, thus reflects the historical deve.opment of Islamic society which passed from its wordly aristocratic stage via a politico-religious to an urban middle class one." (p. 34).

The book consists of a short foreword, five chapters and an appendix with an exhaustive bibliography and indexes to the names at the end.

The first chapter contains materials for the study of Muslim humour. In this chapter, after discussing the definition of humour, the author asserts that Near Eastern humour has so far been studied from the folkloristic point of view and claims for himself the credit of taking into consideration the historical stand-point also; but I do not think that he has succeeded in doing so because merely dealing with the humour of a particular individual cannot be taken as the historical treatment of the subject. He has mentioned a few

examples of the jokes ascribed to the Prophet but has not given any sample of wit and humour from his *companions* and the companions of his *companions*. He has, instead, reproduced merely the contents of the two anonymous monographs mentioned by Ibn Nadīm (d. 385/995) in his *Fihrist*. One is entitled *Book on buffoons* which includes 19 names and the other contains anecdotes about nine fools. He has also mentioned the list of humourists given by Ibn Bābah who lived about 150 years after Ibn Nadīm. At the end of this chapter the author says that Ash'ab the Greedy is the only humourist who belongs to the Umayyād period and is a historical personality And so the author has chosen him as the hero of his book. All this is not enough for a historical survey of the subject.

The second chapter deals with the historical personality of Ash'ab and the author has taken great pains to prove that. He has given some historical facts about him Undoubtedly he was a historical person. As he transmitted some *hadith*, he appears in some standard works on *Ilam-al-Rijal*, because he is to be distinguished from reliable transmitters, as he was not one of them. The *Rijal* works contain biographical notes on both reliable and unreliable narrators of *hadith*. The mere fact that he appears in the chain of narrators does not entitle him to a place among trustworthy transmitters of *haidth*. He was a client of the Zubayrid family. He died in 154/771 during the reign of al-Man Ṣūr, the 'Abbāsid Caliph. He had close contacts with Salīm b 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar al-Fārūq and Sukaynah d. of Imām Ḥusayn. He was a proverbially greedy man. It is a proverb to say اطمع من اشعب i. e. greedier than Ash'ab.

The third chapter deals with the Ash'ab legend. As he was known to many nobles and their families a number of political stories have been attached to his name and perhaps because of his being a transmitter of *hadith*, though an untrustworthy one, many religious and other anecdotes have been assigned to him

The fact that on the one hand Ash'ab is regarded as a transmitter of *hadith* and on the other absurd and even insulting stories are attributed to him has created a controversy as to the existance of two Ash'abs, one transmitter of *hadith* and the other humourist.

The majority of the scholars have rejected this theory. The writer of this review also agrees with this view. Just as in the *Dastan-i-Amir-Hamzah*, the personality of the hero is historical, similarly Ash'ab is a historical person to whose name a large number of witty and humorous stories and jokes have been attached.

The fourth chapter contains the author's conclusion in which he has given the result of his researches that Ash'ab was both historical and legendary. As a historical person, he was a singer and an entertainer and as a legendary person he became a peg to hang all kinds of jokes on. His jokes are of three kinds : political, religious and the 'urban middle class' jokes. Prof Rosenthal thinks that the political jokes generally belong to the historical Ash'ab, but such jokes have lost their importance with the passage of time. And the jokes of the other two kinds go to the legendary Ash'ab. Such jokes continue to be quoted.

The fifth chapter contains the translation of the 161 Extracts, mostly taken from the *Aghani*, to which the orientalists as well as the westernised scholars of Egypt attach much importance ; but to an orthodox scholar of Islam, it is only a book of songs, as its title indicates, containing the stories of singers. These extracts (translation with exhaustive footnotes) cover nearly a hundred pages and are therefore the main part of the book. Of these texts the first few, regarding his biography, are absurd. For example, Ash'ab has been reported to have said that her mother lived during the Prophet's period. She committed adultery and so the hair of her head was cut. At another place he says that she used to move in the society of the Prophet's wives and used to cause quarrels among them. (Texts, No. 2 and 10.)

A few of these texts contain the *ahadith*, transmitted by him, which may be regarded as genuine, not because of his narration but because it has been transmitted by reliable transmitters also, e. g. he narrates that the Prophet said *labbayka* until he performed the throwing of pebbles at the Jamrat-al-'Aqabah. (No. 149). One fails to understand why such narrations have been included in the stories of his humour. Besides, there are other extracts which contain no iota of humour at all, e. g. No. 20 where a reporter

says that Ash'ab was blue-eyed and squint-eyed and he was completely bald ; or No. 24 where it is reported that he sang and he had the voice of a nightingale. Similarly, many passages concerning his biography are altogether devoid of any humour.

To show the nature of his political humour, I may give here the following story : Once he entered the mosque of the Prophet and went around in the circles of scholars. Being questioned, he replied that he was looking for a decision concerning some problem. Then he happened to pass by a Zubayrid who was leaning against a column, while an 'Alid was sitting in front of him. Thereupon he left in hurry Being asked if he had got what he wanted, he said that he had seen some thing more instructive, i. e. he had seen a Zubayrid sitting in place of honour and an 'Alid sitting in front of him (No. 104).

I may give here one or two stories of his greediness. Being asked if he had ever seen any one greedier than himself he replied : "yes, a dog who followed me for four miles because I was chewing gum" (No. 66). Here is another story (No. 152) :—a man asked him : 'what have you got from your greed ?'[1] He replied : 'you are asking this question only because you have in mind doing me a good turn.'

Similarly one or two examples of his religious jokes may be given here to show their nature, which is generally the misapplication of the *Qur'anic* verses or *hadith*. Ash'ab mentions a man in Madinah who had an ugly name Being asked if he knew that he replied : 'This is not one of the names that were presented to Adam for examination,' (reference to the verses 2 29-31) (No. 54). Again let us refer to No. 118. He said, I was told by Nāfi' that the Prophet said : "A man who has two qualities belongs to God's chosen friends." Being asked what the two qualities were, Ash'ab replied : 'Nāfi' had forgotten one, and I have forgotten the other.' Another story : A Bedouin was given 700 lashes by al-Ḥajjāj. Each time he was given one, the Bedouin cried : "Thank you, O Lord." When Ash'ab met him he asked him if he knew why he had been given so many lashes. The reply being in the negative, Ash'ab told him : because you were thanking God so much. God says : 'If you are grateful I shall give you more.' (*Qur'an* 14:7) (No. 131).

The appendix contains the theories of some important Muslim thinkers about the nature of laughter. These theories are very plausible and do credit to their authors.

The author has taken great pains in consulting most of the available important sources and authorities concerned and has arranged the material very systematically. For a moment one may feel amused by some witty remarks of Ash'ab, but on the whole the book can hardly be considered to be a substantial contribution to the field of Islamic research. The author calls it "a further small instalment of my studies on significant aspects of Muslim man." If this is a specimen of his studies of 'aspects of Muslim man' then obviously his conception of these aspects is exceedingly narrow and his conclusions terribly misleading.

مسکویه is not Maskawayah (as on p 133) but Miskawayh (i. e. mim م is *maksur* and not *maftuh*. In Text No. 133, the reference to the *Qur'an* should be 3:134 and not 3:124,128.

These few slips, though strange from an orientalist of the author's calibre, do not mar the general get-up of the book. However one cannot help feeling that the author could have easily evoted his labour to the study of more useful subjects. It is just like. کوہ کندن وکاہ برآوردن

ZUBAID AHMAD

* * * * *

OXFORD ECONOMIC ATLAS FOR PAKISTAN

***Published by* Pakistan Branch of the Oxford University Press**

(96 maps besides notes and index)

It is a useful production and can be utilised by our students and the general reader interested in economic data with advantage. On pages II—VII notes and comparative tables on 'The Land of Pakistan' are given. These contain valuable information, but even the casual reader is struck by some of its draw-backs which are evident :

(i) Generally the figures shown in various tables of agricultural and industrial produce, Exchange rates etc.,

relate to 1952-53. They appear stale since the latest figures could be incorporated.

(ii) Since the Atlas is for Pakistan as its title indicates every thing produced in Pakistan, though comparatively insignificant, should have been shown. For instance, the following minerals could have been mentioned on page 37.

(a) *Bauxite*—In parts of Azad Kashmir.

(b) *Chromite*· Undivided India produced about 50,000 tons of chromite of which one-half was produced in areas now constituting Pakistan It is produced in the hills bordering the Zhob Valley and upper part of Pishin Valley in Baluchistan.

(c) *Antimony*: It is produced in substantial quantities in Chitral.

(d) *Gypsum*: Pakistan has extensive deposits of high grade gypsum in the western wing,

(e) *Sulphur* The only sulphur producing area in the sub-continent was Baluchistan which is now in Pakistan.

(f) *Oil*· Oil is obtained in commercial quantities in Chakwal, Jhelum and Rawalpindi districts of West - Pakistan. Oil seepages have also been observed in Mianwali district In East Pakistan drilling at Patiya in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is now well advanced in progress.

(iii) No irrigation schemes have been shown in East Pakistan on p. 40.

(iv) It is strange that on p. 48, Pakistan, an important wheat producing country, has not been mentioned whereas unimportant wheat producing countries like France and Italy have been shown. This is a serious omission and should be rectified.

(v) It is to be noted that no mention of Pakistan is made in connection with the production of Tobacco (p. 56) Sugar and Potato (p. 57), Fish (p. 64), Sheep (p. 68) and Wool (p. 73).

(vi) Since Pakistan produces bauxite it should be shown on the map under 'Bauxite' on p. 87.

(vii) Generally speaking notes on the maps particularly mention India but ignore Pakistan. Considering the title of the Atlas the position should have been otherwise and more emphasis should have been laid on Pakistan.

In fact there should have been some maps exclusively on Pakistan showing both the wings separately, instead of Pakistan being inserted in bigger maps.

Never-the-less it is a handy and useful compendium of information on economic data, and answers a long felt need of a work of this nature. It is expected that improvements suggested would be incorporated in later editions.

HASAN ADIL

PUBLICATIONS OF THE PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A Short History of Hind-Pakistan

∴

Mashahir-i-Islam

URDU TRANSLATION OF A'LAM-AL-ISLAM

by

Dr Hasan Ibrahim Hasan of Cairo

∴

Tadhkirat-al-Waqi'at

HUMAYUN'S MEMOIRS

Urdu Translation (with introduction and notes)

∴

The Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conferences, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954.

∴

Tarajim-al-Fudala

(WITH NOTES AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

∴

The Foundations of Islamic International Jurisprudence

PRINTED AT THE TIMES PRESS, SADAR, KARACHI

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume IV Part IV

OCTOBER 1956

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30, NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

The *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* is published in January, April, July, and October The Society does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by the contributors.

Annual subscription (excluding postage) ... Rs. 10/- (Pakistani)
Single copy .. .. Rs. 3/- „

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume IV Part IV

OCTOBER 1956

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

AKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30, NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

CONTENTS

REGULATIONS OF TIPU SULTAN'S NAVY

By

DR. MAHMUD HUSAIN, M.A., PH.D., KARACHI

In the establishment of British rule in the Indo-Pak sub-continent naval supremacy, no doubt, played a vital role. Those who resisted British aggression either did not fully appreciate the value of naval power or lacked the determination and resources to build up a navy which could offer effective resistance to the British naval might.

Of the indigenous rulers Tipū Sultān was one of the few who recognized the importance of naval power. Indeed his father himself had attempted to build up a navy, but his attempts had proved abortive. In 1868 the desertion of his naval commander, Stannet, caused the loss of many ships. This loss, however, did not deter him from undertaking the task once more. But misfortune persisted and the navy he built for the second time was almost completely destroyed through British action at Mangalore in 1780.

Tipū Sultān, on succeeding his father, first turned his attention to the build.ng up of the army, but even so, he possessed from the begining a number of war vessels. The chief function of these ships was to protect the merchant ships from piracy. Administratively they were placed under the *Malik-al-Tujjar* or the Board of Trade. These vessels obviously, were no match for the British navy. The Third Mysore War convinced Tipū Sultān of the necessity of a strong navy and during the last few years of his life he showed great keenness in this connection. Already in 1794 the Sultan had decided upon the construction of 40 war vessels.

In 1896 Tipū Sultān issued a *hukmnamah* or ordinance which laid down the regulations for the naval building programme which he had undertaken.[1] It is addressed to the *mirs yam* or the lords of Admiralty who were eleven in number. These *mirs* constituted the Board of Admiralty with headquarters at Serangapatam. The Board was established in the month Jafari of the *Mauludi* year 1224,

[1] Kirkpatrick has translated this *hukmnamah* in his *Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan*, (London, 1811), appendix L pp. lXXVIII ff.

reckoned from the birth of the Holy Prophet, corresponding to September 1796.[1]

Next in rank to the *mirs yam* were *mirs bahr* who were officers of the highest rank to serve on the seas. Two of these were assigned to each single squadron of four war ships, In modern terminology they may be termed admirals or commodores [2]

The programme contained in the *hukmnamah* visualized a naval force of forty ships which were to be placed under the care and superintendence of the *mirs yam* as soon as they were ready. They were, moreover, to be built with all possible dispatch Their names also were selected, all ending with the word 'Baksh', e g, Muhammad Bakhsh, 'Ali Bakhsh, Sulṭān Bakhsh etc., signifying 'bestowed by' or 'gift of' Muhammad, 'Ali and the Sultan respectively.[3]

The ships were divided into three *Kachehris* or divisions, namely, the *Kachehri* of Jamalabad or Mangalore, the *Kachehri* of Wajidabad or Bascoraje and the *Kachehri* of Majidabad or Sadasheogarh. The first of these *Kachehris* was to consist of twelve and the last two of fourteen ships each. With a view to expediting the completion of the projects two *mirs yam* assisted by a *mirza-i-daftar* (office superintendant) and a *mutasaddi* (accountant) were appointed at Mangalore from whence they were to superintend the construction of the vessels intended for the Jamalabad division Two other *mirs yam* together with a *mirza-i daftar* and a *mutasaddi* each were stationed at or near Mir Jān Creek for the purpose of directing the constructing of vessels for the Wajidabad and Majidabād divisions.[4]

The Board of Admiralty was supplied with a model ship with a tiger head according to which all the vessels were to be built. The timber for the ships was to be procured from the state forests and then floated in the various rivers to the respective dockyards. Of the ships to be built 20 were to be line of battle and 20 frigates divided among three stations as follows· For Jamalabad were

[1] Kirkpatrick, p IXXVIII For the reform of the calendar by Tipu Sultan and the new names given by him to months and years see Kirmani *Nishan-i-Haidari*, Bombay 1890, pp 399-400 See also *Islamic Culture*, vol XIV, No. 2, pp. 161-164

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. IXXIX.

intended 6 line of battle ships and 6 frigates. Of these line of battle ships 3 were to be of 72 guns and the rest of 62 guns each. Of the 72 guns 30 were to be twenty-four-pounders, 30 eighteen-pounders, 6 twelve-pounders and 6 nine-pounders. Of the 62 guns, 4 were to be twenty-four pounders, 24 eighteen-pounders, 24 twelve-pounders and 10 six-pounder. To Wajidabad 14 ships were assigned, 7 line of battle ships and 7 frigates. Similarly Majidabad was to have 14 ships.[1]

The number of officers for the fleet fixed in the *hukmnamah* was as follows· There were to be in all 11 *mirs yam* all stationed at the capital and 30 *mirs bahr*, of whom 20 were stationed to ships, 2 to each squadron of ships and 10 were to remain at the capital for instruction. The salary of the *mirs yam* and such *mirs bahr* as attended the court was to be fixed according to their qualifications. The 20 *mirs bahr*, serving on the ships, were to receive a monthly salary of 150 *imamis* or rupees.

The land establishment of each *Kachehri* was to consist of 3 office superintendents, 3 writers, 12 clerks, (*gumashta*), 1 judge (*qadi*), 2 proclaimers, (*naqib*) 11 attendants (*hazirbashi*) 11 literate scouts (*sharbasharan*), 1 chamberlain (*farrash*) who had charge of camp equipment and carpets, 1 torch-bearer or link-boy (*mash'alchi*) and one camel-driver (*sarban*) Their salaries ranged from 20 *rahatis* or pagodas in the case of the office superintendents to 2 *rahatis* in the case of the torch-bearer.

Each ship of the line was to have the following establishment of officers: 4 *sardars* (officers) denominated First, Second, Third and Fourth, 2 *tipdars* and 6 *yuzdars* along with a number of subordinate officers. The First *sardar* was to have the over all command. The Second *sardar*, with one *tipdar* and two *yuzdars* under him, was placed in charge of the guns and gunners, the powder magazine and everything else appertaining to the guns as well as of the provisions. The Third *sardar*, with one *tipdar* and two *yuzdars* under him, was in charge of the marines and small arms. He was also to look after spare tools, implements and stores. The Fourth *sardar* was to have particular charge of the *khalasis* or sailors, and of the artificers belonging to the ship such as blacksmiths, carpenters etc. He

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. IXXIX-IXXX.

was expected to superintend the cooking of the food and its distribution among the crew. The navigation of the ship was also entrusted to him. The orders for the hoisting and trimming the sails were to come from him. He was to look after the tools and implements in immediate use which had to be kept in a tiptop condition. Any damage caused to the ship during war was to receive his immediate attention

All the above officers were to be carefully selected and only persons of good parentage and some amount of education were to be employed.

The complement of each line of battle ship was fixed at 346 men. Thus all the 20 line of battle ships together were to have an establishment of 6,920 The establishment was divided among five main categories · the musketeers, the gunners, the seamen, the artificers, and the officers and each category was divided among several sub-categories. Among the musketeers were included *tipdars, sharbasharans, nafirnawazes* (fifers), *shahnainawazes* (trumpeters), *yuzdars* (lieutenants), *sarkhils* (2nd-Lieuterants), *jamadars* (sergeants), and privates. The gunners included the *tipdars, yuzdars, sarkhils, jamadars* and privates The seamen included *juqdars, dafadars* and privates. The artificers consisted of smiths and carpenters headed by head-smiths and head-carpenters. The officers included not only the First, Second, Third and Fourth Sardars but the staff consisting of pilots, *darughas*, physicians and surgeons and superintendents of offices. Details were given in the *hukmnamah* of the emoluments to be paid to the different classes of men, and ranged from 24 pagodas in the case of the First Sardar, 18 in the case of the Second and 15 in the case of Third and Fourth Sardars to 3 pagodas and 6 *fanams* in the case of blacksmiths, fifers and trumpeters, and 3 pagodas in the case of privates. In between these were the salaries of *tipdars* who got 7 pagodas and 6 *fanams* and *sarkhils* who received 4 pagodas and 8 *fanams*. Apart from the regular salary there was also the institution of subsistance allowance. It is interesting to note that the difference between the salary of the *sarkhil* (lieutenent) and that of the *jamadar* (Sargeant) was only four *fanams* and the *jamadars* received only 8 *fanams* more than the privates There was not that kind of disparity in the salaries of officers and men to

which we have become accustomed since British rule. The total monthly expenses of a line of battle ship, while in port, came to 1,471 *pagodas* and 5½ *fanams*. Multiplied by 20, for there were to be 20 such ships, the sum comes to 29,431 *pagodas* [1]

Similar details regarding the establishment of the 20 frigates are given in the *hukmnamah*, the total expenditure on the frigates coming to 16,171 *pagodas*. Thus the total monthly expenditure on a fleet of 40 warships, exclusive of wear and tear, ammunition and stores came to 45,602 *pagodas* or approximately £182,400.

The above emoluments were to be received by officers and men when on shore When afloat or embarked they were also to receive ration which were fixed in the *hukmnamah* As a *mir yam* might be occasionally employed with the fleet—normally he was stationed at the capital—he was in such cases to be provided with decent meals at the expense of the State. Officers including *mirs yam*, *mirs bahr*, *sardars*, *mirza-i-daftar*, pilots, *darughas* and physician and surgeon were to eat together. Daily rations were to be served out to them on the following basis · rice ¾ seer, *dal* ¼ seer, *ghee* 8 *jauz* or tolas, meat ½ *chota seer*, salt 3 *jauz*, tamarind 2 jauz, turmeric ½ *jauz*, dry garlic ½ *jauz*, onions 1½ *jauz*, coriander seed ¾ *jauz* and black pepper 1 *jauz*.

The musketeers and gunners, irrespective of being officers or men, were to get the following daily rations . rice, 1 seer, *dal* 6 *jauz*, *ghee* 4 *jauz*, salt 2 *jauz*, dry garlic ½ *jauz*, onions 1½ *jauz*, coriander seed ¼ *jauz* and black pepper 1 *jauz*, with *kababs* or roasted meat once in fifteen days at the rate of quarter of *chota* seer per man.

The seamen were to be allowed daily ¾ seer of rice, ¼ seer of *dal*, 2 *jauz* of *ghee* and 2 *jauz* of salt.

Among the other regulations laid down in the *hukmnamah* one related to prayers which were to be said every day, at the five appointed hours. The first officer, or commander, was to lead the prayers and deliver the Friday sermon and the *darughas* were to the five daily calls to prayer.

[1] For an understanding of the monetary terms of the time of Tipu Sultan see Handerson, *The Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan* and Taylor, *The Coins of Tipu Sultan*. Pagoda was a gold coin usually weighing 52¼ grams and *fanam* was the smallest gold coin weighing 5¼ grams.

During the rainy season, it was ordained, the ships were to be laid up in the creek, probably Mīr Jān Creek, in specially constructed sheds. The duty of supplying the materials for the sheds was placed upon the civil officials of the district and the labour was to come from seamen.

The *hukmnamah* refers to the previous orders as regards the erection of fortifications at *Hafiz-hisar* or Batkul and directs the *mirs yam* to examine carefully the ground in the vicinity of *Hafiz-hisar*, make a thorough survey of it and elect proper sites and forward the complete plans and drawings to the Sultan. They were particularly asked to make use of the two hills which perhaps formed the entrance to the harbour The survey was to include the ascertaining of the exact distance between the two hills and the measurement of the channel, or strait, formed by them. The deapth of water and the number of ships which might lie at anchor between these hills were similarly to be ascertained and reported. Two old ships which were beyond repair namely *Fakhr-ul-marakib* and *Fath-i-mubarak* lying in Mīr Jān and Onore respectively were to be dismantled and the steel and other material obtained from them used in the construction of new ships.

Twelve small ships were on the occasion delivered to the *mirs yam*, Of these ten were cargo-boats, five of them at Mangalore and five at Onore As to the other two, these were called *Asadul-lahis* All these smaller vessels were to be used for the purpose of the training of the crew for the navy which was now ordered to be built. With the same object it was directed that a kind of buoy should be anchored in some suitable place and a flag erected thereon, to serve as the mark for practising with great guns. Instruction was to be imparted to the gunners with the greatest care.

The *hukmnamah* insists that the timber used in the construction of ships must be seasoned timber and for this purpose the wood after being felled and barked must be kept lying from one to two years, and only when, judged by the highest standards, it was perfectly seasoned, was it to be used.

The men recruited for service with the navy were to be sworn in at Serangapatam in the presence of Tipu Sultan himself, and then sent to their respective destinations.

For the accounts of the navy the *mirs yam* and the *asafs* (collectors) of the districts concerned were made jointly responsible. The movements and warlike operations of ships were similarly placed under the directions of the *mirs yam* and *asafs*. If however, the Sultan wished to employ the ships against an enemy he would issue orders in full council of the ministers.

Four *kothis* or business houses called factories in those times, two at Muscat and two at Kutch, which had already been in existence when the *hukmnamah* was issued, were placed under the *mirs yam* for the purpose of protection. At each of these factories two *yazaks* (platoons of 12 men) of the regular troops were to be stationed. These guards were to be paid by the superintendents of the factories and the *mirs yam* were to make the necessary remittances to them for the purpose. The guards in questions were to be relieved annually.

The *mirs yam*, *mirs bahr* and *sarishtadars* (keepers of records) attached to the three naval stations were to appear personally before the Sultan annually ten days before the *'Id-al-Adha*. They were on this occasion to deliver an account of receipts and disbursements and to report on the progress of the work in connection with the construction of the ships. Officers of certain other categories such as *tipdars*, *mirza-i-daftars* and *darughas*, were, in like manner, to appear before the Sultan ten days before the *'Id-al-Fitr* for the purpose of giving their respective accounts and reporting generally on the state of affairs in their departments.

The Sultan abhorred the elaborate modes of salutation and greeting that had become all too common among the Muslims of India such as *adab*, *kurnishat*, etc., which he considered undesirable and degrading in the extreme. In this *hukmnamah*, therefore, he prohibited the practice of rising for the purpose of receiving or greeting anyone, shaking and kissing hands, and embracing each other upon meeting, all of which were declared to be odious customs and contrary to Islam. He directed that all Muslims were brethren and equal and as such they should desist from all these undesirable practices and confine their mutual salutations to *Assalam-u-'alaikum* i.e., "peace be with you" to be responded by *wa 'alaikumus-salam*, "and with you be peace".

The project which was put forward for execution in this memorable *hukmnamah* was supplemented by an ordinance dated the 24th *Taqi*, year *Saz* or year 1225 of the Prophet's birth, (corresponding to June 1797) which contained some more details of the establishment of artificers attached to the three naval stations.

It is a pity the naval programme could not be completed before Tipū Sultān met with his glorious end in 1799. What would have happened if he had had an opportunity of building up his navy before the final war with the British, is one of the Ifs of history on which it is not worth while speculating. But one may here refer to Kirkpatrick's remark on the subject: "it may be contended, *that in proportion as the Sultan might have been able to realize his alarming plan of a marine establishment*, we should, as a measure of necessary precaution, have been compelled to augment at a heavy expence, our naval force in India, for the purpose of duly watching his armaments, and keeping them in constant check. This evil . was averted by the issue of the war of 1799."

It may as .well be that the naval building programme of Tipū Sultan was one of the important reasons why the British precipitated a war with him so that his plan might be nipped in the bud.

ISLAMIC STATE OF PAKISTAN II

by

Ervin Birmbaum Columbia University

A note on the importance of "State" in Islam

No doubt, scholars of Islam would agree that emphasis on Pakistan is not contrary to Islamic principles. One authority even claims that Pakistan is Islamic by the sheer process of having come into existence. "The drive for an Islamic State in India was in origin not a process by which a state sought Islamicness, but one by which Islam sought a state [1]

From the dawn of its history, Islam emerged as a social, cultural and political organization, despite the fact that it became known chiefly as a religious one. "Although we are apt to think of Islam as a religion, it is probable that the Prophet thought of it rather as a nation."[2] Muhammad was not only a prophet; he was also an administrator, ruler, judge and military leader. "He was not content to preach his religious doctrines only, but sought, after the hijra (flight) to Medina, to lay down the foundations of a political entity which was destined later on to be as large as the Roman Empire".[3] The coordination of all the spheres of human activity at the centre had become traditional in Muslim governmental life after Muhammad. "There was absolutely no separation of powers in Islam, the religious and the political were but one thing and the individual allegiance was never divided."[4] In this respect Islamic practice differed from its Christian counterpart, where the Pope was restricted to spiritual rule, while temporal leadership fell into the hands of

1 W C Smith, *Pakistan as an Islamic State*, p 12.

2 D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammedanism*, Home University Library Series (London: Williams aad Norgate, n. d.), p 75

3 Khadddri, *op. cit.*, p. 4. See also R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge, Eng : The University Press, 1930, pp. 169 ff.)

4 Khauddri, *op cit.*, p. 7.

[The phrase separation of powers is not used here in its technical sense, referring to the powers of the Judiciary, the Executive and the Legislature—Editor.]

those who often differed with the Pope in their interests and ambitions. The reason for these developments can be found in the anti-state origin and evolution of the Christian religion. Islam, on the other hand, instigated by political and economic circumstances on the Arabian peninsula, had from its very inception strongly emphasized the need of a powerful, functioning state apparatus. From the outset the state was considered the mainstay of Islam. It was considered, however, not only a means of prestige and power through which Allāh could be glorified and the Islamic ideals or good life achieved. It was looked upon as the surpeme achievement of Muslim activity and aspirations to be protected and sustained by the principles of the *Qur'an*.

The statement, that Pakistan is Islamic by the sheer process of having come into existence, might perhaps be better understood in the light of the importance attributed to the political organization in Islam. It becomes obvious that the support of the state is just as much a religious duty as praying five times a day, the observance of *Ramadan*, and proper ethical behavior The support of the state is, however, not to be confused with the support of the government. While the former is the embodiment of the Islamic ideals, a stable organism, the latter might, due to human failings, become un-Islamic and, therefore, unrepresentative of the people The recent, almost imperceptible, shift in emphasis from Islam to the state of Pakistan was entirely legitimate, especially since it aims to serve the good of the Muslim masses.

Seeming Contradictions

When tackling the problem of the shift in emphasis within the "Islamic State" from "Islamic" to the "State," certain observations can be made that would indicate a seemingly inherent contradiction in that behavior On the surface it can be accepted without *difficulty* that the Islamic way of life embraces both political and religious goals. However, sometimes the political interests seem to clash with what is conveniently called religious interests and preference has to be given to one over the other. Thus, we read in the *Report of the Basic Principles Committee*, Part I, Chapter III, paragraph 4: "No Legislature should enact any law which is repugnant to the Holy

Quran and the Sunna,"[1] followed by paragraph 10 (1): "The provision of paragraph 4 should not apply to fiscal and monetary measures, laws relating to banking, insurance, provident funds, loans and other matters affecting the existing economic, financial and credit system."[2]

Probably being conscious of the contradictions, the framers of the *Report* hasten to add· 'After a period of twentyfive years a Commission should be appointed to report on the steps and stages by which sub-paragraph (1) can be amended so as to make paragraph 4 applicable to the matters mentioned in sub-paragraph (1).[3]

The prevailing attitude of 1949, that the country can be truly Islamic only when the principles of the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* are embodied in its system of law, has, for the sake of the country's survival, undergone a change. The ideal Islamic State of 1954 was rather one that continued striving for the assimilation of Quranic laws into the body politic by taking suitable steps to bring the existing laws into conformity with Islamic principles[4] Thus, the state can be called Islamic—even though the laws affecting the existing economic, financial and credit systems are not in harmony but rather in seeming contradiction with the letter of the *Qur'an*—as long as it tries to preserve in an organized way the distinct achievements of the Muslim past that are applicable to its stage of develpment.

Precisely for the preservation of the spirit and the genius of the Muslim tradions, the *BPCR* provides that—

> Steps, particularly those specified below, should be taken in the various spheres of government activities to enable the Muslims to order their lives individually and collectivelly in accordance with the Holy Quran and Sunna,
>
> (a) Facilities should be provided for them to understand what life in accordance with the Holy Quran and the

[1] *Report of the Basic Principles Committee* as adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakislan, September 21, 1954 (hereafter referred to as *BPCR*), p. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid*, paragraph 10 (2).

[4] *Ibid.*, ch. II, "Directive Principles of State Policy." paragraph 3, p. 2.

Sunna means, and the teaching of the Holy Quran to the Muslims should be made compulsory;

(b) Prohibition of drinking, gambling and prostitution in all their various forms;

c) Elimination of "Riba" as and when it may be possible to do so;

(d) Promotion and mainterance of Islamic moral standards, and

(e) Proper organization of Zakat, Waqfs, and Mosques.[1]

A categorial approach, which manifests itself most conveniently in marking off one period from the other by clear cut distinctions, can easily distort the truth in a considerable manner. The writer would like, therefore, to emphasize that the two periods do hardly possess any really distinguishable qualities, except those that flow from the changing needs and circumstances of a growing country Thus, it would be false to define the idea of the Islamic State of the period of the Objectives Resolution as merely "a state which is run on the exalted and excellent principles of Islam",[2] just as it would not be justifiable to call the Islamic State of the *BPCR* a state which tries to adopt only as many and such laws of the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* as the healthy functioning of a modern twentieth century Pakistan permits. The two approaches overlapped in 1949 and they overlap in 1955. But in 1949 the need of the country demanded an additional stress on Islam while in the process of development in the following year circumstances required to pay attention to a smooth, uninterrupted economy for the benefit of the state.

Undoubtedly, in many Pakistani minds the two contradictory approaches form a single inseparable unit It should be pointed out here that such contradictions are not proofs of weaknesses in logical thinking. Religion, when embracing a way of life, is more complicated than mathematical formulas. It might try to demand complete subordination of th human being to one single purpose, so that all his actions and thoughts should serve that purpose. But we are more complex than to be able to live up to such an expectation. In practice man does not think consistenly of the one and only single

[1] *Ibid.*, paragraph 2

[2] Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani, *C.A.D.*, V. 3 (March 9, 1949) p. 45.

purpose that is supposed to underlie his activities. Instead, he charts out limited objectives, a Pakistani Muslim can strive to have a state run on the exalted and excellent principles of Islam, while in the sphere of politics and nationalism he will probably work for the adoption of such laws only from the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* which will help in the progress of modern Pakistan. The two approaches, when examined side by side, are inconsistent. The consciousness of this inconsistency, however, will not change human thinking habits. Once we learn that a normal human being does not usually possess a single-purpose mind that views everything from a broad aspect, we will also accept that inconsistencies, as a rule, are consistent in our thinking. The Pakistani Muslim can, therefore, be sympathized with and understood in his contradictory double emphasis; the primacy of the glory of Islam and the primacy of the glory of Pakistan.

Adjustments in Islamic Law

There can hardly be any doubt that the palpable shift in connotation from Islam to Pakistan arose partly from the growing realization that not everything that is in the *Qur'an* and the Muslim tradition can be brought back to life in the twentieth century. The *Qur'an* dates to the seventh century and seems to cope with the problems of the contemporary society.[1] Throughout the history of Islam the *Qu'ran* had to be constantly reinterpreted to adjust it to the changing circumstances in the Muslim world.[2]

[1] A. Guillaume, *Islam* (Edinburgh: Penguin Books, 1954), p 73

[2] H. Lammens *Islamic Beliefs and Institutions* (London: Nethem and Co. 1929) p, 179. The author says "One of the characteristic traits of Islam is its conservative spirit. It professes to be the cult of the Sunna and of the Tradition. Outside the path traced by the Sunna or custom of the prophet and followed by the 'pious ancestors' it knows no salvation Every innovation (*bid'a*) every departure from the Sunna, appears to it suspicious and synonymous with heresy . .. . But life pays no attention to abstract theroues, In order to live, Islam has had to bow to the condition governing all living organisms. It has unbent and adapted itself to surroundings and circumstances; it has admitted modifications and compromises "

[The contradiction in the two statements, supported by the authority of Guillaume and Lammens respectively, is quite obvious. The fact that the *Qur'an* has been consistently reinterpreted does not prove that it 'seems to cope with the problems of the contemporary society.' It was and could be reinterpreted just because it did not cope with the problems of the contemporary society *only*—Editor]

The conditions of the days when Pakistan was created require that the old laws be interpreted in a new light again since many traditional precepts were not intended for a mechanized economy and were not adapted to the specific psychology and social conditions that are the concomitants of that system.[1] To enforce in our days that *no interest* be taken on moneylending, the way the *Qur'an* prescribes it, might perhaps have a crippling effect on a country's banking system and could lead to complete economic ruin. To exercise certain maximum punishments as directed by tradition, would be considered barbaric in this period and might draw the world's condemnation in its wake.

The argument that the social and economic systems of our time might be less satisfactory than the system built on the *Qur'an* could be morally justified while we stand terrified under threatening atomic mushroom clouds. Still, mankind cannot give up the achievements of a few hundred years and turn back the clock of time at its pleasure. Man cannot undo what he has already done, even though the past seems more alluring than the present The famous discussions on man's free will are morally very uplifting in their positive results, but are to a very great extent theoretical. Man's tomorrow is always the product of today and yesterday. And while yesterday in the case of Pakistan is rooted in the system of the *Qur'an*, the

[1] At present Pakistan is more involved in the capitalist system than in any other This does not mean that there are no Pakistanis who would give preference to another way of life Mr Jaffri, editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Karachi, says: "Communist democracy is nearest to Islamic democracy And as Communism has compromised with faiths worshipping God in the USSR (referring to the Soviet Constitution of 1947) we will not be going against our objectives if in matters of economics we model our Basic Principles on Communist economic experiments" F.S. Jaffri, *The Spirit of Pakistan* (Karachi: Ansari, 1951) p 99 In an official publication we can read, however, that "politically, Muslim beliefs are in sharp contrast to Communist dogma and this feeling is reflected in government policy" *Background*, article "Pakistan, Faith Builds a New Force in Asia" (Karachi: Office of Public Affairs and Department of State March, 1953) Both could be justified in their claim, depending on from what angle the question is being considered. Just like Communism, Islam is community minded. But, contrary to Communism, Islam does not repress individualism. Mr. Jaffri stresses the first approach, the official publication the second one

today is attached with unbreakable chains to the system of an industrial society. It is an ideal situation when the today develops in a systematic, evolutionary process from yesterday. However. when the evolutionary process is interrupted and the past and the persent are at odds, painful conflicts are bound to develop within an individual just as well as within a nation. The idealist and the practical tendencies of a people get bogged down into a merciless war with each other; the idealist serving the past and the practical the future in this case. That the practical tendency gains the upper hand in this strife is obvious. A nation has to, and wants to, exist as equal to its peers. However, the victory of the present does not mean the overthrow of the past Even in most revolutionary circumstances the development of a country is conditioned by, and is the outgrowth of, the character of the people which, in turn, is but a bundle of collected experiences of the past. Thus, in saying that the present has the upper hand over the past, one can only mean that it is the past that is made elastic and applicable to the present and not *vice versa.*

In a state which proclaims unambiguously as a basic tenet that "no legislature should enact any law which is repugnant to the Holy Quran and the Sunna,"[1] the question is very acute· How can this adjustment of Quranic principles to a highly technical society be carried through? That such adjustment has to be from the past to the present we have just concluded hypothetically.

Prominent Pakistanis who would like to avoid drastic, harmful and sometimes ignoble clashes among groups advocating different degrees of Islamicness in the process of adjustment, proclaim their hope in the revival of *Ijtihad.*

> Ijtihad or the exercise of the judgment is expressly recognized in the Hadith as the means by which a decision may be arrived at when there is no direction in the Holy Quran or Hadith. The following Hadith is regarded as the basis of Ijtihad in Islam: "On being appointed Governor of Yaman, Mu'adh was asked by the Holy Prophet as to the rule by which he would abide. He replied, 'By the law of the Quran.' 'But if you do not find any direction

[1] *BPCR*, Pt. I, Ch III, paragraph 4, p. 4.

therein,' asked the Prophet. 'Then I will act according to the Sunna of the Prophet,' was the reply. 'But if you do not find any direction in the Sunna,' he was again asked. 'Then I will exercise my judgment (*ajtahidu*) and act on that,' came the reply. The Prophet raised his hands and said: 'Praised be Allah who guides the messenger of His Messenger as He pleases," (*Sunan* of Abu Dawūd 23:11.) This Hadith shows not only that the Holy Prophet approved of the exercise of Judgment, but also that his Companions were well aware of the principle, and that Ijtihad by others than the Prophet was freely resorted to when necessary, even in the Prophet's life-time [1]

Pakistani Muslims express their hope that studying of the law will begin again; that will facilitate the revival of *Ijtihad* and, in turn, "further adaptations and changes will be brought about in the law to suit the modern conditions "[2] A popular and respected Pakistani woman declared in the Constituent Assembly· "I pesronally do not think that there is anything in the Quran or Sunna that prevents Ijtihad, for Islam is a living religion and its commandments are capable of being adapted to every society "[3] The same speaker, with the characteristic approach of a modern woman, speaks with contempt about polygamy that is still permissible in Islam and says· "I would like to bring forward a law restricting polygamy, because the way polygamy is practised by men today is not Islamic, but I know that I will not be allowed to do so "[4] Speaking about the ease with which a man can get a divorce in Islam she further says. "I would like to have the Divorce Law made so stringent that no man gets away with it so easily. But I know that I will not be allowed to do so."[5] She would not be allowed to do so, although she was a member of the Constituent Assembly and had a right to introduce bills, because public opinion would not permit it. Public

[1] Maulana Muhammad Ali: *The Religion of 'Islam* (Lahore . Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Isha'at Islam), 1950, p. 98

[2] Begum Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah, *CAD* XV, 14 (October 26, 1953), 450.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

opinion would tolerate radical reinterpretation if *Ijtihad* were revived in its unlimited sense. She is sure, like many other Pakistanis, that this is bound to happen very soon under the incentive of the needs of a newly created state and will serve as the solution for the problem of how to adjust tradition to present-day needs.

At present, while Pakistan is undergoing an inner and prolonged conflict in the process of adopting *Qura'nic* laws to twentieth century needs and in the attempt to pass an Islamic Constitution that will suit the divergent groups, the country is still ruled by the provisions of the India Act of 1935. Changes in this Constitution have been introduced periodically by the Constituent Assembly. But the dominant motive in legislation is still the old Indo-English. This will change only with the adoption of the new Constitution that is expected to happen during the 1955-56 session of the Constituent Assembly.

Economic Development of Modern Pakistan

The question of the compatibility of an Islamic State with the requirements of twentieth century economy was vital in the first few years of Pakistan's existence As was already made clear, the momentum of Pakistan's creation increased religious intensity to the utmost The influence of learned *mullas* grew out of proportion with their numerical strength. In that period the definition of the Islamic State was one where possibly all the laws of the *Qur'an* and *Hadith* would be observed.[1] This posed a problem of compatibility in economic activities between some traditional laws and the present-day requirements. Economically, Muslim tradition was fitted for a landed agricultural society. For centuries the Christian Church and the Muslim tradition were in agreement in forbidding interest on money lent to their believers The Christian Church has long since reversed its position and keeps discreet silence on that score. The *mullas* or the leaders of the Islamic State also must face the task of adjusting the financial laws to the present needs. In 1949, however, there were high hopes in some circles that Islamic laws could be accepted *in toto* without any changes regarding economics.

"In the economic sphere Islam lays down regulations

[1] *Objectives Resolution. CAD, V* (March, 1949), 2.

> designed to secure the maximum and the most beneficent distribution of wealth. For this purpose it prescribes certain things and prohibits certain others. Its system of inheritance and the zakat are illustrations of the former; its ban against the lending of money on interest, of the latter.[1]

The possibility of enforcing these regulations was strongly impressed upon the people. There has been talk among Pakistanis that a system can be put into operation which will sidestep the collection of interest and still encourage banking and capitalist enterprises. Such system, however, has yet to be worked out and tested on the anvil of life.

Economic Regulations of the Qur'an and Modern Needs

No doubt the *Qur'an's* prohibition against the taking of interest had an adverse effect on Muslim economic life on the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent.

> "A fairly well developed banking system existed in British India prior to partition As Muslims are prohibited by the Koran from interest taking, the facilities which existed in Pakistan were primarily banks operated by Hindus and branches of foreign banks. Pakistan's banking facilities were greatly reduced in the first two years after partition, when many Hindu bankers and moneylenders left Pakistan, particularly West Pakistan. The number of offices of scheduled banks dropped from 314 to 62."[2]

A few concrete instances, frequently singled out by the opponents of the Islamic State in a disparaging manner to point to the difficulties in adjusting Quranic principles to a modern economic system, are far from enough proof of the weakness of Islamic laws. Every economic system has its weaknesses that are frequently eliminated only in the process of functioning. True, the Islamic economic regulations have religious sanction and are, therefore, dogmatically adhered to by orthodox elements. But these elements are either bound to change their minds in a legitimate process of altering

[1] Zafrulla Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[2] U. S. Dept. of Commerce, *Investment in Pakistan* (Washington D. C. Government Printing Office, 1954), p. 96.

certain laws for the good of the people, or they are bound to lose ground to forces which are willing to give a less literal and a more liberal interpretation to the traditional laws in an effort to create a modern planned economic system in the country. The official organ of the Muslim League made the following statement concerning changes in the pattern of thinking in the field of economics and other related fields :

> "In Pakistan, where we are confronted with the task of leaping the gap of centuries in a matter of years, this question of perspective in planning is charged with superlative moment. Far from making only minor adjustments in the existing setup, we are required to metamorphose our entire economy, and our entire society, into a new pattern according to a certain design which has, of necessity, to be modern in its conception as well as in its technique of execution. The country has to be brought abreast of the modern, twentieth century world, in terms of the actual living conditions and living standards of the people including social, cultural and even moral standards. And unlike many other nations, we do not have an uncharted sea of time in which to launch our little steam boat, with numbered centuries ahead in which to do our exploring for civilization. We have a definite goal to reach, and must make it in as little time as possible."[1]

Whatever the theoretical arguments one could advance to point out how difficult, if not impossible, it would be to build an Islamic State in the twentieth century, Pakistan, basically following the road of Islam, however, has now become wide and more taxing, but at the same time more concrete and rewarding than the one followed six or eight years earlier, at the time when the *Objectives Resolution* was adopted. Then the aim was to enable the Muslims to live according to the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* and to have certain noble principles adopted as "enunciated by Islam." A critic of the government was to a great extent justified in stating that "in this Resolution we do not give any safeguards whereby people would be free to vote, whereby people will not be influenced by the masters

[1] *Pakistan Standard* (Karachi), August 10, 1955, p. 4.

under whom they work. Had we brought in such safeguards for them, then only would it be possible for us to give the people of Pakistan a real democracy and a constitution which would have been for the people and of the people."[1] Certain basic rights of the people, the rise in living standards, wages, labour, etc., were neglected in an all-out effort of a certain faction of Pakistani Muslims to enforce an Islamic Constitution—on the meaning of which there was neither inter-faction nor intra-faction agreement—while others expended their energy on postponing the adoption of such a Constitution. Exactly eight years after the hard-own self-determination of the Muslims on the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent we can feel a tinge of regret in the Pakistani Muslims for the oversight of some vital issues at the time of the country's conception :

> " After independence our first concern should have been our economic progress and stability But once again we were caught in the meshes of a political dilema on the home front. Pakistan's Constitution proved to be an elusive entity .. I do not deny that a constitution is necessary. But all that I say is that in our search for an agreed constitution, let us not forget to focus attention on such fundamental problems as the common man's basic need for food, shelter and clothing "[2]

As the years passed increasingly more concern was given to economic problems. The notions that " there is faith in Almighty God which will keep the two main units of Pakistan united[3] and that the brotherhood of all Muslims will create an invincible bond among the members of the fold on an international and individual level, eradicating all corruption and diverse interest between various economic and interest groups, gave way to sound economic planning. The torrents of words on the Islamic State continued ceaselessly, but here and there riots, strikes, threats of succession, decrease in popular support, and to some extent, an earnest patriotic desire for the glory of the country focused increasing

[1] Mian Iftikharuddin, *C.A D.*, V, 4, March, 1949-53.

[2] G. Allana, " Not Only a Constitution.. " *Pakistan Standard* (Karachi), August 14, 1955, p. 4.

[3] Jaffri, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

attention on more concrete phases of work within the framework of the Islamic State than those to which time was devoted in the past.

Some Concrete Achievements of the " Islamic " State

It was pointed out earlier that Pakistan, as it stands now, can be considered an Islamic State The economic progress that Pakistan has made since its birth proves best the vitality of an Islamic State in the twentieth century.

After partition Pakistan was in a sad economic state. There were altogether 10 cotton mills, 4 spinning mills, 9 sugar factories, 5 cement factories and 3 works of the enamalled wares in the country. There were also 2 large petroleum refineries in West Punjab and a negligible number of small factories.[1] An economist, writing about the deplorable economic situation in Pakistan a year after it came into being, says

> "The backwardness of the present industrial state of Paskistan lies in the old British policy of treating the whole of India as one economic unit The result is that industries in India have been concentrated in certain areas only to the neglect and detriment of other areas, such as those now lying in Pakistan It was a lopsided industrial development of the country, with the result that the resources of these parts were not only neglected but they also lay unexplored for a long time Pakistan, therefore, happens to be a predominantly agricultural and industrially backward country today. For example, though East Bengal is the best jute producing part of the world with the contribution of 75 per cent of first class jute, it has practically no jute mills and almost all the jute products have had to be exported through the port of Calcutta .. .. Such an uneven economic development was really one of the reasons for the demand for the partition of India".[2]

In 1950 approximately two-thirds of Pakistan's inhabitants earned

1 M. B. Pithawalla, *An Introduction to Pakistan* (Karachi, 1948), p. 67

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

their livelihood from some phase of agriculture[1] The percentage has but slightly changed till now. Thus, Pakistan is primarily agrarian in character. In order to help the vast masses it was, therefore, imperative that irrigation, crop raising and agricultural processing should be improved, ancient implements be exchanged for a mechanized agriculture and the farmer be given back his dignity, selfesteem and freedom by making him an independent landholder. The development programme of the Pakistani government was worked out in consideration of the above needs in order to insure national prosperity. The total expenditure of projects completed since partition, or those in the process of completion, amounts to 16,753 million Rs.[2] Some significant details in this development are the building of irrigation facilities, barrages and dams, canalization of flood waters, provision of adequate storage facilities for food-grains, schemes to protect the plants against insects and pests, provision of fertilizers and a number of other miscellaneous projects. A Village Agricultural, Industrial Development Programme (abbreviated into V-Aid) was also launched in 1953 in order "to stimulate self-confidence and self-help, and thus to release the dormant energies and resources of the people to constructive purposes on a national scale."[3] In addition, the Central Cotton Committee (Gro-More-Cotton Campaign) was established in January,

[1] *Investment Opportunities in Pakistan* (Office of the Economic Adviser, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 1950). Pithawalla, *op. cit.*, tells us that the ratio between agriculture and industry is 9 to 1 But considering that Pakistan is an underdeveloped country, any statistical classification might considerably vary from the truth

"The classification of national income by industries is based on the concept of income originating in each branch of economic activity, but in an economy where sizable groups pursue a number of occupations outside the main industry in which they are supposed to be engaged, it becomes difficult to distinguish between income originating in an industry and income received by persons engaged therein. Thus, for example, the total earned income of the agricultural population may be different from total income originating in agriculture."

Statistical Bulletin (Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan, February, 1955), p. 133.

[2] *Pakistan, 1954-1955* (Karachi, Pakistan Publications, August, 1955), p. 52. The official exchange rate of the Pakistani Rupee was U, S. .30 *Investment in Pakistan*, p. 4,

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

1949, the Central Jute Committee in August, 1950, the Food and Agriculture Council in December, 1951, with the object to promote scientific and technological research in the respective fields and to step up production. Other Committees or Departments were established concerning plant protection aforestation of the land,[1] soil conservation, fisheries, animal husbandry, and other enterprizes relating to the field of agriculture. A movement for cooperative farming, cooperative housing, cooperative agricultural marketing, cooperative agricultural credit societies, is well on the way and already can boast of some achievements.[2]

While great emphasis has been put on the reconstruction and development of agriculture, enormuos strides have been made in creating industries connected with it. Since Pakistan has started paractically from scratch, with the few industries mentioned above, the progress of development can by necessity be only slow. An American official publication describes the difficulties of industrializing Pakistan in the following way:

> "The problems faced by Pakistan in its attempt to bring about even a limited degree of industrialization are many and difficult. Severe shortages of fuels and powerare formidable obstacles to such a project. Both coal and petroleum production are presently inadequate and Pakistan's per capita power supply is among the lowest in the world. The Government has made some progress toward overcoming the situation, however, through the installation of thermal plants while proceeding with the development of Pakistan's quite considerable hydroelectric power potential. Furthermore, it is hoped that additional exploration will reveal new sources of fuel similar to large natural gas deposits recently discovered in Baluchistan. which appear to be of major importance."[3]

The publication considers "the slow rate of capital formation and investment" an even more serious problem than lack of fuel and

[1] "The total land area under forest is not over 5 per cent. although by modern standards about 25 per cent of the area should have been covered by trees to enable adequate supply of forest produce." *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[3] *Investment in Pakistan*, p. 4.

power. The attempt to change Pakistan's agricultural economy into a semi-industrial one had, therfore, many obstacles to overcome. In a st tement of the "Industrial Policy of the Government of Pakistan," issued on April 2, 1948 by the Ministry of Commerce, Industries and Works,[1] the methods of achieving the objectives are made clear. The government pledged itself to a policy of private enterprise and free initiative. While it submits, on the one hand, a list of twentyseven industries subject to central planning, on the other hand, it goes out of its way to encourage private capital investment in industrial enterprises, by exempting new industrial undertakings from the payment of income tax, by giving special depreciation allowances, by promising favourable tariff rates, by expressing its intention to assist industry through an Industrial Finance Corporation and by many other means. As a consequence of the government's liberal economic policy the pace of industrialization of the country has been steadily increasing.

> "The results achieved since 1950, when the implementation of the Six-Year Development Plan was taken up, are impressive. Taking the index of industrial production for the year 1950 at 100 a rough survey of the production of 17 major industries indicate the corresponding indices as 125 for 1951, 160 for 1952, 235 for 1953, and 285 for 1954...... The number of manufacturing establishments, as defined in the Factories Act increased from 1,800 in 1953 to 2,751 in 1954.[2]

To cite some details as an illustration: Petroleum production was up 52 per cent; cement 65%; sugar 10 per cent; cigarettes 208 per cent; and cotton textiles 347 per cent.[3] A Pakistani official publication states that "we are now self sufficient in food, cloth of coarse and medium varieties, jute manufactures, cigarettes and matches and nearly so in cement, paper and other essential commodities."[4] According to

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 165. Full text of Statement quoted.

[2] "White Paper on the Government of Pakistan Budget 1955-56," *Economic Observer*, Karachi, April, 1955, p. 53,

[3] "Economic Strides Cited in Pakistan," *New York Times*, April 1, 1955.

[4] *Press Information Department*, Government of Pakistan (July 26, 1155). E. No. 3455.

Pakistani economists, by 1958 "Pakistan will have attained a high degree of self sufficiency in consumer goods."[1] Presently, however, the supply of consumer goods is reported to be low, and the government seems to be relying in its development plans upon deficit financing.[2] This condition can be attributed to the great dependence of Pakistan upon foreign exchange earnings from a few agricultural raw materials.[3] Difficulties caused by dependence on foreign markets and exchange are at present bridged by the help of foreign economic aid. Hopes that Pakistan, as an Islamic State, will, within a few years, reach a reasonable degree of economic self-sufficiency are well substantiated by the progress made since partition.

In so far as the labour policy of Pakistan is concerned, there is ample room for improvement. The labour force is continually growing in proportion with the modernization and industrialization of the country. While the government is trying "to evolve a system calculated to promote collective bargaining through organizations of workers as well as employers,"[4] the position of the workers in Pakistan is still not satisfactory. The following excerpt can give a fair illustration of the magnitude of problems concerning labour legislation in the country:

> The existing labour laws mainly apply to workers employed in (1) factories employing 20 or more persons and using mechanical power (181,752 workers in 1949); (2) mines (9,413 workers in 1949); (3) railways (135,357 workers in 1949); (4) shops and commercial estabtishments (about 15,000 workers); (5) sea-going vessels (about 125,000 seamen) and (6) docks and ports (about 15,000 workers) . ... This gives an approximate total figure of nearly 480,000 workers protected by different enactments.[5]

1 "Pakistan Widens Base of Economy," *New York Times*, January 4, 1955.

2 The budgets from 1948-49 till 1953-54 showed a surplus on the revenue side. The budget of 1954-55 showed a deficit of 25.1 million rupees. The estimated budget of 1955-56 has a deficit of 13.7 million rupees. See table in *Pakistan 1954-1955*, p. 28.

2 World Trade Information Service, *Economic Developments in Pakistan, 1954* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, March, 1955).

4 *Pakistan 1954-1955*, p. 120.

5 According to new estimates, "there were 392 registered trade unions with a membership of 633,753 in February, 1955. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

> The population of Pakistan according to the 1951 provisional census figures is 75,687,000. Hence these 480,000 workers constitute only ·63 per cent of the total population. There is almost no legislative regulation of the terms and conditions of employment in agriculture, plantations, cottage industries, inland water transport and small industrial and commercial establishments whose number is estimated as running into millions though accurate figures are not available. There is also no legislation concerning employment exchanges and trading centres which have been established by an executive order of the Government."[1]

Measures in that direction are being worked out by the Pakistan Government in harmony with the regulations of the International Labour Organisation.[2] Obviously, much of the progress depends on the growing class consciousness among the working masses of the country.

Although not strictly within the field of economics, except in so far as the national budget is concerned, the general progress in the welfare of the country deserves special mention.

In the field of health, malaria alone was responsible for 124,516 deaths a year, according to a 1951 estimate.[3] The same source stated that there were at least one million active cases of tuberculosis in the country, with only one doctor to 33,000 persons and one nurse to 76,800 people. The shortage of hospitals and dispensaries was acute. At present there is a nation-wide malaria control programme in operation. The Malaria Institute of Pakistan and Tuberculosis Control and Training Centres have been established. The upkeep of the Karachi Centre of Tuberculosis alone costs the government Rs. 917,000. About 13,720,844 have so far been tuberculin tested, and 4,656,925 protected with B.C.C.[4] The government

1 *Labour Code of Pakistan*, compiled by M. Shafi (Karachi: Pakistan Labour Publications, 1953), Preface.

2 *Pakistan 1954-1955*, chapter on Labour, pp. 120-125.

3 *Pakistan News* (Karachi), January 28, 1951. From a speech by Dr. A. M. Malik, inaugurating the All-Pakistan Health Conference, Dacca, January 8, 1951.

4 *Pakistan 1954-1955*, p. 194.

has also prepared a Six Year Development Plan with the objective of alleviating the pressing need for hospitals, medical schools and medical personnel. In addition, the government is subsidizing maternity and child health services, a penicillin plant, a Cancer Research Institute and related projects.

In the field of education the government has undertaken a vigorous drive to eradicate illiteracy and to raise the standard of education in Pakistan. According to the 1951 census there were 13,958,013 literates in Pakistan, 18.9 percent of the population.[1] There are at present about 650,000 students enrolled in Pakistani colleges and universities.[2] Great effort is being expended by the government to procure sufficient teaching personnel and to provide adequate education facilities. The measures are meeting with success.

Economic Progress and a Modern Islamic State

The illustrations quoted about agriculture, industry, labour, health, and education might give some indication of the progress made in these areas since Partition, but by no means do they attempt to give a complete picture Attention should be called to the fact that progress has been made in many other areas not even mentioned here. Whatever phase of governmental activity in Pakistan would be taken under consideration, it would serve as an indication that the Islamic ideals, serving as the propelling force in the actions of the State, do not hamper its development.

Pakistan is a healthy nation with an inherently sound economy. If its people are in want, it is a heritage from the past and not because the State adopted Islamic ideals. The difficulties that crop up from time to time are only indications that work is being done. The insistent effort to harmonize economic development and social welfare with Islamic ideals is a heroic attempt of a nation to lift itself above the slime of materialism in which the world is steeped today. It is not an opiate to forget, or to cause to forget, the worries at hand. It is rather a different approach that seems suspicious to twentieth century civilized mind, conservative and unaccustomed to social experiments. Except for the aim underlying the experiment,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

[2] *Press Information Department*, Government of Pakistan (July 28, 1955), E. No. 3409.

which is to create a good life, and, perhaps, a better man, the average adherents of the Islamic ideal differ little in their problems, ambitions, fears and joys from an average American.

THE POSITION OF MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN

Minorities before the Objectives Resolution

Liberation and Partition were greeted on both sides of the border, in India and Pakistan, with an outburst of communal riots on an unprecedented scale. Freedom had to be sanctified with bloodshed. It was a bad beginning, but not an unusual one on the scene of world history. The situation of the minorities, the obvious victims of such riots, was aggravated by the quarrels over the accession of some princely states. The Kashmir quarrel has even today a potent influence on feelings in Pakistan. In general, however, mob violence has rarely occurred since the Minorities Agreement was signed between the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India on April 8, 1950. This Agreement "undoubtedly averted a crisis, and provided a rallying point for men of goodwill on both sides to set their face against evils of intolerance and communal hatred."[1] Discounting occasional threatening demonstrations during that year, the minorities were protected in all their rights and privileges as prescribed by the Act of 1935. The relevent regulations of the Act, in so far as the minorities were concerned, were based on the policy that was adopted by the British in 1909, when it gained official sanction in the Morely-Minto Reforms. The official British policy was that of communalism, permitting every community to share in governmental activities proportionately to its members. This system was made effective and sustained by the introduction of separate electorates. The Muslims welcomed separate electorates in British India. The Hindus shunned them. Being an integral part of the Act of 1935, which is still the living Constitution of Pakistan, the Provisions of that Act were applied to the minorities after Partition. Additional minority legislation of great magnitude and with long-range significance was indicated in the *Objectives Resolution* of 1949

[1] V. S. Swaminathan, "Pakistan Problems and Prospects" *Middle East Journal*, IV, 4 (Washington : Middle East Institute, October, 1950).

Present Status of the Minorities

In the *Objectives Resolution* the minority has been given distinct guarantees in two clauses: "Adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures,"[1] and "adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes."[2] Even at first sight one can notice that these clauses lend themselves to various interpretations. They are too general as to content and scope. The word "adequate" which opens both statements, is far too dubious. What might seem adequate to a Muslim in protecting the rights of a non-Muslim, might not seem adequate to a Pakistani Hindu. This and similar interpretations can make one understand the misgivings of the minority at the time this Resolution was passed. The majority had a comparatively weak point agains them at that time. Only from a point of view of doubtful comradeship could the majority complain against the minority, for not trusting them in good faith and good will. Legally the minority seemed to act correctly and in self-protection when it demanded additional guarntees.

By September, 1954, the situation had changed. In several proposals, whose acceptable provisions were finally crystallized in the 1954 *Report*, it was made clear to what extent the minority citizen will be guaranteed his rights. In minute details, point by point, the minority has been insured equal rights with the Pakistani Muslims. Not only is it the state's duty "to protect all the legitimate rights and interests of the non-Muslim communities of Pakistan"[3] in general, but individual citizens of Pakistan, too, who are incapable of earning their livelihood, should be secured their basic necessities of life "irrespective of caste and creed."[4] The "Directive Principles of State Policy" further assert that "the economic policy of the State should be so directed as to secure an all-round well being of the people irrespective of creed, race or color."[5] Similarly, complete

[1] *CAD*, *V* (March, 1949), 2.

[2] *Ibid.*,

[3] *BPCR*, Pt. I. Ch. 11 paragraph 12.

[4] *Ibid.*, paragraph 4.

[5] *Ibid.*, paragraph 5.

equality of opportunity in matters of public employment "irrespective of religion, race, caste, sex, descent or place of birth" is also safeguarded.[1] One exception is made in filling the position of the Head of State. The Report on Fundamental Rights does not say that the office of the Head of State can be filled only by a Muslim, but we find this single exception made in the *BPCR*.[2] Actually, considering the hot tempers on the minority issue, the drafters could have refrained from making such an explicit statement which excludes a non-Muslim from the highest position in the state.[3] True, there are constitutions where a similar qualification is prescribed for the Head of State. On the other hand, there are states where unwritten law regulates this procedure. One wonders why, with the tremendous Muslim majority at hand, the drafters in Pakistan had to choose the course that is more offensive to minority sentiment. Let it be clear, however, that with the exception of the office of the Head of the State, all other positions are equally available to Muslim and non-Muslim by law. The *BPCR* has no explicit statement included to that effect. But it clearly infers, by specifying what oath has to be taken at the assumption of certain offices, that these positions are open to all aspirants. Thus, the Head of the State, who has to be a Muslim, has to swear "In the name of Allah that......I will endeavour to fulfill the obligations and duties enjoined by Islam."[4] But speaking about the Cabinet, the provision says that

> 'the Minisisters should be required to take oaths of allegiance, office and secrecy:
>
> Provided that in the case of a Muslim Minister the oath of office should include an affirmation to the effect that both in his personal and public life he will endeavour to fulfill

[1] *Interim Report of the Committee on Fundamental Rights of Citizens of Pakistan and on Matters Relating to Minorities*, as adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on the 6th October, 1950, Pt. II, Paragraph 7.

[2] *B. P. C. R.*, Pt, III, Ch. I, paragraph 15.

[3] Seth Sukhdhev, a non-Muslim member of the Constituent Assembly, pointed out that "this provision is not a democratic one. It is also not in keeping with paragraph 7 of part II of the *Interim Report on Fundamental Rights*), CAD, XV, 2 (October, 1953), 51.

[4] *Ibid.*, paragraph 34. Similar oath is administered to the members of the Federal Legislature. *Ibid.*, paragraph 73 (1).

the obligations enjoined by Islam."[1]

Speaking about the Head of a Unit, the *Report* is even more specifically liberal. It reads : "Suitable provisions should be made for the form of oath to be taken by the Head of the Unit if he is a non-Muslim[2] and a member of the legislature of unit.[3]

The picture one gets by perusing some of the recently passed documents of the Constituent Assembly is that of a well-protected minority. However, the most valuable guarantees are to be found in the *BPCR* among the "Directive Principles of State Policy" whose last paragraph reads : "The provisions contained in this chapter are intended for the general guidance of the state. The application of this principle in legislation and administration shall be the duty of the state but shall not be enforceable in any court of law."[4]

Not trying to reach a hasty conclusion, one can assume that, although these provisions have no legal power, they carry at least a strong moral obligation. Since they would be embodied in the future Constitution of Pakistan, they can be considered of strong precedential value in the shaping of minority legislation. Even if we assume the opposite, [5] the minority would be left with fuudamental rights which give it legal guarantees of equal status, equal opportunity and liberty of conscience and practice.

While the basic documents themselves give a favourable picture of the position of the minorities, one should not forget that a document cannot be judged only by its wording but also by its application in practice. This, in turn, depends on the type of relationship that develops between the two communities. Judging by the debates held in the Constituent Assembly, one can feel that this relationship is far from friendly and cordial based on mutul trust. Some of the minority members accuse the majority that

[1] *Ibid*. Pt. IV, Ch. I, Paragraph 64.

[2] *Ibid*. paragraph 99.

[3] *Ibid*. paragraph 127 (1) and (2).

[4] *Ibid*. Pt. I, Ch. I, Paragraph 3

[5] "The only two provisions of an economic nature (are) in the section on "Directive Principles of State Policy, which, incidentally, are not enforceable by law and hence are mere pious wishes." (Bhupendra Kumar Datta, *CAD*, XV, 2 (October, 1953).

they are being treated with contempt and as "a stateless people," that they are being terrorized,[1] and that they are forced permanently from participating in the political area by the establishment of separate electorates.[2] On the other hand, other minority members think that

> 'ample safeguards are provided to protect the life, property and the fundamental and civic rights of the minorities. The right to worship, the right to propagate one's religion, the right to live in a way compatible to his or her culture and tradition, are some of the notable features of the constitution are in my humble opinion there is but little which remains to be desired.[3]

The breach in the ranks of the minority, the sheer fact that there is a minority voice giving credit to the Islamic government and that there are other minority members who identify themselves with the policy of the Muslim League, throws a shadow of suspicion on the legitimacy of the minority complaints.

In this light it dawns slowly upon the observer that behind the facade of communal and religious differences there is a basic difference of deeply ingrained political allegiance. That allegiance is, from the point of view of the majority, directed to Islam and to Pakistan; from the point of view of the minorities, it is directed towards their respective communal way of life and Pakistan The majority is struggling to solve the problem of dual allegiance by combining its two objectives, Islam and Pakistan. Its efforts are successful or at least the power and the will exist to the extent that one can consider the ideal of Islamic Pakistan potentially realized. The minorities, however, are frustrated from the outset. No Buddhist or no Christian Pakistan will be established within a conceivable future. What is more, they are bound live in an atmosphere where another faith and way of

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 32—33.

[2] On this issue, opposition to separate electorates, the minority Congress Party seems to agree with the exception of Mr P.D. Bhandara, who, contrary to the other minority members and a few dissident members of the Muslim League, believes that "in separate electorate lies the salvation of the backward classes." *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[3] P.D. Bhandra, *Ibid.*, p. 47.

life is defied, pushing them into comparative obscurity. They thus feel their interest endangered—even though they may not be—and their dual allegiance for Pakistan and their communal beliefs, instead of being welded together, suffer a rift that appears incurable. At the same time, living in an environment where the religious majority is identified with the political State with which the minorities seem unable to identify themselves, they turn for their own guidance and support to outside powers. Whether this involves spiritual guidance or financial aid, such a dissatisfied minority body could serve as a fifth column, an actual cancer within the living body of a state. No wonder, therefore, that however liberal the law of Islamic Pakistan would be toward the minorities—as it is—they will act like frustrated, dissatisfied individuals, who have only very little concern and stake in the actual passage of laws, in the preservation of order in the country that they might have liked to call their own. On this basis we can find three groups of people in Pakistan : (1) the Muslim group, strongly Nationalist : (2) a strong group within the minority relying on India as the outside power ; (3) a small group within the minority, probably mostly Christians, who will work hand in hand with the Muslim League as long as the freedom and the security of the minority will be insured. This situation presents a problem to which we do not propose to find a solution as this stage.

The writer of these lines hopes that the description of the minority problem did not give the reader the impression that Pakistan is torn by the internal strife and antagonism of the communal groups. Such a situation cannot arise, since in a body of 75 million people there are altogether about 12 million non-Muslims or approximately 15 per cent of the population.[1] In the light of the size of the minority the problem might seem to be exaggerated, but if this is so in this paper, it is also in the Pakistani-Muslim conscience that, on the whole, is trying to find a *modus vivendi* for communally conscious minority groups within the framework of the Islamic State. The fear of the minorities, that

[1] Religion in Pakistan (Census Report of 1951) : Muslim 85.9%, Caste Hindu 5.7%, Schedule Caste Hindu 7.2% Christian .7% other .5%. *Press Information Department*, Government of Pakistan, E. No. 4196.

the stronger the Islamic State, the surer their disappearance into oblivion, is more than overbalanced by the enthusiastic hope and stronger determination of the majority to prove to themselves, to their minorities, neighbours and the world at large that the Islamic way of life can secure justice, equality, peace and happiness to all men.

The problems concerning the minorities, the economy of the country, and the adoption of an Islamic Constitution are only some aspects of the problem of an Islamic State. The intention was to give an unbiased account of what one is to expect from an Islamic State in the twentieth century. At this point no one can escape the conclusion that Pakistan is a rapidly progressing country and that the hopes of realizing the noble Islamic ideals in the body politic do not hinder its development socially, economically, or politically.

No doubt the Pakistani Muslims have a long road to go to persuade friends and strangers that their hopes can be realized. But they seem to proceed undaunted towards their goal.

ISLAM SHAH SUR

By

DR. A. RAHIM, M.A. PH. D. (LONDON)

The reign of Islām Shāh Sūr is an important period in the history of Afghān rule in India. It saw an astounding victory of the monarch over the nobles and the realisation of the ideas of Ibrāhīm Lūdi as well as the perfection of the development of Shīr Shāh's principles and the institutions. It inaugurated in the Afghan sultanate a monarchy that was reminiscent of the position of the great Turkish Sultans, 'Alā-al-Dīn Khaljī and Muhammad bin Tghluq, and the precursor of the brilliance and efficiency of the administrative system of the Mughul Indeed, in the history of ideas and institutions of Muslim rule, Islām Shāh, stands as a connecting link between the Turks and the Mughuls in India.

Accession and fratricidal war

On May 23, 1545, Shīr Shāh died in his camp at Kalinjar, leaving behind him two sons; but both of them were absent. The elder, 'Ādil, was at Ranthambhor and the younger Jalāl Khān was at Rewa, 200 miles and 50 miles away respectively from Kalinjar. Before his death, Shīr Shāh had nominated 'Ādil Khān as his successor. The Afghan chiefs, however, attached little importance to the will of their dead They wanted to make their own choice.

'Īsā Khān, Jamāl Khān, Shaykh Muḥammad Gukbar and other chiefs present sat in council to decide who should succeed. Ni'mat-allah gives a detailed account of their discussions. The accounts of Nizām-al-Din, Badāyūnī, Firish-tah and 'Abdallah substantially agree with that of Ni'mat-allah. 'Īsā Khān who held the important post of *tambuldar* of Shīr Shāh and was in great confidence of that monarch,[3] championed the cause of Jalāl. At first he made the other chiefs agree that they should not take away the throne from

[1] *Tabaqat*, II, 107, Firishtah, I, 430, *Makh.*, 137b; 'Abdallah, BM., 102b.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Ni'mat-allah (*Makh*, 140b) says that the office of the *tambuldar* or the betel-leaf bearer was the highest in the Afghan sultanate.

the family of Shīr Shāh. Then this shrewd partisan of Jalāl made a comparative estimate of the two princes showing the incompetence of the elder and the competence of the younger brother as an administtrator and soldier.

According to 'Īsā Khān, Sher Shāh often lamented that none of his sons was fit for the throne, the elder was given to luxury and amusements and the younger was impetuous and vindictive. He, however, appreciated the war-like qualities of Jalāl This judgement of Shīr Shāh quoted by one of his chief supporters could not fail to weaken the cause of 'Ādil

Secondly, 'Īsā Khān pointed to the respective careers of the two princes in the reign of their father 'Ādil had no distinguished service to his credit He was easy going and would prove a failure as a ruler. Jalāl had distinguished himself as a soldier, and he had discharged the duties entrusted to him in a satisfactory way.[1] By this illustration 'Īsā Khān wanted to convince that Jalal would be a better choice for the throne. Thirdly, he emphasised that the vacant throne should immediately be filled so that the peace and integrity of the empire could be maintained. 'Ādil was far off; Jalāl was near at hand Fourthly, 'Īsā Khān produced a precedent to show that only those present could qualify for the throne. After the death of Buhlūl Lūdī, his son Sikandar Lūdī was chosen for the throne by the chiefs in preference to his elder brother, Bārbak, because he was near at hand. Lastly, he made the assembled chiefs understand that Jalāl, a man of passionate temper, would never be reconciled to the succession of his brother and that, if 'Ādil was given the throne, serious troubles might follow. So, the peace and welfare of the empire demanded that Jalāl should be placed on the throne.[2]

These eloquent arguments decided the Afghān chiefs in favour

[1] Jalal distinguished himself in his father's conquest of Bengal (Abbas, BM., 38b, Elliot, IV, 359-60). He also successfully checked the advance of Humayun at Garhi and captured some camels and horses of the Mughuls in an engagement. This enabled Shir Shah to remove the treasures of Gaur to Rothtas (Abbas, BM., 42b). Jalal also commanded the Afghan right in the battle of Qanauwj in 1540. (Abbas, BM., 50b). Ni'mat-allah (140b) says that the early name of Jalal was Abd-al-Rashid. His services and exploits under his father earned him the name of Jalal.

[2] *Makh.*, 138b.

of Jalāl. Ni'mat-allah mentions that they gave a letter to Maḥmūd to carry to his father 'Ādil informing of the death of Shīr Shāh and asking him to come to Kalinjar. The letter was, however, a contrivance to remove the son of 'Ādil from the camp. They sent another letter by a courier to Jalāl informing him of the death of his father and of their decision to place him on the throne [1] Jalāl hastened to Kalinjar and, although he was secretly glad at the offer of the throne, he insincerely hesitated saying that his father had nominated his elder brother. 'Īsā Khān and other chiefs, however, emphasised that they had unanimously decided for his succession and that the interest of the empire demanded his acceptance. Being thus re-assured, Jalāl accepted the offer and on May 28, 1545 (15 *Rabi' I*, 952,) assuming the name of Islām Shāh, he ascended the throne of the sultanate in the fort of Kalinjar.[2]

After his accession Islām Shāh wanted to secure his position against his elder brother by creating a group of strong supporters of his throne. He rewarded 'Īsā Khān with the important and confidential office of *tambuldar* and raised his brother and son to higher posts in the sultanate [3] Islām Shāh promoted 6,000 soldiers, who followed him when he was a prince, making privates officers and officers nobles.[4] He also satisfied the army by a grant of one month's pay as gratuity and one month's pay as advance.[5]

The installation of Islām Shāh on the throne bewildered Khwāṣ Khān, 'Īsā Khān Niyāzi and other supporters of 'Ādil who had been away at the time. Considering that his accession had become a *fait accompli* and that he had strengthened his position, they, however, thought it wise to accept him as their king. Khwāṣ Khān came from Mewat and met Islām Shāh at Kara on his way to Agra. When Islām Shāh received the allegiance of Khwāṣ Khān, he exclaimed that he had become king from the time Khwāṣ Khān had

[1] *Ibid.*, 138b-39a; Firishtah, I, 430; *Dawudi*, BM., 102b.

[2] *Ibid*, 140a; 430; Badayuni, I, 375, *Tabaqat*. II, 107.

[3] Most of the contemporary histories mention Islam Shah as Salim Shah or Aslam Shah. His coins (Wright—*The Coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli*, 326-27), however, bear the title of *Jalal-ud-dunia wa din Abul Muzaffar Islam Shah*.

[4] *Makh* BM., 140b.

[5] *Dawudi*, BM., 103b.

joined him.[1] In fact, the adhesion of Khwas Khān, the most distinguished general of Shīr Shāh and previously a strong supporter of 'Ādil, secured the position of Islām Shāh on the throne.

Even after Khwāṣ Khān had accepted him as king, Islām Shāh felt himself insecure on the throne, thinking that his brother might at any time create troubles for him. So, he determined to get rid of him. He wanted to attain his object by means of dissimulation. After his accession he feigned loyalty to his brother and wrote to him from Kalinjar that he had accepted the responsibility of government and military command so that troubles might not arise. He invited his brother to come and assume the reins of government. On his arrival at Agra, Islām Shāh sent him another letter assuring him of safety. 'Ādil, however, referred the question of his coming to Khwāṣ Khān, 'Īsā Khān Niyāzi, Quṭb Khān Nāib and Jalāl Khān Jallū. Islām Shāh sent these four chiefs to re-assure him of safety by a solemn compact. Acting on their advice, 'Ādil came from Ranthambhor to Sīkrī. To receive his brother Islām Shāh left Agra and the two brothers met at Shingarpūr.[2]

Islām Shāh received 'Ādil with every mark of cordiality. The two brothers mourned their father's death together and then they set out for Agra. But while outwardly pretending cordiality, Islām Shāh planned to kill his brother. He had given secret orders to his followers not to allow more than two or three of his brother's attendants to enter the fort.[3] 'Ādil's men, five to six thousand in number, however, forced their way in. Finding that his plan had failed, Islām Shāh treated his brother with outward deference. He said to him that he had so long taken care of the leaderless Afghāns and now he made them over to him. He placed his brother on the throne and showed himself submissive to him.[4] Even in these proceedings Islām Shāh planned the death of 'Ādil. He had previously placed some brave and trusworthy youngmen behind the

[1] *Ibid.*, 102b-3a; *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi* 57a

[2] *Tabaqat*, II, 107; Badayuni, I, 375, *Makh.*, 141b.

[3] *Ibid* and *Dawudi*, 104a and *Shahi*, 297

[4] *Ibid*; Firishtah, I, 430

[5] Badayuni, I, 375-76, *Tabaqat*, II, 108; Firishtah, I, 430, *Dawudi*, 135; *Shahi*, 297.

throne so that they might in an opportune moment kill him.[1] 'Ādil, however, feeling that his brother was not sincere in the profession of loyalty to him, rose from the throne and placing Jalāl on it, saluted him and swore allegiance to him Islām Shāh gave Biyānā in *jagir* to him. Leaving his son Mahmūd at court, 'Ādil accompanied Khwāṣ Khān and 'Īsā Khān Niyāzi to his *jagir*.

After 'Ādil had recognised him king, Islām Shāh had apparently no cause for fear on his brother's account He, however, could not feel himself secure on the throne so long as his brothar lived.[2] Ni'mat-allah says that Islām Shāh feared that 'Ādil would never fail to seize an opportunity to make a bid for the throne and in view of the unruly character and rebellious spirit of the Afghāns, there would be ample occasion for such an opportunity, He thought that, while his brother lived, he would not be able to set his hands to any important affair of the sultanate. Islām Shāh intended to introduce administrative measures, which would go against the interests of the Afghān chiefs. In such a case 'Ādil might rally them against his throne. Besides, the frontier problems, particularly the defence of the north-west of the sultanate against Humāyūn, would call forth his vigilance. While he was thus engaged, his brother might create serious troubles for him The affair of Humāyūn and Kāmrān was a warning. Kāmrān had caused the defeat and expulsion of his brother from India by fostering revolt. 'Ādil must therefore be removed [2]

'Ādil and his supporters had sworn allegiance to Islām Shāh and had given him no cause to suspect their loyalty. But, it cannot be said that 'Ādil, who was not only the elder brother, and had been nominated successor by his father but also enjoyed the support of some influential chiefs, would reconcile himself to the rule of his younger brother and would not make an attempt to assert his rights. Islām Shāh could read the danger, and thought it prudent to eliminate its possibility before it ripened.

His conduct however cannot be defended on moral grounds because he violated a solemn compact in order to achieve his ends.

[1] *Makh.*, 145a.

[2] *Makh.*, 145b.

[3] *Ibid.*

It also frightend the Afghān chiefs and, in its immediate effect, convulsed the sultanate in a fratricidal war.

Only two months after the compact, Islām Shāh sent one of his confidential agents, Ghāzī Khan Mahallī, to bring his brother in chains to Agra. Being frightened, 'Adil fled to the protection to Khwāṣ Khān in Mewat. Khwāṣ Khān was enraged at the breach of the engagement. He arrested Ghāzī Khān and incited 'Isa Khhn Niyāzī, Quṭb Khān, Jalāl Khān Jallū and other chiefs against Islām Shāh They assured him of fighting in favour of 'Adil.[1]

With a large army, 'Ādil, Khwās Khān and 'Isa Khān Niyāzī marched towards Agra In the *Shab i-barat* Khwāṣ Khān said his prayers in the company of Shaykh Salīm Chishtī at Sīkrī; they however, reached the outskirts of Agra at break-fast time. So Quṭb Khān and his associates could not desert Islām Shāh[2] Still, 'Par Khān Luhānī, 'Alam Khān Miyānā, Barmāzid Gūr and a few others went over to the side of 'Ādil[3]

Apprehending desertion by his forces in the battle-field, Islām Shāh was very perturbed 'Īsa Khan, however, infusad confidence in him by saying that his devoted band of followers, the Farmūlīs and the Niyāzīs would remain loyal to him and that, in his face, no Afghān would desert him on the battle-field[4] Thus encouraged, Islām Shāh prepared for battle. On October, 23, 1545 (*Sha'ban* 15, 952), a fierce fight took place near Agra 'Ādil's forces were defeated and routed. 'Adil fled to Patna

Khwāṣ Khān and 'Isā Khān Niyāzī fled towards Mewat. Islām Shah's forces again defeated them at Firuzpūr and drove them to the shelter of the Raja of the Kumaun hills Islām Shāh appointed Quṭb Khān Na'ib to fight them. Posting himself in the outstkirts of the Kumaun hills, Quṭb Khān constantly raided, plundered and devastated the country[5]

Elimination of the Afghan chiefs

After his victory over his brother Islām Shāh devoted himself to the overthrow of the powerful Afghan chiefs. 'Abdal'ah

[1] *Tabaqat*, II, 108-9; Badayuni, I, 376-77, *Dawudi*, BM., 104b; *Makh.*, 145b.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Makh.*, 150b.
[4] *Tabaqat*, II, 110; Firishtah, I, 431; *Makh.*, 148b,
[5] *Ibid*; Badayuni, I, 378; *Dawudi*, BM, 105b, *Shahi*, 240-41.

says that Islām Shāh had become suspicious of these chiefs and took measures to remove them.[1] Badāyūni supports this statement.[2]

Islām Shāh seems to have followed a policy of suppression. It was not merely because a few of them were favouredly 'Ādil. In the battle with his brother, some of the chiefs deserted him and a few of them, though they did not desert, were guilty of conspiring against him. Moreover, Islām Shāh, who wanted to establish a strong centralised monarchy in the sultanate and raise the dignity of the crown, found a serious obstacle in the great chiefs of his father's time. So, he therefore decided to exterminate them.

Islām Shāh's first victim was Jalāl Khān Jallū, and his brother Khudādād. By inviting them one day to his camp at Kara Khatampūr, he arrested them and made them over to an Afghān, who had a blood feud with them. He killed them.[3] The fate of Jalāl Khān frightened Quṭb Khān, another conspirator, and he fled to the protection of Ā'zam Humāyūn Haybat Khān in the Panjab. The Niyāzī chief, however, delivered him to Islām Shāh. Islām Shāh imprisoned him with other chiefs, including Shāhbāz Khān Luhāni 'Ādil's son, Mahmūd, Shams Khān Niyāzi, Zayn Khān Niyāzī and Barmāzid Gūr in a cell at Gwalior.[4] According to contemporary evidence, the Gwalior prisoners were afterwards burnt to death with gunpowder Kamāl Khān was able to cover himself with some wet quilts and thus escape death [5]

Islām Shāh thought of removing Shujā'at Khān Sūr and Ā'zam Humāyūn Niyāzī, the powerful chiefs who governed Malwa and the Panjab respetcively. He summoned them to Gwalior. The former came, but the latter made excuses. As Islām Shāh wanted to seize them simultaneously he allowed Shujā'at Khān to return to Malwa.[6] He then marched to punish Ā'zam Humāyūn and when he reached Agra Shujā'at Khān again came and paid his respects to him.[7] Concealing his real intentions, Islām Shāh treated him with favour and allowed him to go back to his *jagir*.

[1] *Dawudi*, BM., 105b.
[2] Badayuni, I, 378
[3] *Tabaqat*, II, 111; Badayuni, I, 378; *Makh.*, 155b-56a.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Dawudi*, BM., 114b; Badayuni, I, 379-80.
[6] *Ibid.*, 106b.
[7] *Ibid*; and Badayuni, I. 379-80; *Tabaqat*, II, 111.

Again in 1547 Shujā'at Khān came to visit the king at Gwalior. Partly because of his submission and partly because of his favourite companion, Dawlat Khān Ujiyālā, the adopted son of Shujā'at Khān, Islām Shāh could not openly destroy him He, however, instigated an Afghān named 'Uthmān, whose hands were cut off by Shujā'at Khān for his misdemeaneur, to take revenge 'Uthmān made an attempt on him and wounded him. Suspecting Islām Shāh, Shujāi fled to Malwa and, as Islām Shāh pursued him, he took shelter in Banswārā. Islām Shāh posted 'Īsā Khān Sūr with a large force at Ujjain and then returned.[1] Later on Dawlat Khān's intercession obtained pardon for Shujā' and received the charge of Sārangpūr and Raisīn.[2] Thus Islām Shāh broke his power, though he did not destroy him.

Islām Shāh could not tolerate the powerful Niyāzī chief, Ā'zam Humāyūn in the possession of the Panjab and Multan, a fairly big area and an important part of his sultanate Shīr Shah had also wanted to remove him, but he was cautious in giving effect to his idea and he died before he could set his hands to it[2] Islām Shāh, however, was bold in the execution of his ideas So, when he felt that the Niyāzīs stood as a great obstacle on the way of his administrative ideal he proceeded boldly to remove them Ā'zam Humāyūn had disobeyed his summons [3] His brother Sa'īd Khān Niyāzī also fled from his court. If Badāyunī is to be believed, then it can be said that the Niyāzīs had even defied the authority of Islām Shāh in the Panjab by reading the khutba in Ā'zam Humāyūn's name [4] All these furnished Islām Shāh with a good causus belli for a strong masure against them

In 1546 Islām Shāh marched against the Niyāzīs. Ā'zam Humāyūn made an alliance with Khwās Khān and 'Isa Khān Niyāzī and their combined forces faced Islām Shāh near the town of Ambala. On the night preceding the battle, the alliance, however, broke down on the question of succession to the throne. Devoted to the family of Shīr Shāh, Khwās Khān wanted the sultanate for

[1] Badayuni, I, 383-84; *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, 75b. Ni'mat-allah, *Makh.*, 158a mentions 'Isa Khan Sar as 'Isa Khan Hujjab.

[2] *Akbarnamah*, II, 89 and III, 420; *Dawudi*, BM., 110a; *Makh.*, 167a.

[3] 'Abbas, BM. 79a—b,

[4] Badayani, I, 37-98; *Shahi* 242.

side, but the Niyāzis declared that they were fighting to have the throne for themselves.[1] Khwāṣ Khān thought of desertion. The Afghan historians write that he secretly informed Islām Shāh that, though he had joined the Niyāzis, he would not fight against the family of his great benefactor Shīr Shāh.[2] However, in December, 1546, Islām Shāh engaged the rebels near Ambala. At the time of the battle, Khwāṣ Khān and 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī left the field. The Niyāzis, however, fought courageously, but they were defeated and routed.[3]

Islām Shāh persued the Niyāzis as far as the fort of Rohtas and they fled towards Dinkot. His general Rai Ḥusayn Jilwānī defeated Khwās Khān and 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī and they took shelter in the Kumaun hills. Leaving Shams Khān Luhānī as governor of Lāhor and Khwājah Uways Sarwānī in charge of Rohtas Islām Shāh returned to Gwalior.[4] The Niyāzīs, however, defeated Uways Sarwānī and advanced to Sarhind On the approach of a large army, they retreated and in 1548, they were again defeated at Sambala near Mankot. Leaving a number of women and children captive, the Niyāzīs fled to the Ghakkar country near Kashmīr[5].

Badāyūni and Ni'matallah say that for two years once a week, Islām Shāh exposed the Niyāzī females in the common Hall of Audience and the heralds and chamberlains proclaimed aloud the name of the Niyāzī chiefs as rebels.[8] This shows the vindictiveness of Islām Shāh in dealing with opposition. Badāyūnī informs us that this conduct of Islām Shāh annoyed many Afghans.[9] He, however, cared very little for their sentiment. He wanted them to learn that a similar fate would befall other rebels.

The Niyāzis, however, in alliance with the Ghakkars, whose chief Sultan Adam was friendly to Humāyūn, created such serious trouble in the Panjab that, in 1549, Islām Shāh advanced in person to deal with them and he succeeded in driving them from their

1 *Ibid*, I, 380-81; *Shahi*, 242-43; *Tabaqat*, II, 111.

2 *Dawudi*, BM, 107a; *Shahi*, 243-44.

3 Badayuni, I, 381-82; Shahi. 243-44.

4 *Ibid.* 382 and *Dawudi*. BM , 110b; Firishtah, I, 434

5 *Ibid.* 385-86; 110b; 434.

8 Badayuni I, 386.; *Makh.*, 158a.

9 *Ibid.*

territories and obtaining the submission of the *zamindars* of the Siwalik hills.[1] About this time Islām Shāh constructed five forts in Mankot as a great defensive measure against the Ghakkars and Humāyūn.[2]

The Niyāzis had a tragic end. Being pursued, they entered the hills of Kashmir and sought the protection of its king Mīrzā Ḥaydar. 'Abdallah writes that some Kashmīrī chiefs wanted to utilise them in expelling their king and having failed to have their help in their design, they informed him that the Niyāzīs intended on the occupation of Kashmir. Being enraged, Mīrzā Ḥaydar ordered his forces to attack them. The Niyāzīs and their women, however, fought bravely and died. Mirzā Haydar sent the heads of A'ẓam Humāyūn and other Niyāzī chiefs to Islām Shāh at Ban.[3] The Mughul historians says that, being friendly to Islām Shāh, Mirzā Ḥaydar treacherously attacked the Niyāzis and killed them.[4] It might be that Mirzā Ḥaydar who was previously a noble of Humāyūn and had left him in 1540 in the bad days after the battle of Qannawj, feared Humāyūn's invasion of Kashmir and hence wanted to be on friendly terms with his enemy. It was, however, a great gain to Islām Shāh. The turbulent Niyāzī tribe was destroyed and he was saved from the trouble of an ambitious people on the frontiers of his sultanate

Relations with Kamran and frontier policy

When in 1551 Islām Shāh was fighting the Niyāzīs, Mīrzā Kāmrān, being dispossessed of Kabul by his brother Humāyūn, came to seek his help. Islām Shāh sent his confidential agent Hīmū to escort him to his court at Mankot. The contemporary historians state that Islam Shāh treated Kāmrān very discourteously. Badāyūni says that Islām Shāh gave orders to his Master of the Ceremonies, Sarmast Khān, to direct Kāmrān to perform salutation like an ordinary servant. As Kāmrān made ordinary salutation by slightly bending dawn his head (*kurnish*), Sarmast Khān seized him by the neck and made him bow down. Besides Islām Shāh ignored

[1] *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 75b; Badayuni, I. 386-7, *Dawudi*, B.M. 11oa-11a.

[2] See p. 10.

[3] *Dawudi*, 112b-13a.

[4] *Tabaqat*, II, 113; Badayuni, I 388.

Kāmrān and placed him under surveillance in the camp. Kāmrān, however, managed to escape and he took shelter with the Ghakkar chief, Sulṭān Ādam.[1]

'Abdallah says that though Islām Shāh did not want to help Kāmrān, yet he treated him with honour; the latter, however, fled from his court.[2] This evidence seems unacceptable. If Islām Shāh behaved courteously towards Kāmrān, then why should he flee from his court and take shelter with the Ghakkar chief whom he knew to be friendly to Humāyūn?

It might be argued that Islām Shāh blundered in not helping Kāmrān against his brother. By utilising Kāmrān he could have dispossessed Humāyūn of Kabul and averted the catastrophe, which befell to his dynasty after his death. Islām Shāh ought to have realised that Humāyūn would never be reconciled to the loss of his empire and would sooner or later make an attempt for the recovery of his throne. There was little possibility of his attempting a restoration during the time of Shīr Shāh when Humāyūn was a wanderer and a refugee in Persia. The possibility of such an attempt arose from the moment Humāyūn obtained a foothold in Kabul, which gave the exiled Mughul king a recruiting ground and a rallying centre. By helping Kāmrān Islām Shāh could have destroyed this foothold of Humāyūn. He could either occupy Kabul or place Kāmrān there as his protege. This would have removed a great danger to Afghan rule in India

It was, however, difficult for Islām Shāh to be hostile to Humāyūn. Such a policy might have drawn against him the Shāh of Persia as the latter had been friendly to Humāyūn and had helped him in conquering Kabul from Kāmrān. Besides, in view of the internal troubles in the empire, Islām Shāh could not have taken the risk of a distant expedition. Moreover, the Ghakkars, whose territory he had recently devastated, being friendly to Humāyūn, would certainly have created troubles for him in the event of a war against the Mughuls in Kabul. So, the expedition might have ended in disaster.

Considering the relations of Kāmrān with his brother, Islām Shāh

[1] *Ibid.* 79 and 114; Badayuni, I, 389-20, *Makh.*, 159a; *A.N.* I, 325.

[2] *Dawudi.* B M.. 113a—b.

could not have also relied on him. Kāmrān's rebellions against Humāyūn, in spite of the latter's kindness and favours, and persistent hostilities had established that he was treacherous and ambitious.[1]

Islām Shāh thought that, by following a vigorous defensive policy in the north-west frontier area he would be in a better position to ward off the possibility of Humāyūn's invasion. So, he completed the fort of Rohtas which was begun by his father. He also built in Mankot five strong fortresses, which were named Shirgarh, Islāmgarh, Fīrūzgarh, Rashīdgarh and Māngarh.[2] Rizqallah and 'Abdallah say that the building of these forts astonished those who saw them. They compared Islām Shāh's performances with the work done by genii by the order of the Prophet Solomon.[3]

Islām Shāh garrisoned the frontier forts. He also built opposite to Humāyūn's Dīn-Panāh and on the bank of the Jamna a strong fort known as Islāmgarh.[4] As a part of his defensive measures, Islām Shāh posted 20,000 cavalry in the *sarkar* of Sambal and 5,000 horse in every important *sarkar* of Northern India.[5]

The defence of the north-west frontier area was one of the factors which made Islām Shāh remove the turbulent Niyāzīs from the Panjab. His idea was to clear the frontier of all disturbing elements and to keep them in a proper defensive condition. He also kept his army and amunitions in a state of preparedness and a vigilant eye on the forntier.

Thus Islām Shāh succeeded in warding off any possibility of Humāyūn's invasion of India during his own reign. In 1552 Humāyūn advanced from Kabul to conquer Kashmir. Having crossed the Indus, he arrived at Banbak on the Sutlaj near the Kashmir border. Only a few days before, Islām Shāh had returned from the Panjab to Delhi. He was suffering from a sore in his throat. Nevertheless, at the news of Humāyūn's approach, he hastened to the frontier. This frightened Humāyūn's nobles into retreating towards

[1] See Banerjee, *Humayun*. I, 224.

[2] *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 76; *Dawudi*, BM., 111a; Badayuni, I, 386-87.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Shahi*, 252; Masumi—*Suria*, I, 184 and 306.

[5] Badayuni, I, 384.

Kabul.[1] After this Humāyūn did not dare approach the Indian frontier so long as Islām Shāh lived. His success in checking Humāyūn justifies his Kabul policy.

On the eastern frontier of the sultanate also Islām Shāh kept a vigilant watch. During his reign, the kings of Arakan and Tripura who had always struggled for the possession of Chittagong area with the rulers of Bengal kept their hands from it. He had however to face a dangerous rebellion of a pretender named Sulaymān Khān in Eastern Bengal about 1546-48.

A Bais Rajput named Kalidas entered the service of Maḥmūd III, the last Sayyid sultan of Bengal, and soon rose to the position of his *diwan*. For his munificence to the Brahmins, Kalidas, earned the name of *Gazdani*. Afterwards he became a Muslim and was named Sulaymān Khān. Sulaymān Khān married a daughter of Maḥmūd III. In 1533 the fall of the Sayyid Sultanate obliged him to retreat to Bhati, i. e, the territory comprising eastern Sylhet and Tippera and western Mymensingh and Dacca districts.

When Islām Shāh was fighting the Niyāzīs, Sulaymān rebelled in Eastern Bengal with the object of restoring the Sayyd Sultanate, Islām Shāh sent an army under Tāj Khān Karrāni and Daryā Khān. In two battles Sulaymān was defeated and in the last he was killed. His sons 'Isā and Mūsā were captured and sold as slaves to the merchants of Tūrān.[2] The fall of Sulaymān saved the Sultanate of Islām Shāh in the east from a very serious danger.

Islam Shah's Administration

Islām Shāh inherited from his father a large empire extending from the Panjab and Sind to Chittagong and Sylhet in Bengal.[3] He did not make any new territorial acquisitions. His activities show that he was more interested in the introduction of an efficient and centralised administration than in the expansion of the empire. It was the desire of Islām Shāh to make his mark as an administrator rather than as a conqueror. He aimed at giving stability to the sultanate and raising the dignity of the king. His works prove that he succeeded in realising his aim.

[1] *Ibid* 412-13; *Tabaqat*,II. 79 and 129, *Dawudi*, BM., 113b-14a.

[2] *A.N.* III, 432; Bhattasali, "*Isa Khan*,. *BPP*, 1929.

[3] My Paper—Chittagong' etc, *JASB* 1952.

On the evidence of Rizqallah and 'Abdallah, who wrote that Islām Shāh reversed some of the measures and regulations of his father,[1] modern historians have stigmatised him as a narrow-minded ruler, devoid of the imperial outlook and the great political qualities of his father. In fact, the Persian historians, who wrote long after Islām Shāh's reign, failed to see his works and measures in perspective. A dispassionate study, however reveals Islām Shāh as one of the great kinds of medieval India who struggled throughout his reign for the realisation of his administrative ideals and who worked with untiring energy for the good of the empire and the people. He sincerely followed his father and even went further than could be expected in promoting those institutions which worked for the interest of the empire and the people.

In one of his speeches after accession, Islām Shāh declared that he intended to conserve his father's institutions and promote the public welfare[3] We shall see that to a great extent he was able to keep his word. He changed only those policies and institutions of Shīr Shāh which could not contribute any real benefit to the empire. 'Abdallāh, on whose evidence modern historians have denounced Islām Shāh, says that, after accession, he changed some of the ordinances of his father so as to suit his own ideas[4]

It was only in his father's policy of expanding the empire that Islām Shāh made a conspicuous change Shīr Shāh could not subjugate the wohle of Rajputana. He also wanted to conquer the Shi'ite sultanates of the Deccan.[5] But death cut short his caerer. Master of an efficient army and himself a good warrior, Islām Shāh could have followed his father in the conquest of new territories. He, however, departed from his father's policy in this respect. Islām Shāh stopped campaigns against the Rajputs and other wars of conquest. His idea was to place the existing empire on a sound

[1] *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 74b; *Dawudi*, BM., 102b.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 63.

[3] *Makh.*, 140a.

[4] *Dawudi*, BM., 102b.

در جمیع ضابطها پدر نظر انداخته بعضی رابحال خودداشت و در بعضی
جاتغیر داده ضابطها از خود بهم رسانید

[5] 'Abbas, India Office MS., 98a.

footing, and he devoted his whole energy to attain that object.

Islām Shāh adopted his father's policy of advancing the Indian element, particularly the Hindus, in government service. His idea was to place them as a counterpoise to the Afghan element at court. His policy regarding the Hindus was a definite improvement on that of his father. In the reign of Shīr Shāh, though there were two Hindus, Barmazid Gūr, and Todar Mal in government service,[1] they did not have any place of importance at court. In the reign of Islām Shāh, however, we see the rise of Hindu influence in the person of Hīmū, who, commencing his career as an overseer of the market, rose to the position of his confidential agent.[2] Indeed Hīmū's elevation to the supreme position of commander-in-chief and *wazir* in the reign of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh was due to the policy of Islām Shāh. Islām Shāh retained the service of Todar Mal. His revenue department was manned by the Hindus. So, one day Muḥammad Farmūlī, an intimate friend and noble of Islām Shāh spoke to him in jest that he saw in a dream that dust fell on the head of the Afghan soldiers, the gold went to the houses of the Hindu clerks and the paper remained in the royal treasury.[3]

The general policy of Islām Shāh was more liberal than that of his father. Though a liberal monarch, Shīr Shāh sometimes acted on religious considerations 'Abbas says that the chiefs of Shīr Shāh advised him to lead an expedition agninst the Shi'ite sultanates of the Deccan and to root out the schism of that country. Shīr Shāh appreciated their advice and said that he would first cleanse the treritories of Jodhpur, Nagor and Ajmer from the contamination of the unbelievers and then he would go to the Deccan.[4] He killed Puran Mal, the Raja of Raisīn, his family and adherents and 4000 Rajputs of note, though he had given them the pledge of safety, because he thought one could break his pledge to an unbeliever and

[1] *Makh*, 129a.

[2] Badayuni, I, 389

[3] *Ibid*, 387.

که سه خریطه دراسمان فرود آمد۔ دریکی خاک و دریکی زرو دریکی کاغذ
۔ ازان جمله خاک برسر سپاهی افتاد و زر بخانه هندوان دفتری رفت
و کاغذ بخزینه بادشاهی ماند

[4] Abbas, Ind. Off., MS., 98a-b; Badayuni, I, 367.

kill him.[1] The policy of Islām Shāh was not coloured by any religious motives. He executed Kirat Singh and 70 of his companions[2] after his accession not because they were non Muslims but because they had caused the death of his father. He also imprisoned Barmazid Gūr because the latter had deserted him in the battle with his brother and rejoined him after his victory.[3]

Islām Shāh took the bold step of liberating the state from the influence of the *'ulama.* Though Shīr Shāh was a liberal monarch, he was under the influence of the *'ulama* and theologians who used to accompany him even in the battle-field.[4] On a *fatwa* of the *'ulama,* he broke his promise to Puran Mal and killed him and his men.[5] It was at their advice that he waged war on Maldeo.[6] In the war against Kirat Singh of Kalinjar, one of the *'ulama,* Shaykh Nizām, advised Shīr Shāh, "There is nothing equal to a *jihad* against the infidels. If you are slain you become a *shahid* (martyr); if you live you become a *ghazi* (religious warrior)." Inspired by this advice, Shīr Shāh rushed into the battle[7] An explosion of gunpowder seriously wounded him and he deid in the camp Shīr Shāh had so much respect for a theologian, Shaykh Badh, that he always assisted him in putting on his shoes by placing them before him.[8] This shows how great was the influence of the *'ulama* over this great Afghan monarch.

Islām Shāh associated with the *'ulama.* But they had little influence over him. Several times he ignored the advice of Makhdum-al-Mulk Mullā 'Abdallah Sultānpūrī and other theologians who gave *fatwa* that the *Mahdawi* teacher Shaykh 'Alāī was a heretic and should be executed. It was only when he found that the *Mahdawi* teachers were going against the interest of his state that he ordered them to be stripped.[9] Islām Shāh was so bold in his defiance of

1 *Ibid.*, 96b; Badayuni,, 366, Tabaqat, II 104

2 *Dawudi*, BM., 103a

3 *Makh.*, 151a.

4 Abbas, 96b, Tabaqat, II, 105-6

5 *Ibid.*, and Badayuni., 366.

6 *Ibid.*, 97b-98b.

7 *Ibid.*, 101a-a.

8 *Dawudi*, BM., 115b.

9 See p. 21-22.

the theologians he issued general regulations political, civil and religious caring little whether they were contrary to religion or not.[1] His only concern was the good of the state and he issued regulations accordingly.

Centralization

Islām Shāh adopted his father's ideal of establishing an efficient centralised administration in the sultanate. The only difference between the father and the son in this respect was that the former acted slowly and cautiously making allowance for the prejudices of the Afghan chiefs while the latter worked openly and boldly. The father made concessions where necessary. To the son, however, there was no compromise to the ideal and no half-heartedness in the execution of a policy.

The king stood for centralisation of the administration and opposed to him were the great Afghan chiefs, who wanted to keep their tribal independence. They would not readily consent to part with their powers and privileges and submit themselves entirely to him. In such a case, the contest between the two opposing forces was bound to be a severe one It, however, goes to the credit of Islām Shāh that he fought fearlessly against this strong opposition and suceeded in overthrowing it. The only objection that can be raised against him is that he was often unscrupulous in his methods. He perfidiously removed many of his opponents and ruthlessly exterminated those whom he considered dangerous to the state.

The bold and ruthless policy of Islām Shāh prepared the ground for the reception of a centralised administration. The hitherto undaunted and turbulent Afghan chiefs began to fear and obey him. He could then introduce various measures which brought them down from the position of the equals to that of servants of the King.

Islām Shāh resumed the *jagirs* of the Afghan chiefs and made them stipendiaries. According to Badayūni and 'Abdallah, he abolished all the *jagirs* in the provinces and brought the entire country

[1] Badayuni, I. 384-5.

خواه موافق شریعت باشد خواه نه وهیچ احتیاج که دران باب رجوع
بقاضی و مفتی باید کرد

under the direct control of the royal exchequer.[1] It seems that our historians speak of the ideal which Islām Shāh wanted to attain, We, however, see that the Farmūlis and the Karrānīs held Qannawj and South Bihar respectively in *jagirs* down to the end of the Sur rule.[2] Though we cannot agree with Badāyūnī and 'Abdallah in their general statement, still it suggests that Islām Shāh abolished many of the *jagirs* and, as he ruled only eight years, he could not bring the entire country under the exchequer. In fact, no system could be perfected in a single reign, particularly in a short reign. In spite of his great popularity and other advantages, Shīr Shāh did not set his hand to the abolition of *jagirs*, while his son, with all the disadvantages, took a substantial step in the abolition of this pernicious system This proves that Islām Shāh made a more definite advance in attaining the ideal of centralised administration in the sultanate.

Islām Shāh broke the power of the chiefs by taking away many of their privileges. He seized their elephants leaving them only wretched female ones for carrying baggages.[3] He forbade them the use of the red tent which he reserved as a royal privilege.[4] Badāyūni says that he did not even allow the chiefs to keep dancing girls in the *Akharas* forcing them to part with them.[5] In this regulation of Islām Shāh, we see the spirit of 'Alā-al-Dīn Khaljı, who restricted the social gatherings and convivial parties of the nobles so that they might not easily be tempted to conspire together against him. Islām Shāh probably thought that the *Akharas* the meeting place of the Afghan chiefs, served as centres of conspiracy against him, and therefore closed them His desire to cleanse the

1 Badayauni, I, 384 , *Dawudi* BM 103a

جمیع ولایت راخاصهٔ خود ساخته -

2 *Tabaqat*, II, 120.

3—5. Badayuni, I, 384.

پاتران‌را از امرائی که اکهاره داشتند وان درهند مشهوراست همه گرفتند وفیلان لیز هم چنان کشیده گرفته وغیراز ماده فیلی زبون لایق بارکشی باهیچ کسی نگذاشت وحکم کرده که سراپرده سرخ خاصه اورا باشد -

Afghan social life of corruption might also have actuated him to close the *Akharas*. Islām Shāh had also an eye to the morals of the society. The fact that he wanted to appoint the great *Mahdawi* teacher, Shaykh 'Alāi, as *muhtasib* of the empire[1] suggests it.

Islām Shāh kept the pay of the chiefs and soldiers in arears.[2] His idea in doing this was to lessen the wealth of the Afghans so that they might be entirely subservient to him.

The Afghan chiefs could not reconcile themselves to the loss of their power and privileges. But they dared not openly rebel against Islām Shāh. They, however, plotted to murder him and place his cousin and brother-in-law, Mubāriz Khān, on the throne. They engaged men for this purpose and in 1551 and 1552 made attempts on his life.[3] These, however, failed and the plots were discovered. These conspiracies made Islām Shāh more ruthless in his policy towards the chiefs. He wanted to execute Mubāriz. The entreaties of his wife Bībī Bāī, however, saved the life of her brother.[4]

As a legislator Islām Shāh was not inferior to his father. His Regulations withdrawing the privileges of the Afghan chiefs, abolishing the *jagir* system and organising the army and his enactments regulating the conduct of the local officers in relation to the state and the people show that he was one of the great legislators of the medieval Indian history. In his legislative work. Islām Shāh was actuated by the idea of developing an orderly centralised state, which was to work for the good of the people.

The *hukmnamahs* which Islām Shāh issued to all the *sarkars* of his empire speak for him as a great legislator. They contained comprehensive instructions on all important affairs religious, political and civil in eighty sheets of paper. They were intended to regulate the life of the soldiers, the subjects, the merchants and other classes of people. The *hukmnamahs* were a sort of manual of instructions to be followed by the local officers in their dealings with the people. The officers read them in the public

1 See p. 21.
2 *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 752 ; Badayuni, I, 412 ; *Dawudi*, BM., IIIa;
3 *Ibid*; 74b—76b.
4 *Dawudi*, 114a—b ; Badayuni, I, 413 ; *Tabaqat*, II, 114—5.

meetings and thus gave them adequate publicity in the localities.[1] Indeed in the *Hukmnamahs* of Islām Shāh, we see his desire to systematize, codify and rationalise the local laws and at the same time to provide to local officers with a manual of instructions regulating their conduct in relation to the state and the people.

Islām Shāh was keenly alive to the necessity of an efficient army as an indispensable instrument of a centralised administration. He improved the military organisation that he inherited from his father. His experiences under his father helped him in organising his army into a disciplined force under his direct control. Islām Shāh divided his army into several divisions beginning from 50 to 20,000 and introduced the system of *mansab* in the army.[2] He placed each division under a noble, who was paid, according to his *mansab*, in stipend from the royal treasury instead of in *jagir*. This made the Afghan chiefs stipendiaries and official nobles of the king.[3] Islām Shāh also introduced the system of paying the soldiers in cash[4] and strictly enforced the branding regulations.[5]

In order to keep watch over the conduct of the *sardars* and nobles Islām Shāh, like his father, appointed one Persian news-writer and one Hindi news-writer to accompany every force of 5,000 troops. He also attached three eunuchs to every division of the army. The news-writers and the eunuchs were to report to the king everything about the army to which they were attached.[6]

[1] Badayuni, I, 384—35.

حکمنا مها دراطراف ولایت بهر سرکاری نوشت که شامل جمیع
معاملات ومهمات دینی وملکی ومالی باشد وقیر وتطمیر ضروری وبر ستهائی
که سپاهی ورعیت وسوداگر وطوایف مختلفانرا بکار آید وحکام را سلوک
باید کرد درانه ندرج بود .. .. دبیران حکم‌نامه راکه بمقدار هشتاد
بندکاغذ بود کماییش مبوب ومفصل میخواند وهر مسئلهٔ که اشکال
میداشت بجمیع شقوق وانواع دران ی‌یافتند وبعمل می آوردند۔

[2] *Waqi at-i-Mushtaqi*, 74b; *Dawudi*, BM., 103a.

[3] *Dawudi*, 103a.

[4] Badayuni, I, 384. سپاهیانر ازرنقد میداد ند۔

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, 74b; *Dawudi*, 103a.

Islām Shāh also appointed one Persian *munsif* and one Hindustani *munsif* to each division. As in the days of Shīr Shāh, they examined the brands in the army.[1] Islām Shāh gave particular attention to providing the army with arms and amunitions. He maintained an efficient artillery. His guns were so big that they had to be pulled by two thousand men.[2] A staff of engineers accompanied every division of the army. 'Abdallah says that when Islām Shāh was proceeding against Humāyūn he had 150,000 wood-cutters and 150,000 men to dig ditches.[3] This might have been an exaggerated number; but it gives an idea that the engineering department of Islām Shāh was well manned.

It was due to his efficient army organisation that Islām Shāh could maintain the solidarity of his empire in the face of the opposition of the turbulent Afghan chiefs and also frighten Humāyūn back to Kabul when in 1552 he advanced towards Kashmir.

For the sake of local administrative efficiency, Islām Shāh retained the division of the sultanate into *parganahs* and *sarkars* introduced by the his father.[4] He, however, made the local officers more responsible for the maintenance of peace. In the time of Shīr Shāh, the *maqaddam* was held responsible for any crime committed in the locality and he was to produce the culprit to the *shiqdar*. Islām Shāh, on the other hand, made the *shiqdar* accountable for the crime in his jurisdiction and he was to make good the loss on account of theft or robbery. The author of the *Afsanah-i-Shahan* says that a horse of a man was stolen and he lodged a complaint to the *shiqdar*. On *shiqdar's* failure to find out the thief, the man complained to Islām Shāh. Islām Shāh ordered the *shiqdar* to pay the price of the horse to the man. In holding the *shiqdar* liable for the crime, Islām Shāh was guided by the idea that the people paid *baj* (tax) to the government and hence they were entitled to have peace and protection.[5] Such an idea made the government officers more active, vigilant and dutiful than before.

1 *Ibid.*, 49a.

2 *Dawudi*, 114a.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *A N.*, I, 196. Abul Fadl says that Shir Khan divided his empire into 47 divisions.

5 *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, 151b.

Shir Shāh's idea was to have smaller administrative units like the *sarkars*. So, he divided Bengal into a few parts and gave them as *jagirs* to the tribal chiefs.[1] He appointed Qāḍī Faḍīlat as an *amin* or trusty to decide the quarrels of the chiefs. Islām Shāh, however, reversed this arrangement and appointed a governor for Bengal.[2] Shir Shāh wanted to divide the Panjab into smaller units; but as he could not remove the Niyāzīs he left it undisturbed. Islām Shāh removed the Niyāzis and then he could have carried out his father's intentions He, however, appointed Shams Khān as governor of the province.[3] Similarly we find that he appointed 'Īsā Khān Sūr as governor of Malwa [4] This shows that Islām Shāh favoured the idea of administration through larger units than did his father. It is possible for the king to have direct control over the governor rather than on numerous chiefs of a province They could best be controlled by the governor. Experiences showed the soundness of Islām Shāh's idea. Later we find that Akbar favoured the idea of administration in provincial units.

To have direct control over the various localities of the empire and to keep himself informed of the conduct of the nobles and officers, Islām Shāh extended the espionage and the *dak chauki* (postal system) of his father's time.[5] He improved both these centralising institutions, Ni'matalla says that, in order to ensure regularity of despatch, the *dak chauki* establishment delivered every-day a turban of Sonargaon and a handful of fresh rice from Bengal to Islām Shāh wherever he might be [6] Two horsemen and some footmen were posted in every *sarai*, they carried the despatch from one *sarai* to another till it reached the king [7]

Islam Shah's Royalty

By breaking the power of the Afghan chiefs Islām Shāh made himself absolute in the empire He also gave a spectacular form

1 'Abbas, BM., 57a; *Tabaqat*, II, 102
Shir Shah introduced ملوک طوایف in Bengal.

2 Badayuni, I, 432; *Tabaqat*, II, 124, *Riyaz*, 148

3 *Ibid*, 383 112-13.

4 *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 75b; *Dawudi*, BM., 110a.

5 *Shahi*, 250.

6 *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani*, Ind Off. MS., 102a.

7 *Dawudi*, BM., 103a.

to the royalty. The idea behind this was certainly to raise kingship to a position of dignity and honour and also to impress the Afghans with the might and majesty of the great office. Indeed in his royalty, we see the reappearance of the great Turkish sultans whose pomp and magnificence inspired so great an awe that the ambassadors and tributaries were known to faint when ushered into the august presence of the sultan.[1]

Following his father, Islām Shāh took the title of *Khalifatul 'Adil* as his coins show.[2] The assumption of this title did not mean much from the point of view of a Muslim king in relation to the Caliphate in view of the fact that the real Caliphate had ceased to exist from 1517 if not from 1258 The title, however, is significant in analysing Islām Shāh's relations to the Afghans. It indicates that he meant to be more than an Afghan king in the tradition of Buhlūl Lūdī.

Islām Shāh made his court splendid by surrounding himself with dignitaries and great ceremonial A *tambuldar* would always wait on him with betel-leafs. He was a great noble and always enjoyed the status of a *wazir*. According to Ni'mat-ullā, the office of *tambuldar* obtained from the time of Shīr Shāh and he was considered to be an officer of great confidence and importance in the empire.[3] 'Īsā Khān Ḥūjjāb held this office under both Shīr Shāh and Islām Shāh.

Another great office at the court of Islām Shāh was that of a *barbak* or the Master of Ceremonies. The *barbak* also known as *amir-i-hajib* in the days of the Turkish sultanate, acted as a court usher. Sarmast Khān held this office.[4] There were also *ma'rufs* (chamberlains) in Islām Shāh's court. Under the general direction of the *barbak*, these chamberlains supervised all functions of the court and the palace. They introduced visitors to the king.[5] There were *naqib s* or heralds at court who would announce the names of the persons, who came to visit the king.[6]

1 Barani 30-32. The sultan referred to was Balban.
2 Wright—*The coins and metrology of the sultans of Delhi*, coin AE 1428-31.
3 *Makh.*, 140b; Badayuni, I, 400.
4 Badayuni, I, 389.
5 *Ibid*, 386.
6 *Ibid*.

These offices and ceremonies of the court greatly raised the prestige of kingship. The Afghan chiefs, who looked upon their king as their equal, felt at the time of Islām Shāh that they had a master to be respected and obeyed We obtain an idea of their respect from the writings of Badāyūnī. Badāyūnī gives an account, how the Afghan nobles of 5,000, 10,000, and 20,000 received the *hukmnamas* of Islām Shāh On Friday, they would pitch a lofty tent supported by 8 poles in their *sarkars* and place the slippers of Islām Shāh together with a quiver in front of the throne. The *sardar*, the *munsif* and the *amin* followed by others in order of rank and all with bowed heads and marks of respect would take their seats. The *dabir* would then come and read aloud the *hukmnamas* in the assembly. If anyone contravened them the *dabir* (secretary) would would report the king and he was punished together with his family and relations.[1]

The above incident appears incredible. Badāyūnī, however, says that in 1548 he himself witnessed such an incident at Bajwara in the *sarkar* of Biānā where he accompanied his maternal grandfather. In such a case, we cannot ignore his evidence It might be that he exaggerated in saying that the nobles placed the slippers of Islām Shāh as a symbol of his authority and paid their respects to them. His evidence, however, gives an idea of the character of Islām Shāh's rule. It shows that in his reign the authority of the king over the chiefs became a real force and the Afghan chiefs learnt to respect and obey him Indeed in it we see the reminiscence of the sulṭanate of Muḥammad bin Tughluq when, in the absence of the sultan, the *wazir* and others saluted the throne on entering the Hall of Audience with so deep an obeisance that the backs of their fingers touched the ground [2]

The success of Islām Shāh in establishing an efficient centralized administration and raising the dignity of the king proves that, as a ruler he was not inferior to his illustrious father, rather in some respects, he was superior to him. Indeed he possessed ideas and also the requisite qualities for translating them into practice. His boldness, untiring energy and supreme self-confidence[3] accounted

[1] Badayuni, I, 384-85.

[2] *Ibn Battutah.*

[3] *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 66b; *Dawudi* M.B. 160b.

for his success in the great administrative enterprise. Even Abul-Faḍl who brands him as a tyrant,[1] appreciates his qualities saying that had he been a servant of Emperor Akbar and entrusted with the work of guarding the frontiers of the empire he would have earned great renown.[2] In fact, the way he crushed the turbulent Afghan chiefs and tamed them to respect his throne and he guarded the frontiers and preserved the integrity of his vast empire illustrates the qualities of his character. So, Abu-al Faḍl could say that Islām Shāh surpassed even his father in wickedness.[3]

Mahdawism and Islam Shah

Islām Shāh's reign witnessed a religious movement known as *Mahdawism*. Although primarily a religious movement, *Mahdawism* had also great political, social and cultural significance in the history of sixteenth century India. Islām Shāh's relations with it throw some light on his administrative policy as well as his attitude towards the new social forces and hence it forms an important part of the study of his reign. However, it will be useful to have an idea of *Mahdawism* before we enter into a discussion of Islam Shah's relations with it.

Mahdi means a divinely guided one.[4] *Mahdawism* is connected with the Shi'ite idea of the reappearance of the hidden Imam for the establishment of an ideal state of affairs in the world. It is the equivalent in Islam of the Christian conception of the coming of a messiah In India the Shi'ite idea was influenced by the Aryan conception of the appearance of a deliverer after a cycle of one thousand years. In course of time, the Shi'ite and Aryan ideas mingled together to form a common belief of the Indian Muslims that the *Mahdi* would come to the world after a thousand years to restore the faith of Islam to its pristine freshness. According to a saying of the Prophet Muḥammad, the later days of Islam would be marked by a general decadence in political power and in morals, which, on reaching its climax, would be followed by the appearance of *Mahdi*, the lord of the times. Christ would also appear and

[1] *A.N*, I, 337.
[2] *Ibid.*, 339.
[3] *Ibid.*, 196.
[4] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, 111.

after all men had been led through him to Islam, the Day of Judgement would commence.[1]

Towards the close of the first millennium of Islam, the *Madawite* ideas assumed peculiar importance and the learned everywhere contemplated the question till at last the movement assumed a definite form through the teaching of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad (1443-1504), a son of Mīr Sayyid Khān of Jawnpur. A descendant of the Prophet and a great saint of the time, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, who saw in the fall of Jaunpur a decadence of political power, claimed to be a *Mahdī*.[2] He gained many adherents, but the persecution of the *'ulama* forced him to flee from Jaunpur to Gujarat and thence to make a pilgrimage to Makkah. He, however, died at Farrah in Baluchistan on his way back to India.[3] According to *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Sayyid Muḥammad was killed by the enemies of his ideas.[4]

Sayyid Muḥammad the *Mahdi* died, but his ideas survived in his disciple Miyān, 'Abdallāh, a Niyāzī Afghan, and Shaykh 'Alāī, a son of a Bengali holy man Shaykh Ḥasan, resident of Biānā. Their learning and 'Alāī's persuasive eloquence in particular, attracted many persons to their ideas Abandoning their homes, they gave themselves up entirely to devotion and prayer. They held daily religious meetings and said prayers the five times in congregation. They also divided among themselves equally food or anything they received from others. Wherever they went they appeared armed to the teeth.[5] The *Mahdawis* interferted in local affairs, inspecting the bazars and removing forcibly all articles forbidden in religion. They would warn anyone whom they found doing anything contrary to the Holy Law. If they found him doing the same thing again, they would punish him and even kill him. The local officers, many of them being *Mahdawis*, connived at these things and those who did not approve of their conduct were afraid of them.[6]

1 Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 111; Titus, *Indian Islam*, 106-7,

2 Jarret, *Ain*, III, 413; Badayuni, I, 319; Blochman, *Ain*, I, iii—iv.

3 Badayuni, I, 319.

4 *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. 111a-12b.

5 *Tabaqat*, II, 115-16; Badayuni, I, 400; Firishtah, I, 436.

6 *Ibid.*

Madawism was essentially a revivalist movement in Islam and the *Mahdawis* were much more than reformers as they wanted to bring back the ideal days of the Prophet and the Pious Caliphs. They enjoined strict observance of the rites of religion and the injunctions of the *Qur'an* and the Prophet. According to their doctrine, a man is to be judged a Muslim by his deeds—prayer five times a day in congregation, fasting, observance of lawful and avoidance of prohibited things. A man, who was not punctilious in the performance of the formal rites of the faith was to be punished, even by death. Khwās Khān became a disciple of Shaykh 'Alāī. But when he was asked to prohibit all forbidden things he gave up his association with *Mahdawism*.[3]

The *Madhawi* teachers assumed to themselves the authority to issue orders and prohibitions controlling the Muslim society.[4] The persons disobeying their orders and prohibitions could be put to death by them without any reference to the ordinary court of law. The *Mahdawis* also took to themselves the work of the censor of the morals and the power of the *qadi*, as we see from their activities in the localities.

The *Mahdawis* believed in the community ownership and did not favour the idea of private property. They maintained as their ideal the life of Abu Bakr and 'Umar.

The most striking feature of the *Mahdawi* movement was its militancy. The *Mahdawis* went armed and enforced their ideas on the people caring little for the existing government.

The orthodox *ulama* denounced the *Mahdawis* as heretics. They departed from the teaching of the Prophet in their belief in community of property. Lastly, they challenged the position of the orthodox *'ulama* in Muslim society and at court. They arrogated to themselves the authority to issue authoritative decrees and to control the religious, moral and social life of the Muslims. The orthodox *'ulama* had hitherto enjoyed this authority Hence in the rise of the *Mahdawis*, they saw a great threat to their pretensions not only as religious leaders of society but also as the confidants of kings. It was, therefore, partly to preserve Sunni Islam and partly to maintain their

1 *Ibid*, and *Dawudi*, BM, 115a

2 Badayuni, III, 67.

position in Muslim society and at the royal courts that the *'ulama* were determined on exterminating the *Mahdawis.* Makhdūm-ul-Mulk Mullā 'Abdallāh Sultānpurī, the *sadr-i-sudur* in the Sūr court, led the opposition against them.

Islām Shāh seems to have had sympathy with the revivalist *Mahdawi* movement. He too wanted to reform society and in particular to remove the influence of the *'ulama* from the Muslim society and from the ruling circles. In common opposition to the ascendancy of the *'ulama,* Islām Shāh and the *Mahdawis* met on common ground

The activities of the *Mahdawis* were brought to the notice of Islām Shāh after his accession and he summoned the *Mahdawi* teacher, Shaykh 'Alāī to Agra In audience, Shaykh 'Alāī made only the ordinary salutation permitted by the Islamic rules and this offended Islām Shāh. The *'ulama* led by Mullā 'Abdullāh Sultānpurī gave a *fatwa* declaring 'Alāī as a heretic and condemning him to death Islām Shāh, however, ignored the *fatwa* and offered 'Alāī the office of *muhtasib* of the empire [1]

This shows that, notwithstanding 'Alāī's offensive behaviour, he appreciated his reforming zeal and wanted to make him an ally to his own idea of reform. 'Alāī, however, could not be tempted by the offer of an official position.[2]

When the appeal of the orthodox *'ulama* had failed on religious, they switched their arguments to political grounds alleging the danger to the empire from 'Alāī's messianic claims. About this time Bihār Khān Sarwānī, the governor of Hindia, accepted *Mahdawi* doctrine with all his men. Mullah 'Abdullāh Sultānpūrī reported the incident to Islām Shāh emphasising that the *Mahdawis* would create disturbance in the empire and that, by claiming to be a *Madhi,* 'Alāī in effect desired to rule the world.[3] This time also Islām Shāh ignored the advice of the *ulama.*

One incident, however, favoured the orthodox 'ulama against the *Mahdawis,* In 1559 Islām Shāh was proceeding to suppress the Niyāzī rebels of the Panjab. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Biana, Mulla 'Abdallāh Sultānpūrī drew his attention to Shaykh

[1] and [2] *Tabaqat,* II. 117, Firishtah, I, 437, Badayuni, I 402-403; *Dawudi,* BM., 115a-b.

[3] *Ibid.*

'Abdalla Niyāzī, who roamed about in the hills of Biana with three to four hundred men and was known to have influence over the Niyazis.[1] The activities of the *Mahdawis*, such as their going armed everywhere and their defiance of local officers, had made Islām Shāh suspect them as an enemy to the state. Still he tolerated them with the idea that they met him on a common ground, *i.e.*, the overthrow of the orthodox *'ulama*. But when he perceived the association of the militant *Mahdawis* with the rebel Niyāzīs, he was convinced that the *Mahdawis* were a threat to his empire. So, he ordered the *Mahdawi* teacher 'Abdallah Niyāzī to be whipped. Though 'Abdallah Niyāzī was whipped mercilessly, he survived death and recanting *Mahdawism* he lived like a holy man in Sarhind.[2] Shaykh 'Alāi was similarly whipped. He, however, died at the third lash (1550).[3]

Badāyūnī holds the orthodox Mullā 'Abdallāh Sultānpūrī to be responsible for the death of Shaykh 'Alāī.[4] And indeed this Mullā, to ensure his position at court and society, had impressed upon Islām Shāh the necessity of executing Shaykk 'Alāī. When Islām Shāh came to know of the association of the *Mahdawis* with the rebel Niyāzīs, he was convinced and. for reasons of state, he ordered the *Mahdawi* teachers to be punished.

The death of 'Alāī was a triumph for the orthodox *'ulama* in the country. They hunted and persecuted the *Mahdawis*. This continued some years even after Akbar's accession. So bitter was their persecution that Abu-al Faḍl's father, Shaykh Mubārak, had to flee from place to place as he was suspected to be a *Mahdi* on account of his asscoiation with Shaikh 'Alāī.[5]

The intolerance of the *'ulama*, however, reacted against themselves, Akbar began to hate them. By his superior learning, Abu-al-Faḍl also beat them in religious debates and helped the Emperor in overthrowing their ascendancy at court. Thus, the intellectual

[1] *Ibid*; Blochmann, *Ain*, I, viii, Badayuni, III, 45—46,

[2] and [3] *Tabaqat*, II, 117a-18; *Dawndi*, 115b-16a; Firishtah, I, 437; Badayuni. III, 45-46; Blochmann, *Ain*, viii.

[4] Badayuni, I, 408.

[5] *Ibid*, 72; Blochmann, *A in*, I viii-x.

legacy left by the *Mahdawis*, who were among the most learned men of the time, led to the fall of orthodoxy at court and ushered in a period of rationalism and liberalism in the history of Akbar's reign in India.

Islam Shah's benevolent works and patronage of learning

Islām Shāh maintained the benevolent institutions of his father. Shir Shāh built *sarais* at a distance of two kos; Islām Shāh, however, built between every two another *sarai* and provided them with every comfort necessary for travellers, both Muslims and Hindus. Every *sarai* had a dwelling place, wells and kitchens containing cooked and uncooked food. A mosque was attached to every *sarai* and an *imam*, a *mu'azzin* and a servant were appointed to it. Shir Shāh had built 1700 *sarais* in the reign of Islām Shāh, the number rose to 3400.[1] Islām Shāh also arranged for the distribution of alms for the poor from every *sarai* instead of from the royal camp which was the practice in his father's time. He also provided that the indigent travellers and mendicants should be supplied with all their needs from the *sarais*.[2]

Islām Shāh maintained the charitable institutions, the grants to religious and educational foundations as well as the gardens of his father's time.[3] Abual-Faḍl's accusation that Islām Shāh and his father made lavish grants of lands confirms it.[4]

In his patronage to learning, Islām Shāh surpassed his father. And indeed this gave a great stimulus to literary activities and the develoment of the Persian language and poetry in particular. Shīr Shāh knew Persian. Although he associated himself with the *'ulama* and theologians, this cannot entitle him to be regarded as a patron of learning. Islām Shāh was a good poet, who competed with the great poets of the time in composing ele ant verses and was highly esteemed by the learned.[5] The poets and learned men were his constant companions. Badāyūnī says that Mīr Sayyid Nī'mā known by his poetical name as *Rasuli*, who was an eminent

1 *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, 74a-b; Budayuni, I, 384

2 *Dawudi*, B M., 103a.

3 Badayuni, I, 384.

4 *Ain*, I, 296.

5 Badayuni, I, 416, 415, 410 and 387.

of the age, was his constant companion.[1] Shaykh 'Abd-al-Hai, a scholar and a poet,[2] and Shāh Muhammad Farmūlī, a man renowned for his wit and humour, were the favourite companions of Islām Shāh [3]

Islām Shāh took great interest in discussions with the learned and the poets. Near his own residence, he provided beautifully furnished pavilions, where scholars and poets like Mīr Sayyid Nī'mā, Shāh Muhammad Farmūlī, Haitī, Saifī and Sur Das met and recited poetry and debated literary and philosophical questions. Islām Shāh would often join them in their discussions. He pleaded that they should not rise to greet him when he entered.[4]

One incident illustrates Islām Shāh's love and respect for learning and the learned. The author of *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, Kabir, says that Islām Shāh and Mulla 'Abdallāh Sultanpūrī were once passing through a defile when they saw an enraged elephant rushing towards them. 'Abdallāh wanted to proceed, but Islām Shāh would not let him. Hs said, 'O Emperor let me step forward, for if you are killed, the whole empire would fall into disorder.' Islām Shāh said, 'Master, you do not realise that there are nine lacs of Afghans to replace me; but if you perish, another like you might not be born in India for ages.'[5]

Badāyūnī also says that Islām Shāh had great respect for the learning of Mullā 'Abdallah Sūltānpūrī, though he knew that the Mullā was not sincerely devoted to him and favoured the restoration of Humāyūn. One day Islām Shāh said to his nobles that Bābur had five sons and all had left India except one and that was Mullā 'Abdūllah Sultānpūrī. On being asked why he kept the Mullā at court, he replied that he could not find a better one than him.[7] And indeed this Mullā was one of the most learned men of the time and unrivalled especially in the knowledge of the *Qur'an*, *Hadith*, scholastic theology and all those branches of learning which depend on memory. He was the author of *'Ismat-i-Anbiya* and *Shama-il-al-nabi*, the best two of his compositions. Humāyūn gave

1 *Ibid.*, 416; Afsanah-i-Shahan. 154a-b.

2-3 Badayuni, I 416, 415, 410 and 387.

4 *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, 150a.

5 Badayuni, I, 416.

him the title of *Makhdum-al-Mulk* and *Shaykh-al-Islam*.[1]

Under the patronage of Islām Shāh Hindi literature also made considerable progress. The stimulus it received from Malik Muḥammad Jāisī, a great Hindi poet of the time of Shīr Shāh,[2] continued throughout the reign of Islām Shāh. The well-known Hindi poet and musician, Sūr Dās, who later on became the court musician of Akbar,[3] also flourished under the patronage of Islām Shāh. Shāh Muḥammad Farmūlī was also a gifted poet in Hindi. Mīrzā Kāmrān said that he could gain international fame if he wrote in Persian.[4]

Islam Shah as a man

As a man Islām Shāh was imperious, vindictive and ruthless. He could brook no opposition to his will and ruthlessly crushed his opponents. His elimination of the Afghan nobles, proves it. His dealings with his brother 'Ādil Khān and his adherents reveal him as perfidious, cruel and unscrupulous. Islām Shāh broke the solemn compact he made with his brother and ruined him. In 1552 he also gave a promise of safety to Khwāṣ Khān and had him treacherously put to death by Tāj Khān Karrānī.[5]

Although a terror to the Afghans Islām Shāh was not without the finer sentiments of a man He had but one wife, Bībī Bāī, and he was devoted to her She seems to have some influence on him as we find in the case of Mubāriz Khān. Islām Shāh felt the necessity of executing him as he considered him a danger to the throne of his son and heir, Fīrūz He, however, could not execute him as Bībī Bāī did not consent to it

According to Badāyūnī, Islām Shāh was a good Muslim, who never missed his prayers or touched any intoxicants.[6]

Islam Shah's place in history

In Islām Shāh we see the fruition of the ideas of Shīr Shāh and also of the initiation of many of the institutions and principles which passed as a precious legacy to his Mughul successors.

1 *Ibid.*, III, 70.
2 Shirref, *Malik Muhammad Jaisi's Padmavati*, 9-14
3 Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 409-10.
4 *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, 164a-b.
5 Badayuni, I, 409-10; Firishta, I, 435; *Shahi*, 250-54.
6 *Ibid.*, 416.

Islām Shāh made a definite contribution to the system of strong monarchy and centralised administration. By assuming the title of *Khalifat-al-'Adil* and surrounding himself with dignitaries and great ceremonials, he gave spectacular form to royalty and greatly raised the dignity and majesty of kingship. Indeed his work encouraged Akbar to propound the theory of 'divine right of kingship' revealed in the writings of Abū-al-Faḍl who says, "Royalty is a light emanating from God and a ray from the sun"[1] In connection with the pardon of Dawūd, Akbar said, "By virtue of our being the shadow of God, we receive little and give much. Our forgiveness has no relish for vengeance."[2] Following Islām Shāh Akbar took the title of *Khilfah-i-Ilahi* and elevated royalty to an unique position. His reduction of the position of the Mughul chiefs to a position of official nobility was but a continuation of the policy and work of Islām Shāh.

In Islām Shāh's administration through bigger units, we find the beginning of Akbar's *subah* administration. To him is also due the credit for the introduction of the *mansabdari* system which received systematic shape in Akbar's reign. Indeed Islām Shāh's was the first attempt at the codification of the local laws regulating the lives of the individuals and officers. His *hukmnamahs* are the precursors of the *dastur-ul-'amal* (the manuals of instructions) of Mughul times.

In the introduction of liberal ideas in Islām, his activities prepared the way for the rationalism of Akbar's reign. Also Islām Shāh's liberal policy towards the non-Muslim elements of India's population encouraged his great Mughul successor to advance further in promoting the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity.

In Islām Shāh's patronage to the learned and his interest in philosophical discussions with them, we find the dawn of the intellectual renaissance that took place in the reign of Akbar.

1 Blochmann, *Ain*, I, iii, Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, 59.

2 *A.N.*, III, 97.

THE NOTION OF KHILAFAT AND ITS MODERN APPLICATION

by

DR. MUHAMMMAD HAMIDULLAH, PARIS

There is an all round revival in the Muslim world of the interest in its own culture. From Malaya to Morocco the samne tendency is gaining momentum, forcing the poilticians to take more and more into consideration the popular aspirations in this respect. In spite of the seeming diversity the inherent unity of Muslim peoples is so great that there is practically no difference between the constitutions of the Arab Syria and that of the non-Arab Pakistan both proclaim the decision to abide by the *Qur'an* and the *Hadith* not only in the future legislation, but even to revise all the laws actually in force in order to bring them into harmony with the requirements of Islam. Yet such constitutional provisions can affect only the " internal " life of the Muslims. Had there been only one Muslim State in the world, the problem would have been solved even by the Islamization of the internal law. The existence of the several dozens of big and small Muslim States, more or less independent or aspiring to regain their freedom, creates a problem which remains unaffected by the constitutional provisions just referred to. This is the question of the mutual relations of these different Muslim States, Shī'ah and Sunni, Arab and non-Arab. In fact, in the melting pot of the current politics, the question of this organizational link, of the *Khilafat* has so far been neglected. There is no use minimizing the importance of differences between the various Muslim elements. There are the ever-increasing millions, who yet form a minority inside the masses of their non-Muslim compatriots, living at the mercy of the non-Muslim States. There are Muslim States, with Shi'ism or Khārijism as the State religion, whose doctrines have yet to be reconciled with those of the more numerous and more populous Sunni States. No doubt, the Malayo-Indonesian Muslims are the most numerous, followed by Pākistanis as ethnical units, yet the Arabs have their own privileged position : not only are they

the custodians of the language of the *Qur'an* and of the *Hadith*, but also theirs is the most extensive homeland, roughly from Iraq to Morocco.

Islamic Idealogy

The Holy Prophet had organized a life for his community in which there was not only a mosque, but also a fortress. It was a State in which both were adjusted into one harmonious whole, in order to respond to the requirements of the complex human nature constituted both of body and soul. His practice as well as the directions he gave in this connection have come down to us, and we shall refer to them in due course.

The Prophet had the distinction of receiving the Divine revelations. With his death, they ceased. In fact there was no need of their continuation, once it was proclaimed that "This day have I perfected your *Din* (both religion and politics), for you, and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen for you as *Din* the Islam ".[1] The revelations, preserved for the posterity in the form of the *Qur'an*, and the *Hadith*, suffice for practical purposes of life.

History of the Khilafat

The Muslims divide human affairs into three main categories, viz., spiritual, religious and temporal ; and they leave the first in " private " hands (of mystic orders, where there are no conflicts : one can own " allegiance " simultaneously to more than one guide or ' caliph ", and one can for instance be both *Qadiri* and *Naqshbandi* etc.) ; the other two categories were, from the very beginning, in the hands of the head of the State, a direct result of the succession to the authority exercised by the Prophet in all its comprehensiveness. The *Imam* or the Caliph was the leader both in the mosque and in the citadel. This state of affairs continued until very recent times, when religion and politics were divorced from each other, at least temporarily.

Yet this is not the whole picture. Human element has played its role at every stage, and from the very beginning. The differences of opinion at the death of the Holy Prophet did not create much trouble ; the unity of the Millat through an elected leader

[1] *Holy Qur'an*, 5: 3.

was maintained. Later at the death of the third caliph, 'Uthman, the differences resulted in violence and some bloodshed was caused. Ultimately independent States were created, yet unity was again achieved very soon, thanks to the peace-loving attitude of al-Ḥasan. The *de facto* separation in the time of 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubayr lasted longer, but even then unity of the Millat was not lost irretrieveably.

With the downfall of the Umayyads, however, the situation changed : the separation of Spain was doomed to be definite. Without taking into consideration the reality of the caliphal power under the later 'Abbāsids, when provinces were fully independent of the centre even the East could not remain for long united: at a certain moment, there came an additional caliph, the Fāṭimid of Cairo, though the 'Abbāsids of Baghdād were later able to keep the unity of the East under their *Khilafat*. When al-Musta'ṣim was assassinated by the Tatars, there was an interregnum. The pseudo-caliphate of the 'Abbāsids of Cairo also did not last long; when the last of them died, the Ottoman Turks at first hesitated to accept the responsibility of the *Khilafat*, when they overcame their hesitations, the Mughuls of India had rival pretensions. As to the Turks, the 100th caliph (counting from Abū Bakr), 'Abdul-Majīd II, the last of the Ottomans, died a refugee in Paris, while the heir of the Cordovan caliphs, the Sultan of Morocco, was the nominal head of a French protectorate. To this pathetic story, we may add the passing remark that, under the later 'Abbāsids, a sort of laicization was also introduced in the body politic of the *Khilafat*, and a Sultan (Buwayhid or Saljūq) ruled by the side of the Caliph. This is one aspect of the problem, the historical reality.

Religious Aspect

We should also have a clear idea of the teachings of Islam in respect to the subject, in order to endeavour to realize it in a more or less near future.

A number of *Muhaddiths* have reported a saying of the Prophet to the effect that : "The caliphate will last after me for thirty years, whereafter there will be only a biting kingship." In spite of this prediction the duty of the true believer remains to continue to struggle for the establishment of as good a political order as the circumstances would permit. The case of 'Umar ibn 'Abd-al-'Azīz

is a proof and a precedent of this interpretation.

There is another very well-known saying of the Prophet: "The *Imams* (caliphs) are from among the Qurayshites (Arab inhabitants of Mecca of the time of the Prophet)". I have searched in vain to find out the context of this saying, and the circumstances in which the Prophet was led to utter this direction. Even a sceptic like Ibn Khaldūn had to resort to an interpretation saying that it related to a time when the Quraysh were the best of the people and were recognized as such on all hands. Often an isolated dictum does not give the real meaning behind the words; one would desire to know the context. In the absence of this, we may perhaps rightfully have recourse to the practice of the Holy Prophet himself, which may throw some light on the problem. I have compiled a list of the occasions, when the Prophet left his head-quarters—on a peaceful mission like the *Hajj*, or a military expedition—and looked at the names of the lieutenants nominated at Madīnah by him. The result is interesting :

1. Abwā' and Waddān, year 2 H., vicegerant, Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah al-Khazrajī.
2. Buwāt. 2 H., Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh al-Ausī.
3. Sufwān, 2 H., Zayd ibn Hārithah al-Kalbī.
4. Dhu-al-'Ushayrah, 2 H., Abū-Salamah al-Makhzūmī (Qurayshite).
5. Badr, 2 H., Abū-Lubābah ibn 'Abd al-Mundhir al-Khazrajī.
6. Banū-Qaynuqā', 2 H., the same.
7. Sawīq, 2 H., the same.
8. Qarqarat al-Kudr, 3 H., Ibn Umm Maktūm, the Blind, (Qurayshite).
9. Dhū Amr, 3 H., 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (Qurayshite).
10. Buhrān, 3 H., Ibn Umm Maktūm (Qurayshite).
11. Uḥud, 3H., the same.
12. Hamra al-Asad, 3 H., the same.
13. Banū-al-Naḍīr, 3 H., the same.
14. Badr for the second time, 4 H., 'Abdallāh ibn Rawāhah al-Khazrajī.
15. Dhāt al-Riqā', 5 H, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (Qurayshite).
16. Dumat al-Jandal, 5 H., Sibā' ibn 'Urfutah al-Kinānī.

17. Banu-al-Musta'liq, 5 H., Zayd ibn Ḥārithah al-Kalbī.
18. Khandaq (Ditch), 5 H., Ibn Umm Maktūm (Qurayshite).
19. Qurayzah, 5 H., the same.
20. 'Usfān, 6 H., the same.
21. Dhū Qarad, 6 H., the same.
22. Ḥudaybīyah, 6 H., either the same or Abu Ruhm al-Ghifārī.
23. Khaybar, 7 H., Sibā' ibn 'Urfutah al-Kinānī or Numaylah ibn 'Abdallāh al-Kinānī.
24. Mecca (for 'Umrah pilgrimage), 7 H., either Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī or 'Uwayf ibn Rabī'ah al-Kinānī.
25. Mecca (for conquest), 8 H., either Ibn Umm Maktūm the Qurayshite or Abu Ruhm al-Ghifārī.
26. Tabūk, 9 H., either Ibn Umm Maktūm, or Muḥammad ibn Maslamah al-Anṣārī, or Sibā' ibn 'Urfutah al-Kinānī, or Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī.
27. Mecca (for the Farewell Pilgrimage), 10 H, Ibn Umm Maktūm (Qurayshite).

It will be noticed that in these twenty-seven cases, the persons of different tribes acted in place of the Prophet in the metropolis the Quraysh of Mecca, the Anṣārs of Madīnah, the Ghifāris, the Kinānīs, the Kalbīs etc. Incidentally it goes against another requirement on which the political thinkers of Islam have insisted, viz., the chief should not be a blind man; Ibn Umm, Maktūm who was nominated several times was blind man. If, in the first years of Madīnah life the duties of the acting chief of the metropolis were mainly the regular functioning of the daily services in the mosque, in the later years people could and must have had recourse to him for administrative purposes also. As late as the year 9 H (one year before his death), non-Qurayshites were chosen by the Prophet for the purpose.

There is a well-known saying of the caliph 'Umar: 'Were Sālim (client of Abū Ḥudhayfah) still living, I would have had not the slightest hesitation in nominating him as my successor to caliphate'. This learned companion of the Prophet, who used to lead the prayer at Madīnah, before the migration of the Prophet, even in the

presence of 'Umar, was not a Qurayshite. In other words, 'Umar too did not consider the condition of caliph being taken from among the Qurayshites as religiously necessary.

Joint Rule

There is a popular belief among the Muslim masses, that the joint rule is not allowed in Islam: the data at our disposal goes against it.

The term used by the Arabs for the function of the supreme head is "*amr*" (quality of the *amir*). According to the *Qur'an*, the Prophet Moses prayed to God: "Appoint for me a henchman from my folk, Aaron, my brother. Confirm my strength with him, and let him share my command (*amr*)"[1] Again, the Prophet addressed a missionary letter to Jaifar and 'Abd, joint rulers of 'Uman, to embrace Islam, in which case he would retain them both on the kingship. They embraced Islam, and remained in power jointly as before. The cases of joint rule in later Islam are numerous. As to theory, the name of Shāh Walī-allāh Dihlawī must be a sure guarantee: he repeats in several of his writings that, if qualities required of a ruler are not found, at a given moment, in a single person, the functions could and should be divided.[2]

Modern conditions

From among the Muslim States of to-day, over a dozen are members of UN, not to speak of others which may join it in the near future, or which are struggling for their freedom. Of these, the ruler of Iran is *Ithna 'ashari*, of Yemen is *Zaydi*, of Morocco is *Hasani*, not to speak of Zanjibar (*Khariji*). Again, the constitutions of some Muslim countries are rigorously laicized.

In the presence of these odds, there may further be the difficulty of hurting the whims of rival candidatures, with the result of the boycott and refusal by the county of the defeated candidate to recognize the new "Khalīfah".

If our arguments regarding the permissive quality of electing a non-Qurayshite as caliph, as also of having recourse to joint rule, are considered of any value, there are possibilities of getting out of

[1] *Holy Qur'an*, 20: 29—32.

[2] For a detailed discussion, see chapter "دو شاهاں درا قلیمے" in my "رسول اکرم کی سیاسی زندگی" or my "*Regne Conjoint*," in ROS, Rome, 1953.

the dilemma. For instance, a High Committee of the *Khilafat* can be established, with heads of Muslim States (be they presidents of republics or hereditary rulers) as its component members, and each one of them presiding, say for one year, by rotation. This will avoid the friction of rival candidates, and even attract rulers of different sects to come in It will also satisfy the religious need of the Muslims to have a caliph, it will also constitute a first step towards pooling in of the resources of the Muslims of the world for mutual benefit and easier competition with other non-Muslim blocks, both in economical and cultural fields. Even the communist Albania and the republics of Turkistan and Caucasus may not find it impossible to collaborate with this High Comittee by sending their observers: the Soviet Republics of the Muslim regions have already set up a centralized committee to regulate relations with Muslim countries outside the USSR Unless Muslims adopt some dynamic solution to their problems, the realisation of this religious requirement, namely the *Khilafat*, will have to be put off for a long time. It is a Muslim requirement, and Muslims alone must see to it.

Review

The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Reader in History, Muslim University, Aligarh...(Pages-144+xii) ..published by the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

To the students of Sufism and its achievement in medieval Hind-Pakistan Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami is not a stranger. His *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chusht* and many articles on eminent Sufis have been read with interest. The book under review is just "one of the series of monographs which I have planned on medieval mystics" (Preface).

Sufism is one of the great movements that have deeply influenced the course of Islamic civilization But like so many other aspects of the history of Islam it has been studied only inadequately. The lack of a proper appreciation of Sufistic thought and practice in the context of the over-all movement of Islam has to a large extent resulted in the disfigurement of the picture of Muslim contribution to the growth of civilization.

Prof. Gibb has rightly emphasized that in the subcontinent "the significance of Sufism in the life of the Muslim Community was redoubled by its significance in the non-Muslim environment. Less even than Islam elsewhere can Islam in India be studied and understood without an insight into the meaning, causes and effects of the Sufi movements" (p. vii). The Sufi Shaykhs played a vital role in raising the structure of Islamic Society, particularly by influencing the evolution of the patterns of political, social, cultural and religious life of the Muslims of India. Even in the field of economic activities their teachings were not wholly ineffective. Mark, for instance, Shaykh Farid's classification of *zakat* into *zakat-i-shari'at*, *zakat-i-tariqat* and *zakat-i-haqiqah*, the rates fixed being 25%, 75% and 100% of the belongings respectively. They were of course binding on his disciples only; he would not interfere with the ordinary practice which demanded only 2½%. His discilpes were divided into two classes : those who had to devoted their lives to the cause of religion and piety and

those who were anxious to purify their souls without severing connections with worldly pursuits of life. The Shaykh was satisfied "if a *Murid* belonging to the second category regularly paid *Zakat-i-Shariah*..., but a higher disciple had to pay *Zakat-i-Haqqiat* (all that he possessed)." (p. 92). The number of his diciples being very large, these instructions must have affected the distribution of wealth to an appreciable extent.

The greatest achievement of the Sūfīs, lay in the domains of religion and society. The Muslim conquest of Hind-Pakistan had naturally created bitterness between the conquerors and the conquerd. In the earlier stages of their rule the Muslims had only two ways of ending this bitterness—wholesale conversion of the vanquished people or maintaining law and order with the help of a strong and effecient military machine. Conversion by force would be un-Islamic and government by force would be risky and at best only temporary. It was, therefore, necessary to create an atmosphere of harmony and friendliness so that the people of Hindustan could be drawn nearer to the Islamic ideals. This was created by the Sūfī Shaykhs.

In India Islam had come into contact with an old and well advanced civilization If the feelings of distrust and bitterness caused and aggravated by political rivalries and military conflicts had been left to grow and accentuate the cause of Islam would have suffered grievously. It is a notorious phase of the history of Muslim rule in India that the Government remained criminally neutral on the question of presenting the message of Islam to the people of the sub continent. If they had acted on the principles and traditions of the Prophet and his immediate successors their achievement would have been far more glorious and they would have shed much less of human blood. It may be interesting to add here that the only exception was Muhammad bin-Tughlaq who directed his attention to this problem; his Deccan policy and the creation of a second capital at Dawlatābād were the means adopted for the fulfilment of this object.

The Sufī Shaykhs, particularly those of the *Chishtiyah Silsilah* took upon themselves the onerous task of removing bitterness and frustration from the Hindu mind by disseminating through preaching and practice the principles of love for humanity and devotion to God.

Mr. Nizami has quoted (p. 89) from the *Fawaid-al-Fu'ad* the story of a person who wanted to present to Shaykh Farid a pair of scissors. As the man offered the present promptly came the Shaykh's reply: "Give me a needle; I sew (meaning, unite the people); I do not cut (divide the people)." This attitude is noticeable in all their activities. In case of language the Sūfis adopted a similar course; they would attempt at conversing with the Hindus in their own language. It contributed to the growth of Urdu for which "in fact the Khanqah of Bābā Farid was one of the earliest cradles ....." (page. 106). The results of these labours of the Sūfis were remarkably encouraging. The people of the sub-continent soon began to realize that Islam was indeed what its name signified—the Religion of Peace—and began to enter its fold Our author disagrees with Professor Habib's view that "converting non-Muslims was no part of the mission of *Chishti Silsilah*" (p. 107). The learned Professor's conclusion based on the fact that the *malfuzat* and *maktubat* do not mention conversion cases is not convincing. Besides the negative character of the evidence, one thing is obvious. If conversion had been made a topic of discussion, the reactions of the non-Muslims would have been ruinous to their cause, instead of narrowing the gulf of mutual distrust it would have widened it.

Mr. Nizami has rendered a valuable service to the cause of historical studies by producing this excellent monograph on Shaykh Farid-al-Din. He has drawn the attention of the historians to a number of extremely interesting problems of our history and there can be no doubt that his book will stimulate interest in the study of the work done by the Sūfis and its healthy effect on the growth and development of civilization.

The author's view on the attitude of the Sūfi Shaykhs towards the State deserves a notice. He emphasizes their "contemptuous indifference" towards the State in a manner which is likely to lead his reader to draw some wrong conclusions. If the State was Muslim why this "contemptuous indifference," if it was un-Muslim, why did they not make an effort to reform it? Mr. Nizami's trend of argumentation—"*shughl* and *jagirdai* were fetters that are into the soul"—indicates that they were inclined to adopt asceticism as their way of life. He has not used the term, nor does it appear

that he is convinced of it. But the use of the term 'State' in the title of the chapter is perhaps not very happy. It was not the 'State' from which the Sūfīs dissociated themselves; what they emphasized was to keep aloof from the ابناء الملوک (princes) and ملوک و امرا (Kings and Amirs). This should not be interpreted as indicating an attitude of indifference towards the State. A Muslim Sūfī has to be an active member of the Millat—as active as any other individual. His obligations towards the Millat and the Society are in no way different from others. If, for instance, at any stage *jihad* becomes incumbent on the Muslims of any country the Sūfī living there can not escape it by saying that he had nothing to do with the affairs of the world (*dunya*). For a Muslim Sufi—in India and elsewhere—the definition of the *dunya* (worldliness) which is to be avoided is "forgetting God."

چیست دنیا از خدا غافل بدن — نے قماش و نقرہو فرزند وزن

(What is worldliness? Forgetting God; (and) not the clothes and silver, nor son and the wife.)

What strikes the reader most is that our author himself mentions in this chapter Shaykh Farīd's contacts with Balban, to whom he had given his blessinge. Nor can we ignore the Shaykhs' advice on such a vital issue as the appointment of a *Wazir*. Could one need a clearer evidence of the Shaykh' interest in the proper conduct of the affairs of the State—and through it the welfare of the people—than his emphatic advice to the monarch ?

ملک بہ وزیر خدا ترس ضبط کن

(Quoted by the author from *Siyar-al-Awliya*)

SYED MOINAL HAQ

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume V Part II

APRIL 1957

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

CONTENTS

CULTURAL DECAY OR CULTURAL EMERGENCE: THE MEANING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

by

RALPH E. TURNER, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, YALE UNIVERSITY, EDITOR, A HISTORY OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF MANKIND, UNESCO

Confusion of thought and opinion characterizes these times. From it spring inertia, hysteria, arrogance, discontent, and opportunism. Neither tradition, nor religion, nor learning, nor even self-interest asserts a principle to which men hold fast. Crude power seems to serve no other end than its own exercise, and it makes iculcated confusion the means of further aggrandizement.

A host of writers, call them "literatures of crisis", add to this confusion by finding its source in now this or now that aspect of contemporary life. Ortegay Gasset, the Spanish philosopher, declares the "masses" are in revolt because they cannot understand the source of the knowledge that gives them a new well-being. The British-American poet, T. S. Eliot, weeps for the disappearing "elite"; the source of all that is ennobling in life. Another Britisher Colin Wilson finds the "individual" who has lost all meaningful contact with life the source of the dilemma of these times. Franz Kafka, the German poet, sees the creativeness of the age, such as it is, arising from an inverting of hell and heaven: "No people sing with such pure voices as those who live in deepest Hell: What we take for song of angels is their song."

The "literateurs of crisis" speak from points of view rooted in philosophical, literary, aesthetic, and religious traditions. Perhaps, these sources of their jeremiads account not only for their vehemence but also perhaps for their errors. Not contemporary men but the learning they have secured from the past may be the root of the confusion; for, as well argued by Professor F.S.C. Northrop in his notable volume *The Meeting of the East and the West*, all major demoralisation of our time and all the vital political, moral, religious, aesthetic and other issues arise from the fact that this learning is inadequate to solve the problem of our times.

A scene from contemporary India comes to mind. In Old Delhi there is a fort which has been much repaired by the British. On its summit stands a great stone pillar once erected at another place by the ancient Indian Emperor Asoka. On the base of the pillar, engraved in the Pali language, is Asoka's exhortation to the Indian people to practice *ahimsa* — harmlessness to all living things. In the shadow of the pillar, out of the burning heat of the Indian sun, sit two boys, one a Moslem the other a Hindu. They are reading a book about hygiene, particularly about disease germs. This scene is symbolical of the present situation of mankind. Sitting amidst the debris of traditions it is seeing itself now for the first time in terms of science, and the fragments of traditions, like bits of broken multicolored glass, obscures its vision.

At the center of this vision can be seen the one agreement among contemporary men : They propose to possess science and the benefits it can bestow. This agreement grows in spite of the threat of destruction by atomic fusion and fission. Indeed, this threat calls upon mankind, not to weep over the old, but to meet new danger with new creativity. So indeed was the circumstance when men discovered fire. So it was when men invented gunpowder. In fact, some men then declared that mankind would destroy itself. In each instance, however, mankind destroyed some old ways of life and created some new ones. So it will do now—in fact so it is doing.

Here only brief notice may be taken of some aspects of this creativity.

Science is complex, more so than even scientists realize. It is a continually expanding body of factual information about nature, man, and society. It is a steadily developing body of generalizations or, in current terminology, "consturcts" which are continuously refined in the light of new factual information. It is an ever increasing number of applications which affect more and more aspects of life. It is an aggregate of new social circumstances; when these circumstances are seen as the results of the applications of science they may be properly called "the correlatives of science." And finally, science is an intellectual method which directs continuously the development of new data, new constructs and new applications. In these terms science can be understood as a transforming factor touching every

aspect of life. As this transformation goes forward, a new culture embracing for first time all mankind may be seen in a process of emergence.

First, mankind is becoming a new population. At the end of the eighteenth century, even in the most advanced countries, the age distribution of the population feel roughly into three divisions. The young, under twenty years of age, numbered some 60 percent; the adult between twenty and sixty-five years of age, numbered at least 38 percent; and the aged, those over sixty-five years of age constituted barely 2 percent or even less. Today, in the countries where science is most highly developed and applied, these age groups are respectively about 25 percent, about 65 percent, and about 10 percent. In this change can be seen an enormous increase in the amount of physical and mental energy, a fact which in itself accounts for much of the dynamic quality of contemporary life. In this connection it must be emphasized that as those people who as yet have not achieved the possession of science, do achieve it, they will become populations increasingly like those peoples who now do possess it.

Another significant demographic change must be noted. As late as 1800 the rural population of all countries, except possibly England, amounted to at least 80 percent of the total, and the urban population was about 20 percent or less. Today, the proportion of the peoples of all countries that can be called urban is increasing. In 1850, half of England's population was living in cities; in 1920 over half of the population of the United States was living in cities. Today the movement of people from rural areas to cities is a world-wide phenomenon. This phenomenon has special significance. Now—for the first time in history — the entire populations of all countries are coming more and more under the influence of the diversified social, political, and intellectual influences of cities which, in a deep view of history have been the great forces developing and transforming the life of mankind.

Second, as this population develops, its social organization has at least significantly new aspects. Each application of science involves on the part of some individuals the mastery of some new knowledge and the development of some new skill. These individuals constitute a new functional group in society and the service of this group is

necessary to the maintenance of society. On the one hand each of these new functional groups is served by others, and the society as a whole is maintained by the continuous performance of their respective services. This science supports an ever intensified social interdependence. This circumstance, it may be seen, transforms social classes and their relations. The traditional social classes—priestly, military, mercantile, urban working, and peasant—are being superseded by functional groups each of which is more and more dependent on and less and less in conflict with other groups. Thus as science develops and its applications are multiplied and diversified not class conflict but functional independence of professional and occupational groups becomes the guideline of social movement and political action.

Third, the political situation among the peoples of the world seems to be one of rivalry and conflict However, when this rivalry and conflict are viewed against the background of history, it appears that they are aspects of a process of an increasing integration of people and indeed, of mankind. Examples of this integration may be found in the emergence of the Bandung powers, the struggle to create an Arab nation, and the hesitant movement toward European union. At the world level, this integration may be seen in the United Nations which however weak it may be at the moment, affords mankind an instrument for continuous cooperation not merely in dealing with problems of power relations but also for developing world-wide services in health, education, economic development, and social welfare.

Another aspect of political emergence must be emphasized, namely, that in the field of domestic politics in all countries, conflicts of interest between individuals and among groups or classes are being increasingly judged from the point of view of the public interest. In the past, the public interest was essentially an abstraction or identified possibly with the maintenance of law and order in terms of the suppression of individual or group violence. Today the public interest is increasingly defined not negatively, that is as the lack of disorder, but positively in terms of maintenance of those services upon which the well-being of the people depends. In this connection the measures of the Lebanese Government in dealing with the recent smallpox epidemic may be noted. Since individuals were unable to take

the action which would protect them from this menace, action had to be social, indeed universal, if the menace was to be thwarted. This action was possible only because science had made available not merely the means of checking the spread of the disease but also the drawing from diverse sources outside Lebanon, the substance required to inoculate the population. This example illustrates well a double fact: that under more and more circumstances the well-being of the individual depends upon science and its applications and many of the services that will provide this well being must be socially organized.

Fourth, science requires for both its development and its applications, the training of individuals On the one hand this training involves more diversified intellectual pursuits. On the other hand, it must create an ever greater variety of skills and techniques. From the first point of view, the opportunity of the individual to achieve more fully the realization of his capacities and abilities becomes possible. From the second point of view, the realization of these capacities and abilities by the individual becomes more and more necessary to society. Therefore, the recognition of the worth of the individual becomes the fundamental principle of a society developing and resting on science. Closely connected with this principle is the fact that individuals of different capacity and ability can find opportunity to achieve for themselves and for the society those levels of attainment which are satisfying to themselves and useful to their society. Both of these circumstances promote high social mobility. A society resting upon science cannot be, as have been great societies of the past, a society of status: caste and class disintegrate in the face of the steady multiplication of specializations of occupation, profession and administration necessary for the development and application of science. On the one hand science affords a basis for the steady liberation of the individual in terms of a more complete development and utilization of his capacities and abilities. On the other hand, the society resting upon science and its applications promotes continuously the amelioration of those historic conditions of ignorance, exploitation and poverty. In this amelioration, neither compassion nor its social projection, charity, need remain either abstractions or proclaimed intentions. In other words, compassion and charity may become institutional. In this

sense, the ethical principles, so widely proclaimed in the philosophies and religions of the past, are becoming functionally organized in individual activites and social services.

Fifth, when viewed as an intellectual activity, science may be seen as affording an escape from the intellectual rigidity of all past cultures. These rigidities drew from the fact that knowledge was conceived as absolute or final. This was the case whether the source of knowledge or, as more commonly called *truth* was conceived as revelation, intuition, illumination, or reason. Regardless of which of these sources was accepted, the nature of knowledge was held to be that of absolute dogma or unalterable principle or inflexible law each of which, of course, may be understood as involving intellectual finality and, its social correlative, a static social order. Inasmuch as the intellectual methods of science, regardless of the categories of phenomena to which they are applied, involve on one hand the constant pursuit of new data, and on the other hand a continuing revaluation of theories or constructs, not finality but refinement characterizes the scientific mind. A brief enumeration of the cultural achievement of the past seventy-five years indicates clearly an ever-widening scope of rational analysis and an ever-deeper penetration of rational synthesis. One may mention here only such intellectual developments as nuclear physics, the biological concept of the organism as a whole, the psychology of individual differences, psychoanalysis, and symbolic logic. In the field of art one may mention impressionism, surrealism, abstractionism and the music involving the use of new scales. In the social sciences one may note in history the concept of the "new past", in economics the substitution of refined statistical analysis for abstract law; in sociology and anthropology the development of the interlinked concepts of culture and personality. Finally, one can note the general concept of relativity not merely as a mathematical or physical concept but also as an intellectual concept which because it calls continuously for the pursuit and assessment of new data, requires constantly the refinement of intellectual methods and the redefinition of theories or constructs. On the whole, it may be said that as intellectual method, science involves the development of an ever-wider field of rationality. That reason is increasingly applied to phenomena which are regarded as

irrational, does not mean in any sense that life is becoming more irrational rather it means that although life in many of its aspects may be irrational, the understanding of it may become more rational.

Sixth, from the point of view of religion, the development of science can be seen not as destructive but as constructive. Just as the bringing of aspects of life which are now understood as irrational under the play of reason, so those emotional aspects of life which are rightly called religious, may be understood as more rather than less meaningful. The gods—one says "gods" because mankind in its several parts has several "gods" or perhaps several concepts of god—remain, but the gods become more meaningful in the sense that they can be approached less in terms of emotion, faith, dogma, and ritual and more in terms of individual need and aspiration and social action and responsibility. If man is created in the image of God, and God is conceived as the Creator, man becomes more god-like as he becomes more creative. Inasmuch as man has exhibited his creativeness most meaningfully in science and finds in science the opportunity of an ever-depening creativity which touches him as an individual and as member of the society in all aspects of life man, it may be said, realizes more and more his essential divinity as he develops and applies science. In this connection one may note the significant words of Pope Pius XII when speaking to the Internarional Astronomical Union in 1952 :

"What thing is then this spirit of infinitessimal man physically lost in the ocean of the universe but daring to ask his extremely limited senses to discover the countenance and history of the universe and then succeeding in revealing both of them? Only one answer strikingly evident can be given, and that is: the spirit of man belongs to an order of being essentially different from and superior to that of matter even though that matter be of immeasurable mass."

Similar remarks by Budhist, Hindu, Jewish, Moslem and Protestant Christian authorities as well as Roman Catholic Christian, can be cited to support the view that man's creative mind fully active in science, exhibits not merely man's *Divinity* but also makes possible the realization that morality whether declared in *ahimsa*, in

dharma, in *righteousness* ,in *shariat*, or in the *brotherhood of man* which has its source and support in the *Divine*.

Brief though they are the foregoing remarks suggest that mankind as it develops and applies science in creating a new order of existence—indeed a new *culture*—men increasingly see their distresses, their opportunities, and their potentialities in terms of science: there is emerging world-mindedness. As their interdependence grows, they contrive new means of mutual service, there is emerging world co-operation. As this co-operation is achieved the historic distresses of war, exploitation, poverty, and disease are ameliorated: there is a new well-being. This new culture calls not so much for the use of individual's muscle power as for the application of his brain power; not so much for his conformity to a fixed code as for his free cultivation of new social roles, not so much for his acquiescence to authority, however established, as for his participation in shiping the significant decisions that affect his life. Science is the source of common understanding and mutual service among mankind. Science is a realistic basis for democracy. Science is the functional support of universal compassion. These are the guidelines of an emerging culture if one sees contemporary mankind not in terms of past fixations but in terms of present dynamic reality.

Against the deep background of history mankind, it appears, is in a better circumstance, more meaningful for both social organization and individual achievement, than ever before. Indeed, mankind is younger today than it has been since the rise of the first cities in the Middle East over five thousand years ago.

ARABIC SCIENCE IN THE WEST

by

DR. D. M. DUNLOP, TRINITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE

II. : Michael Scot, Arabist.

The transmission of Arabic Science to the West was made possible, most obviously and immediately, by the translators from Arabic into Latin. It seems desirable to consider the work of one of these men more particularly, to see in what it consisted and how it was done. The name of Michael Scot is familiar to all, and the bearer of it seems specially suitable for such consideration. He flourished in the early thirteenth century, i.e. at the end of the middle period of translation from the Arabic, which was also the main period, and the beginning of the third and last He is thus typical of the movement at its height. Also his activity was not limited to any one place, but included Italy and Sicily as well as Spain. But further the Arabist movement in the Middle Ages, in the nature of the case, has something exotic about it, which is not to be disregarded. This exotic character Michael Scot seems to have represented in person, or perhaps one should say that he represented the new movement on its more exotic side.

It is, I think, fair to say that there was a certain excitement in the minds of the Latins when first confronted with the new knowledge. Michael Scot seems personally to have felt this and may have been able to communicate it to others. He appears, however, in the sources not as a great teacher but as a somewhat anomalous figure, at once or in turn philosopher, astrologer and magician—in any case, a student of outlandish knowledge and a practitioner of unusual arts. To say less than this would be to do injustice to the reality behind the legend, which has remained extraordinarily vivid down the centuries.

The picture, as is natural, has varied considerably from time to time. At present the impression which we have of Michael Scot is in the main due to his namesake and fellow-countryman, Sir Walter

Scott, who makes him a Borderer, accepts some of the most romantic stories about him (not out of place certainly in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*) and for the purposes of his poem assumes that the 'wizard' and his 'mighty book' were buried in Melrose Abbey. It is not necessary to go into great detail. The notes appended by Sir Walter to the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* contain references to Michael Scot in the works of Dempster[1] and others, and are a useful repository of the tales then current, or which had been current, in the Borders about him. It was by the contrivance of 'Auld Michael' that the Eildon Hills had been cleft in three and the Devil set to make ropes out of sand at Tweedmouth. He had passed through the air to France on a great black horse, at whose stamping the bells rang in every steeple in Paris. Sir Walter also refers to the more factual tradition that Michael Scot had formerly lived at Oakwood on the Ettrick, a few miles above Selkirk, and a propos of Michael Scot's studies in Spain mentions the singular belief that the sciences of magic were formerly taught at Toledo, Seville and Salamanca—especially at the latter place, where instruction in the black arts was given in a deep cavern, eventually walled up by order of Queen Isabella. (The fantastic tale contains of course authentic elements : Arabic science in Spain, and the existence of a famous university at Salamanca after the Reconquest.)

The French writer Naude offers a different view. In a work which appeared in 1553, on the great men who have been falsely accused of magic, he gives an account of Michael Scot and observes that he was not an idiot or ignoramus, as some people who have never read any of his books have thought.[2] This last opinion reflects the attitude of the Renaissance to mediaeval writings in general, and was no doubt confirmed by the circulation of spurious works of a fantastic character ascribed to Michael Scot. Of the authentic works Naude remarks, rather surprisingly, that only two survive, the *Physionomia* and the *Questions on the Sphere of Sacrobosco*. The title of a Latin book or pamphlet 'Michael Scot unjustly condemned for poisoning', published in 1739,

[1] Thomas Dempster (d. 1625), author of a *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*.

[2] G. Naude, *Apologie pour tous les grans personnages qui ont esté faussement soupçonnez de magie* (La Haye, 1653), 497-499.

represents another apparently baseless view.[3] In more recent times Ernest Renan[4], himself in conflict with his church, saw in Michael Scot the first of a series of unorthodox thinkers who concealed their scepticism under the name of Averroes (Ibn Rushd), with whose introduction into Europe Scot was, as we shall see, closely concerned. It seems clear at all events that the personality of whom such divergent accounts could be given must have been a highly exceptional man.

To disentangle the facts of Michael Scot's life from the legend is not easy. A persistent tradition which connects him with the family of Balwearie in Fife seems to be based on a confusion.[5] The antiquary Leland, who for a point of this kind is no doubt to be relied upon, says that he had it on good authority that Michael Scot was born in the country of Durham, and first went to school there.[6] Other evidence, as we shall see, connects him with the north of England, and there is a wonder-tale according to which he was employed by the town of Morpeth, desiring to rival[7] Newcastle as a seaport, to bring the tide up to it by magical means. A Durham connection is not necessarily inconsistent with his Scottish nationality, which is well attested by foreign sources. Towards the middle of the twelfth century, when his birth must have occurred, there are likely to have been families of Scottish origin in the northern counties of England, where shortly before this time the writ of the king of the Scots had run. Even as late as 1283 Tynedale and Penrith are mentioned as territories belonging to Scotland,[8] and the Righ Cross on Stainmore, at the boundary of Westmorland and Yorkshire, marks a more ancient division between the two kingdoms.[9]

But if we assume with Leland that Michael Scot was born in Durham, the next stages of his career are quite obscure. He is

[3] Schmutzer, *De Michaele Scoto veneficii injuste damnato* (Leipzig, 1739), referred to by J. Wood Brown, *Life and Legend of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh, 1897).

[4] E. Renan, *Averroes et l' averroïsme*, (Paris, 1893), 210.

[5] See below.

[6] Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxford, 1709), I 254.

[7] H. L. Honeyman, *Northumberland* (London, 1949), 177.

[8] Lord Hailes, *Annals of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1819), I 222.

[9] J. Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, III, c. ii, cf. George Buchanan. *History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1715), 116 D.

said to have studied at Oxford and Paris, and later at Padua, but all this appears to be mere supposition. The seventeenth century history of the University of Paris[10] says indeed that while there he applied himself diligently to mathematics, being called Michael Mathematicus,[11] and at length was made Doctor of Theology. But this is unsupported by any records. There is still less, it seems, for Oxford, while as to Padua, the fame which that city came to enjoy as a school of magic, as we shall see, was perhaps felt to be good and sufficient reason (there appears to be no other)[12] for making him a student there. The first certain date in Michael Scot's career is in fact 18 August, 1217, when we find him at Toledo, having just completed a translation from Arabic into Latin of Alpetragius (al-Batrūghī) *On the Sphere*.[13] How he reached Spain, and how he learned enough Arabic to engage upon the translation of a difficult technical work must remain matters of conjecture, but the reason for his being in Spain seems clear enough Reports and results of the works of earlier translators must already have reached wide circles in the West Whatever the immediate occasion of his visit, it is altogether likely that Michael Scot was in Spain in order to satisfy his curiosity about Arabic Science.

From this time, as far as the dates of his life are concerned, we are on firmer ground. Michael Scot can be traced at Bologna, engaged apparently in medical practice, three years later (21 October, 1220).[14] Between 1224 and 1227, as the Papal registers show, he was in high favour at Rome Pope Honorius III recommended him to Stephen Langton, then archbishop of Canterbury, as a man of eminent learning and worthy of a benefice in

[10] Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, III 701, citing Balaeus, *Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Catalogus* (Basle, 1557).

[11] Hugh Scot, afterwards abbot of a Carmelite house at Ayr, 'applied himself to the mathematics under the famous Michael Scot'-where is not said- according to George Mackenzie, M D, *Lives of the Scottish Writers* (Edinburgh, 1708), I 425, quoting Dempster (cf n. i). The date given by Mackenzie for Hugh Scot-*flor*. 1341-must in any case be too late, see below.

[12] A number of references to Michael Scot in Italian literature, from Dante onwards, have been left out of account here. For them see e. g. J. Wood Brown, *op. cit.*

[13] C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Harvard, 1927), 273, cf. J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los MSS. de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo* (Madrid, 1942), 201.

[14] Haskins, *op. cit.*, 274.

the English province (16 January, 1224). On 18 March of the same year he obtained permission to hold two benefices, one of which seems to have been in England. A little later he was offered but declined the archbishopric of Cashel in Ireland. The ground given for the refusal was his ignorance of Irish. In 1225 he was permitted to hold an additional benefice in England and two in Scotland, while in 1227 his claims were again urged on the English archbishop by the successor of Honorius, Pope Gregory IX.[15] It is not wonderful to find Michael Scot in orders in the Church, and from these notices it appears that he was by this time a man of considerable seniority and standing. In 1227 or 1228 Leonardo Fibonacci, often regarded as the greatest mathematician of that age, dedicated to Michael Scot the second edition of his work *On the Abacus*, in which Arabic numerals as well as the principles of elementary algebra were definitively introduced to the West.[16] Perhaps about the same time Scot became a member of the court of the Emperor Frederick II, with whom he continued to be associated[17] till his death, eight or nine years later (before 1236).

It is convenient to speak of the Spanish and Sicilian, or rather Italian, periods of the life of Michael Scot, but, as the sketch just given indicates, we have dates only for the last twenty years, and the length of the Spanish period is quite uncertain. It seems necessary to admit further that at some time, when already established as a professional scholar, he resided at home long enough to impress his legend on his own people. We have already said something of the stories which clustered round his name in the Scottish Borders. The wonder-tales about Michael Scot in Cumberland and Westmorland are not less numerous. Certain rocks on the summit of Carrock Fell were reared by him, and Orton Bridge in Westmorland was erected by magical means in a single night. A ledge of gravel running nearly across Ullswater is his handiwork, as is the underground stream at

15 The facts are given by Haskins, *op. cit.*, 274-275.

16 Haskins, *op. cit.*, 275; Aldo Mieli, *Panorama General de Historia de la Ciencia, II*: etc. *Mundo Islamico*—(Madrid—Buenos Aires, 1946), 262, n. 3.

17 Haskins, *ibid.*

Stenkrith, near Kirkby Stephen.[18] Bolton Old Church was built by imps at his command.[19] Even the seasonal 'Helm wind' which afflicts or cheers the citizens of Carlisle at the present day was an invention of Michael Scot.[20] Surely these tales[21] however absurd, demand the presence of the 'wizard' at some time in this quarter.

A seventeenth century diary, under the date 22 August, 1654, speaks of Wolsty Castle, five miles west of Holm Cultram in Cumberland, then lying in ruins, and mentions one of the rooms as 'Michael Scot's chamber.'[22] This is not an isolated reference, for Camden earlier in his *Britannia*, first published in 1586, records that he was told, during his visit to Cumberland, that in Wolsty Castle the works of Michael Scot lay mouldering in the dust.[23] Sir Walter Scott gives a similar story.[24] As Sir Walter noted, Holm Cultram is one of several reputed burial-places of Michael Scot. At present there is no information to be gained at Holm Cultram, which, like Melrose and Glenluce, the other claimants for the honour, was at one time a Cistercian house. Unfortunately we have no means of knowing the names of the benefices in England and Scotland to which Michael Scot was appointed in 1224 and 1225,[25] but the conjecture may be advanced that one of these was near Holm Cultram and others perhaps at Melrose and Glenluce. If we admit that the stories already given imply Michael Scot's residence on the Borders and in the north of England, no time seems more suitable on general grounds than the late twenties or early thirties ofthe thirteenth century It appears that we can make the matter somewhat more precise Apart from the doubtful testimony of Hector Boece, according to which Scot

18 Details from an article on Michael Scot by W. T M. (MacIntyre), *Cumberland News*, 22nd November, 1930.

19 W. G. Collingwood, *The Lake Counties*, London, 1949, 109.

20 From the article referred to in n 18.

21 Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (*History of Witchcraft in Scotland*, London and Glasgow, 1884, 27) mentions that the road through the Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire, is said to have been completed in one night by Michael Scot with the aid of the Devil.

22 Francis Grainger, 'James Jackson's Diary, 1650-1683', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, XXI, New Series (1921), 104, under date 22nd August, 1654.

23 *Britannia*, ed. Phil Holland, 773

24 *Loc. cit.*

25 Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, no 5470, simply states the facts.

enjoyed the favour of an English king,[26] a much better authority, Roger Bacon, seems to say that he came to England some time after 1230. For Bacon reports, somewhat cryptically indeed, that Michael Scot 'appeared' after 1230 with parts of Aristotle and commentaries thereon hitherto unknown.[27] It cannot be asserted positively that Scot was in England at the time indicated. But he had certainly made his scientific debut long before 1230, and the words most naturally mean that he came within the view of Roger Bacon, then a young student, at that date. A visit to England, even a visit to Oxford, where Roger Bacon probably was at the time, seems indicated. The evidence is not conclusive, but we may assume provisionally that Michael Scot was back in this country for some time after 1230.

It is usually said that he spent the last years of his life in the service of the Emperor Frederick II and in his entourage, in Sicily or Italy, perhaps also in Germany. The direct evidence for this is slight. There is the dedication to Frederick of certain of his works, which need not be later in any case than 1228 or 1229.[28] Apart from this we appear to have nothing beyond a note in one manuscript, accompanying a series of Latin verses predicting the fate of the Lombard cities, the famous *Vaticinium*, to the effect that Michael Scot was at Bologna in 1231, and, being consulted by the *podesta* and others on this subject, gave the *Vaticinium* in reply, together whith a similar note in another manuscript, which says that he recited the verses to the Emperor in Germany in 1235 or 1236.[29] These statements are perhaps not formally contradictory, but cannot be taken as certain. There are other statements, exceedingly unlikely or strictly impossible, that Scot was in Cordova before

26 *History of Scotland*, (Paris, 1574), fol 292 (Lib. XIII, *ad finem*). 'Michael Scotus, in medicina inter primos eruditus atque ob singularem peritiam non minus Eduardo regi Angliae quam Alexandro dum viveret charus acceptusque'. But Edward I of England reigned 1272-1307, and was born after Michael Scot's death

27 'A tempore Michaelis Scoti qui annis Domini 1230 transactis apparuit deferens librorum Aristotelis partes aliquas de Naturalibus et Metaphysicis cum expositionibus authenticis, magnificata est philosophia Aristotelis apud Latinos', (*Opus Maius*, ed. Bridges, III 66, cf. I 55, which is somewhat different). The passage is thus given by Renan (*op. cit.*, 205, n. 2), '...librorum Aristotelis partes aliquas de naturalibus et *mathematicis cum expositoribus sapientibus*, etc. i. e. the reading of the edition of S. Jebb (London, 1733), 36.

28 See below.

29 Haskins, *op. cit.*, 276 and nn.

the Reconquest (1236) and in Prague in 1255, at which latter date he must have been dead for many years.[30] The evidence for the date of his death is an authentic poem by a certain Henry of Avranches, addressed to Frederick in 1236,[31] in which Michael Scot is praised as a successful astrologer :

qui fuit astrorum scrutator, qui fuit augur,
qui fuit ariolus, et qui fuit alter Apollo.

Henry of Avranches says that he remembers hearing Scot making certain predictions about the Emperor, which he proceeds to give. It is quite plain from the whole tone of the poem that Michael Scot was no longer at the Emperor's court, that he had not been at court for some time, and the poet gives us the reason for this—at the time of writing Michael Scot was now dead.

His services to the Emperor Fredrick, as astrologer and man of science generally, seem indeed to have been rendered earlier than is usually supposed. In the poem of 1236 Scot's death is not spoken of as a recent event. We probably have to go back several years for his last contact with the Emperor It is natural to think that in 1228, at the time of the dedication to him of the book *On the Abacus*,[32] Michael Scot was still in Italy He was presumably in Italy when what was apparently his own last book for Frederick, perhaps his last of all,[33] a composite work on astrology to be mentioned later, was completed-hardly before 1229.[34] Thereafter, it seems, we are to look for Michael Scot for his own country rather than in Italy or Germary. His death evidently took place at an advanced age—for Vincent of Beauvais, writing about 1245, agrees with the legends of the Scottish Borders in speaking of 'old Michael'[35]—before 1236. The claims which have been made that his grave is at Melrose, Holm Cultram or Glenluce remain alike without confirmation, yet it is noteworthy that no foreign place is ever mentioned in connection with his death or burial.

We can at least be certain that the frequently repeated story

[30] Cf. Lynn Thorndyke, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II 310, n. 3; Wood Brown, *op. cit.*, 18-19, 190-191.
[31] *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XVIII 485ff.
[32] See above.
[33] Cf., however, below.
[34] Cf. Haskins, 280.
[35] Wood Brown, 176.

which brings Scot back to this country, to die as a very old man in 1290 or 1291, is based on a confusion. Quite apart from the credible statement that he was dead before 1236, this is strictly incosistent with the date 1217 for his translation of Alpetragius, and is no doubt due to identifying him with the Michael Scot of Balwearie who is said to have gone as ambassador to Norway in 1290.[36] The same or more probably another Michael Scot fell at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346.[37] Obvously there can be no question here of the philosopher. Yet this has been freely asserted, and in later times there was even a ballad about the 'wizard' and his cantrips at the castle of Balwearie[38].

So much for the life and legend of Michael Scot. We now come to consider his authentic works, original or translated from the Arabic Broadly speaking, the translations belong to Scot's Spanish period, when his interests were mainly philosophical, while his original works belong to the later Italian phase, in which he was mainly concerned with astrology[39].

The translation of Alpetragius *On the Sphere* is dated 18 August, 1217 at Toledo, as already mentioned. This is not necessarily the earliest of Scot's translations, but we have nothing definitely earlier. The work has never been printed, but manuscripts are not very uncommon. It has been analysed by Munk,[40] and more recently by Duhem [41] Michael Scot has here chosen for translation an Arabic author; Nūr al-Dīn abū Isḥāq al-Baṭrūghī, who was almost his contemporary. The *nisbah* or generic name al-Baṭrūghī gives rise to Alpetragius in Latin, as well as the more or less divergent forms Alpetrongi, Alpetrondji, Avenalpetrardi. All these indicate a connection with a place in the vicinity of Cordova called Pedroche. The date of composition of the original work is not

36 Buchanan (132 E) calls the ambassador 'Michael Scotus eques Fifanus illustris'. This is presumably from J. Fordun who, however, has simply 'Michael Scot' (though the Index of the ed. of 1759 adds 'Balverike'). Boece (XII, *ad init.*) speaks of Ioannes instead of Michael Scotus.

37 Fordun, XIV, c. iv

38 A verse of this is quoted in the article referred to in n. 18, as follows;

What gars ye gaunt (- yawn), my merry men a'?
What gars ye look sae earie?
What gars ye hing your heids sae sair
In the castle of Balwearie?

39 Cf. Haskins, 277.

40 *Melanges de philosophie juive at arabe* (Paris, 1859), 520-521.

41 *Systeme du monde*, II 145-156.

certainly known, but a general indication is given by the death of Ibn Tufayl, the teacher of Alpetragius, in 581/1185. Michael Scot was the first translator of the work *On the Sphere*. It was then rendered into Hebrew in 1259 and later, as sometimes happened, from Hebrew into Latin (1529)[42]. These facts serve to show the general usefulness of the work over a surprisingly long period and Scot's originality, a quality which is not to be denied him, in selecting it for translation. He was helped in his translation, as he tells us, by the Levite Abuteus, i. e. a Jew called Abū Da'wūd, who may or may not be the same as the Jew Andrew (Andreas),[43] who according to the text of Roger Bacon worked on these translations with Michael Scot.

Bacon asserts that Michael Scot was equally ignorant of natural science and languages, and that the Jew Andrew did most of the work[44]. But Bacon's own *forte* was certainly not Oriental languages, and he rarely speaks other than grudgingly of the translators. In using the assistance of an expert in Arabic, presumably a native Arabic speaker, Michael Scot was doing what most of his predecessors in this field had done and what evidently gave the best results. We must always allow that however much or little Arabic these men knew, the initiative undoubtedly came from them. It is quite clear that without the scholars who went to Spain and elsewhere in search of Arabic manuscripts, the Latin versions which were so eagerly read from this time on would never have been made, for neither native Arabic speakers nor stay-at-home philosophers and theologians were in a position to produce them. For these reasons Roger Bacon's criticism of Michael Scot and others, so far as knowledge of Arabic is concerned, though difficult from the

[42] Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supp I 866.

[43] Cf. Haskins, *op. cit.*, 18; Millas Vallicrosa, *op. cit.*, 201.

[44] 'Similiter Michael Scotus ascripsit sibi translationes multas. Sed certum est quod Andreas quidam Judaeus plus laboravit in his. Unde Michaelus (sic) Scotus, sicut Hermannus (sic) retulit, nec scivit scientias.' (*Compendium Studii*, ed. Brewer, 472). Roger Bacon has evidently adopted the opinion of Michael Scot held by Hermannus (Alemannus), another translator from Arabic (cf. below). The following passage 'Michael Scotus, ignarus quidem et verborum et rerum, fere omnia quae sub nomine ejus prodierunt ab Andrea quodam Judaeo mutuatus est' is not independent of the other and is not to be found, as has sometimes been said, either in Bacon's *Opus Maius* or in his *Opus Tertium* (cf. E. Renan, *Averroes*, ed. 4,209), but is simply a paraphrase of the other, given by Jebb in the Latin preface to his edition (1733) of the *Opus Maius*. Cf. also *Opus Tertium*, ed Brewer, 91.

nature of the case to confirm or deny, seems somewhat capricious and beside the main point, which is that they did bring valuable new material and a new orientation into learned discussions in the Latin West. No work, scientific or any other, was ever perfect, and no claim for perfection can be made for the Latin Arabists. But on any unprejudiced view what they did must appear a very solid contribution, as the mere number of the works translated shows. It may well be that Bacon was disappointed in the new Arabist texts because they seemed to promise much, yet did not give him the kind of information he required. The ultimate source of Arabic science was, as we saw, Alexandria, and Alexandrian science in its later stages tended to be speculative rather than experimental The Arabs doubtless in this respect made some improvement. But, given the original tendency and the imperfections of the Latin versions, made in general by non-scientists, Bacon's criticism becomes understandable. One would suppose indeed that Michael Scot, who became one of the most successful scientific practitioners of his day, was less exposed to it than other translators. But perhaps Bacon felt that Scot's scientific reputation was exaggerated.

However this may be, the work of Alpetragius translated by Michael Scot and called in Arabic *Kitab al-Hai'ah* (*Book of the Form*, sc of the heavens) was concerned in principle with a criticism of Ptolemy's celebrated theory of eccentrics and epicycles to account for the observed movement of the heavenly bodies, and with a development of Aristotle's view of homocentric spheres[45]. In this al-Baṭrūghī was not without predecessors among the Arabs. In his preface[46] he mentions in particular two earlier critics of Ptolemy. One of these, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Zarqālah (Arzachel) of Cordova, was a successful practical observer and instrument-maker as well as theorist. He flourished 420/1029 to 480/1087. The other principal predecessor of Alpetragius according to himself, was Muḥammad ibn Jābir ibn Sinān al-Battānī (Albategnius), who flourished in the Muslim East in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. As already indicated, the importance of the work of Alpetragius was considerable. It was frequently referred to in the

[45] So Haskins, 277.

[46] Jourdain, *Recherches sur les anciennes traductions latines d'Aristote* (Paris, 1843), 451.

thirteenth century by Albertus Magnus, Vincent of Beauvais and, in spite of his criticism of the Arabists, Roger Bacon, evidently in Michael Scot's version,[47] for there was no other available. Later Copernicus quotes Arzachel and Albategnius in his *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*[48]. We thus see Michael Scot mediating important work on astronomy which had been done and was still being in Muslim Spain in the twelfth century. The earlier source of the movement was further east, in the central provinces of the Caliphate.

Some time later the *De Coelo* of Aristotle, accompanied by what is generally known as the Middle Commentary of Averroes, was translated by Michael Scot[49]. When Averroes wrote his commentary is not altogether clear, perhaps at Seville in 1171.[50] It appears to have been rendered into Latin by Michael Scot, probably in Spain, not very long after 1217. The Latin translation is dedicated to a certain Stephen of Provins. In his preface Scot makes the comment: 'If Aristotle has left anything incomplete in his account of the constitution of the world in this book, you may supply it from the work of Alpetragius which I have put into Latin dress, and with which you are already familiar' [51] It would seem that here is no undue respect for Aristotle. To the subject of the celestial sphere, which obviously interested Scot greatly, we shall find him returning in a work belonging to his Italian period.

Another translation which can be dated with some precision is his version of the *Historia Animalium*. A note in more than one manuscript of this work shows that it was completed before 21 October, 1220[52], at which date the author was in Bologna, as already mentioned. The Arabic original lumped together most of the zoological works of Aristotle[53], and thus even if it is a

[47] Jourdain, *op. cit.*, 132; Haskins, 277

[48] Carra de Vaux in *Legacy of Islam* (Oxford, 1931), 395.

[49] M. Steinschneider, *Die europaischen Ubersetzungen aus dem Arabischen, Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse der k Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, B. 140 (Vienna, 1905), 56.

[50] Renan, *op. cit.*, 61, cf. L. Gauthier, *Ibn Rochd* (Paris, 1948), 13 (grand commentaire)

[51] Jourdain, *op. cit*, 127-128.

[52] Haskins, 277.

[53] I. e. the *De Animalibus Historia*, including the spurious 10th Book, the *De Partibus Animalium* and the *De Generatione Animalium* -in all 19 books (Haskins, 278).

paraphrase[54] rather than a translation, is of considerable bulk. From this point of view alone the Latin version is something of an achievement. But Michael Scot's realisation of its importance again shows his originality. The text on which he worked had long been in existence, having been rendered into Arabic by Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq in the ninth century. Scot's Latin translation had the distinction of being the first. It came into general use at once and held its ground till the fifteenth century. There are still services which this version by Michael Scot can render, for it is sufficiently complete and accurate to have been used in more than one instance for restoring the Greek text of Aristotle by a modern editor.[55]

Averroes in his work on Aristotle produced three kinds of commentaries The shortest were simply analyses. The so-called Middle Commentaries, of which one has just been mentioned, followed the order of the original work paragraph by paragraph, but the words of Aristotle were not given *in extenso*. This inconvenience was remedied in the Great Commentaries, which offer the full text of Aristotle, with a systematic exposition of all details, and digressions in which relevant matters are discussed. Michael Scot is usually admitted to have translated the *De Anima* of Aristotle with the Great Commentary of Averroes.[56] This constantly accompanies the *De Coelo* in the manuscripts, though nowhere apparently stated explicitly to be his work, unlike the other It is virtually certain that further works of Aristotle with the commentaries of Averroes were also translated by Michael Scot, though hesitation has been felt to affirm this because of the absence of direct attribution in the manuscripts. In this category come some or all of the following: the *De Generatione et Corruptione*, Book IV of the *Meteora*, the *De Sensu*, the first treatises of the *Parva Naturalia*, the *Physics*, *Metaphysics* and *Ethics*, as well as a short work of Averroes *De Substantia Orbis*.

We shall restrict ourselves here to the *Physics*, *Metaphysics* and

[54] M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Ubersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, Beihefte zum Centralblatt fur Bibliothekswesen*, B. 4 (Leipzig, 1893), 64. Cf. B. Lewin in *Oriens*, V 356 (1952).

[55] A. L. Peck in the Loeb Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* (1937), 46ff; *Generation of Animals* (1947), XXIIIff., XXIXff. Cf Rudberg, *Eranos*, IX 92ff. (cited Haskins, 278, n. 36).

[56] Haskins, 278, Steinschneider, *Die europaischen Ubersetzungen etc.*, 57.

Ethics, which are of course the most important. The tendency has been gaining ground to admit Michael Scot's authorship. In the Latin Aristotle, begun in 1939 by the Union Academique Internationale, the editors consider that the best opinion assigns to him a translation of the *Physics* with the Great Commentary of Averroes, and regard the *Metaphysics* as also due to him[57] The argument for the *Metaphysics* is specially strong It seems to have been a digression in *Metaphysics*, Book XII, with the heading 'Quaestiones Nicolai Peripatetici' that on one occasion called forth the anger of Albertus Magnus against Michael Scot, whom he mentions by name as the author.[58] Albertus here repeats the charge of Roger Bacon that Scot knew nothing of science, in almost similar terms.[59] This did not prevent Albertus from making the most extensive use of him, as we shall later see

That Michael Scot translated the *Ethics* was not admitted in his day by the bibliographer Moritz Steinschneider, nor more recently by the editors of the Latin Aristotle mentioned above. There are certainly grounds for the denial. Two Arabist versions of the *Ethics* are known. Both appear to be the work of a somewhat later translator, Hermannus Alemannus The longer of the two versions was made at Toledo in 1240 from an Arabic original completed by Averroes in 572/1176, evidently his Middle Commentary[60] The shorter was done a year or two later, in 1243 or 1244. It is clearly a compendium[61] While thus Hermann Alemannus apparently translated two works of Averroes on the *Ethics* within a few years, it seems somewhat unlikely that he would have done so if either had been translated before, and we know of no Great Commentary of Averroes on the *Ethics* which Michael Scot might have rendered into Latin. The version in the Juntine Latin Aristotle is certainly by Hermannus. Indeed, by the time of the Renaissance all knowledge of

[57] *Aristoteles Latinus* I, (Rome, 1939), 65, 104.

[58] Renan, *op cit.*, 209.

[59] 'Michael Scotus qui in rei veritate nescivit naturas nec bene intellexit libros Aristotelis', *Alberti Magni Opera* (Paris, 1890), IV 697 (cited Haskins, 279, n. 45). Cf. n. 44.

[60] *Aristoteles Latinus* I, 117.

[61] Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Ubersetzungen etc*. 70, cf. Jourdain, *op. cit.*, 144.

a version by Michael Scot, if it ever existed, seems to have disappeared, for Leonardo Bruni, who made a new translation from the Greek, thought that there were only two translations of the *Ethics* before his own, one Arabist, viz. Hermannus', and one from Greek, presumably that by Robert of Lincoln (Grosstete), which is mentioned as already in existence by Hermannus Alemannus [62] And further Michael Scot himself in what is perhaps his latest work mentions the *Ethics* without saying that he has translated them, and cites the first few words in a version which seems to be from Greek.[63] Yet, as against all this negative evidence, in the *Sentences* of Baconthorpe Michael Scot is cited by name for a proposition about legal justice, with a reference to *Ethics*, V, 3. Baconthorpe, called in his time (first half of the fourteenth century) the 'prince of Averroists' should here, unless he is in error, be quoting a commentary of Averroes on the *Ethics* translated by Michael Scot.[64]

It is at all events clear that substantial parts of Aristotle with Averroes' commentaries were rendered into Latin by Scot. Millas Vallicrosa has called attention to an important piece of evidence in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, viz. a thirteenth century inventory of books belonging to a Spanish bishop.[65] One of the items here is 'All the commentaries of Averroes except a few, in the autograph of the translator', immediately followed by 'Six parts of the book *De Animalibus*, written in the hand of the translator.' There is little doubt that Michael Scot is intended. The date is 1273, i.e. presumably about fifty years after the works had been translated. The inventory was made at Alvaladiel, a few miles from Toledo, and it was doubtless there that the translation was carried out, or at all events somewhere in Spain. This notice has to be taken with the

[62] Jourdain, 140.

[63] Haskins, 284, n. 78; Jourdain, 179, 436, 437.

[64] 'Contra aliam opinionem quae ponit iustitiam legalem esse in voluntate et nullam aliam, arguo sic. Eustratius et etiam Michael Scotus, 5 Ethic. commen to 3, dicunt quod iustitia legalis se habet ad alias virtutes sicut genus ad species, et est communis virtus.' (*Liber Sententiarum* III, dist. 33. quaest. 3, art. 1 iii) Eustratius is Eustratius of Nicaea (c. 1050-c. 1120), whose commentary on the *Nicomachaean Ethics* was available in Latin (Basile Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine, Histoire de la Philosophie, Fasc. Supplementaire* No. II, Paris, 1949, 217).

[65] Millas Vallicrosa, *op. cit.*, 17.

passage from Roger Bacon already referred to,[66] according to which from the time of Michael Scot, who appeared after 1230 with parts of the books of Aristotle on natural philosophy and metaphysics, together with certain commentaries, the philosophy of Aristotle has been highly prized by the Latins. Undoubtedly Bacon had the translation from Averroes in mind. Bacon, as we saw, was by no means prepared to concede to Scot more than his due. It is plain that his contribution to knowledge made *inter alia*, by the translations from Averroes was a considerable one.

We now turn to Michael Scot's other writings, including original works. His *Divisio Philosophiae* was based on a work of similar title by Dominicus Gundisalvi, which in turn owed much to the *Ihsa-al-'Ulum* (*Enumeration of the Sciences*) of al-Fārābī. Scot's work is known only fragmentarily[67]. It is likely that it belonged to the Spanish period of his life. On the other hand, the *Abbreviatio Avicennae de Animalibus* (like the *Historia Animalium*, in nineteen Books) is dedicated to Frederick II. It is conjectured to be a rendering of the zoological part of Avicenna's encyclopaedia *al-Shifa'*.[68] The presumed Arabic original is still to a great extent in manuscript, unlike Michael Scot's translation, which was printed more than once during the Renaissance. The two have never, it seems, been compared, so that the identification remains uncertain. In the best manuscripts of the *Abbreviatio Avicennae de Animalibus* the Arabic words in Latin dress, with which the work abounds, are glossed in the margin and collected at the end.[69] It would be instructive to compare this list with existing glossaries from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries made by other translators. Specimens of the *Abbreviatio* were Englished by Wood Brown in his book on Michael Scot. It is natural enough to find Scot engaged on such a work for a patron who is known to have been interested in natural history and was himself the author of a *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*, which

[66] Cf. n. 27.

[67] So Haskins, 279. Ludwig Baur, *Dominicus Gundissalinus, De Divisione Philosophiae*, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, *Band* 4 (Munster, 1903), gives the fragments of an Introduction to philosophy of Michael Scot, surviving in the *Speculum Doctrinale* of Vincent of Beauvais.

[68] Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Ubersetzungen* etc., 65.

[69] Wood Brown, 58.

is as much zoology as falconry.[70]

Dedicated likewise to Frederick is what has been called Scot's *magnum opus*, a composite work in three parts, dealing mainly with astrology. The treatises of which it is made up—*Liber Introductorius, Liber Particularise* or *Astronomia* and the *Physionomia* or *De Secretis Naturae*—are sometimes reckoned as separate books, and perhaps originally were so. The longest of the three is the *Liber Introductorius*. Like the *Liber Particularise*, it has never been printed while the *Physionomia*, which includes an account of generation and a discussion of prognostications from dreams, complexions and the different parts of the body, appeared repeatedly in a number of early editions All three have been studied within recent years[71]. In general, these treatises represent an unsystematic compilation from many sources in which it cannot be said that Arabic works entirely predominate. Science in the sense of original observation and experiment is found side by side with what seems to us the grossest superstition. In the final form of the composite book we have what is apparently the latest work of Michael Scot. It is somewhat surprising that with much experience, as can hardly be doubted, of the discipline of translation, the author was apparently unable to give a more coherent account of the matters with which the treatises are supposed to deal. If the tripartite work is to be regarded as Michael Scot at his best, the rather unfavourable judgements passed on him by Lynn Thorndyke and C. H. Haskins, as well as the more sweeping mediaeval condemnation which we have already noticed, may seem justified.

A more favourable impression is to be gained from the dedication to Michael Scot, with great profession of respect,[72] of the work *On the Abacus* by Fibonacci and from his own work on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco (John of Holywood). There has been doubt as to whether the *Commentary on the Sphere* can be an authentic work of Michael Scot, since the original was thought to have been written in 1256, by which time Scot, as we saw, was dead. But with the date of Sacrobosco's *Sphere* now given as 1233,[73] there is no

70 Haskins, 299ff.
71 Lynn Thorndyke, *op. cit.*, II 316ff. ; Haskins, 285ff.
72 Haskins, 272.
73 Mieli, *op. cit.*, 61.

reason to suppose that Michael Scot was not the author, particularly since we have already seen him as translator of other works on the same or a similar subject. The *Questions on the Sphere of Sacrobosco* as the *Commentary* is often called must be taken as corresponding to Michael Scot's direct interests. We may agree with Bernardino Baldi[74] that he there handled the arguments admirably and gave proof of real mathematical knowledge and understanding. This opinion of the sixteenth century Italian mathematician is echoed in the nineteenth century by the historian of mathematics Libri-Carducci, according to whom the author of the *Commentary* must have been far in advance of his time[75].

We have also to consider Michael Scot as alchemist. Alchemical works are attributed to him in the manuscripts, and it is at all events clear, as can be seen from a long passage in the *Liber Particularis*, that Scot was interested in alchemy[76] The question is, Did he write definite works on the subject? The most promising evidence, according to Haskins in 1927, was a few pages of manuscript in Corpus Christi Library, Oxford, which contain a short treatise *De Alchimia* attributed to Michael Scot. Later Haskins himself investigated this work[77]. There seemed to be invincible difficulties, connected with the proper names therein cited, against regarding it as other than apocryphal. In the first place, the *De Alchimia* is dedicated to 'Theophilus, king of the Saracens'. 'Theophilus' of course is Greek, and it seemed impossible to extract from it a reference to any Muslim ruler of the period. Nor can anything be made of other proper names, as they stand in the Oxford manuscript: 'Theodosius, the Saracen of Cunusani', 'Medibibaz, the Saracen of Africa', etc. A work in which such incomprehensible names are cited has all the appearance of being bogus. The situation in this respect was changed a little later, when Mrs Singer published from a manuscript of Caius College, Cambridge, another text of the *De Alchimia*[78] This

[74] *Vita e opere*, Pistoia, 1908; in *Emilia Collezione storico-letteraria*, ed. Guido Zaccagnini (Reggio, 1918), 346-349. I owe this information to Mr. Michael Scot, Tangier.

[75] Cf. Wood-Brown, 146.

[76] Haskins, 295.

[77] C. H. Haskins, 'The "Alchemy" ascribed to Michael Scot', *Isis*, X (1928), 350-359.

[78] D. W. Singer, 'Michael Scot and Alchemy', *Isis*, XIII (1929-30), 5-15,

MS. dates from the thirteenth century, and contains readings of the proper names which, if they still present difficulties, are at all events now recognisable as Arabic. For in the Cambridge manuscript 'Theophilus' appears, not as 'king of the Saracens' but as a *qa'id* (general) in Tunis[79], 'Medibibaz' assumes the form 'Modifar', evidently for 'Muzaffar', while instead of 'Theodosius, the Saracen of Cunusani' we now read 'Theodorus of Tunis'. Michael Scot appears to mention Tunis in the *Liber Introductorius*[80], and it is certain that friendly connections existed[81] between Frederick and the newly established Hafsids, who ruled the African city from A. D. 1228. The people mentioned in the *De Alchimia* cannot be identified in literary sources, but there is no reason to suppose that they are necessarily figments.

As to the contents of the work, the method of 'Modifar' (Muzaffar) for changing lead into gold may be found at length in Wood Brown's book. It appears to involve the use of sympathetic magic : red earth of various kinds, the blood of a ruddy man, and roots of coral are among the ingredients given[82]. In the text as it stands Michael Scot claims to have tested the formula many times. Certainly belief in transmutation does not in any way discredit the scientific standing of a man of this age, though there is no proof as yet that Scot was an adept. Among the Arabs alchemical works are attributed to Maslamah of Madrid, who was without any doubt an eminent astronomer and one of those responsible for the celebrated 'Toledan Tables'. The possibility of transmutation was not doubted by the philosopher al-Fārābī[83] (though denied by his predecessor al-Kindī[84], who himself made chemical experiments[85], and by Avicenna). On this Ibn Khaldūn remarks cynically that, generally speaking, those who have been interested in alchemy were poor men,

79 'Magistro Teophilo gayto Saracenorum tecum Tunisie!

80 'Tenisti' (Haskins, 290, n. 114)

81 Haskins, 247, 252.

82 Wood Brown, 93.

83 Al-Farabi's *Kitab fi wujub sina al al-kimiya* (*Book on the Necessity of the Art of Alchemy*) is in Leiden Arabic MS. No. 1270. It has been edited with a Turkish translation in *Belleten* XV (1951), 65-79.

84 Masudi, *Muruj adh-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, VIII 176.

85 Cf. *Kitab fi Kimiya al-'itr wat-tas'idat* (*Book on the Alchemy of Perfume and Distillations*) edited by Karl Garbers (*Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXX, 1948), especially 33, 66.

and that this explains the difference between al-Fārābī, the indigent scholar, who affirmed its possibility, and Avicenna, the rich vizier, who denied it.[86]

There remains another side of Michael Scot's activity which has not yet been mentioned here, viz. his work on medicine. This has been referred to by some of his biographers, notably Hector Boece[87] and Bishop Leslie[88], but has remained practically undocumented. The gap can to some extent be filled up from the *Breviarium Practicae*, a thirteenth century work on medicine, usually ascribed to Arnold of Villanova, which has been studied recently by Rene Verrier. In the *Breviarium Practicae*, while various medical men are quoted, e. g. Magister Petrus Hispanus, Magister Henricus Anglicus, Magister Hector Anglicus and a certain Hibernicus, reference is most frequent to John Casamide (?John of Gaddesden) and Magister Michael Scotus[89]. The notices of Michael Scot are of considerable interest.

According to Magister Michael Scotus, the cure of ringworm (*tinea*) is as follows. First, let the head be shaved and then washed in strong vinegar. Afterwards it should be wiped dry with a piece of linen cloth (*petia*) and anointed with honey. Then sprinkle it with powdered ashes of barley prepared in a new pot, and on the third day let the head be again washed with lye or with warm vinegar[90].—The present writer has no means of knowing if this treatment ascribed to Michael Scot is likely to be effective, but it is evidently less drastic than the use of sulphurous acid, or of corrosive sublimate, indicated for the same condition by much more modern authorities.

For weak and watery eyes, says the *Breviarium Practicae*, we may apply the following remedy, devised by Michael Scot for weakness and swelling (*pannus*) of the eye. Take a good theriac (sc. a compound remedy including opium) and mix with a small quantity of good white wine. Apply to the eyes several times a day for several

86 *Muqaddimah*, ed. Bulaq-Beirut, 527.

87 Cf. n. 26.

88 Cited Wood Brown 152.

89 R. Verrier, *Etudes sur Arnaud de Villeneuve* (Leiden, 1949), 18ff.

90 *Brev. Pract.*, I. c. 23.

days. This will have a marvellous effect.[91]

Film and cataract necessitate more serious measures. For persistent film the following treatment was devised by Magister Michael Scotus. Take equal parts of balsam, sea-foam, the dung of a green lizard, nitre and sugar, with three to ten parts of iris-root and celandine. Boil in 1 lb of water till three-quarters evaporate. Strain ......and dry in the shade. Triturate .. and apply the powder to the eyes. There is nothing like this remedy for removing persistent film and thick scale (*albugo*) from the eyes of men and all animals, horses or any other you please[92].

For rupture, which, according to the *Breviarium Practicae*, often occurs in young and robust men who leap too far, run too fast, carry too great weights, throw heavy stones or raise them high in manly fashion, or who shout too loud and high, relief may be found by the use of the powder of certain electuaries and by remaining in a recumbent position, as has been proved by John Casamide and Michael Scot.[93]

The same two authorities recommend another powder which is a wonderful cure for scrofula, as follows. Take aloes-wood, bored pearls, the hard tissue from the heart of a stag, spikenard, cloves, galingale, frankincense, coriander-seed, nux muscata, pepper and scammony, of each three parts to one of amber (2 grains), and three parts of the plant euphorbia. Triturate each separately and pass through a sieve Then take of the mixture what a nutshell will hold, with cold water, for fifteen or twenty nights. This will remove the complaint by purgative action [94]

As a final sample of Michael Scot's remedies, here is a powerful anaesthetic. To induce sleep strongly, take good Egyptian opium, rind of mandragora, with henbane-root in the proportion of three to one. Triturate, shake with cold water and allow to settle. Now if you wish to saw or cut the patient open without his feeling pain, place a piece of linen in the liquid and moisten his brow from one ear to the other, and at the same time the nostrils.

91 *Ibid.*, I, c. 28.
92 *Ibid.*, I, c. 30.
93 *Ibid.*, II, c. 44.
94 *Ibid.*, II, c. 5.

The patient will immediately sleep, and you will be able to do as you please. When you wish to revive him, dip a cloth in strong vinegar, place it upon his nostrils, and he will at once waken. This is of great value in cases of mania (*phrenesis*), when it is necessary that the patient should sleep.[95]

It will have been noticed that the remedy against scrofula is to some extent magical. The amber and pearls and perhaps other ingredients are to be used for the difficult cure evidently because of their high value. In general, Michael Scot's pharmacopoeia includes some startling ingredients. On the the other hand, there is no trace here of astrological medicine, which Scot himself refers to elsewhere.[96]. The basis of these remedies is no doubt the Arabist medicine then coming into fashion, for which texts like the *Kitab al-Mansuri* (*Liber ad Almansorem*, *Liber Almansoris*) of Rhazes and the yet more famous *Qanun fi't–Tibb* (Canon of Medicine) of Avicenna were already available in translations made by Gerard of Cremona. The impression which we get of Michael Scot's medicine, considering the general level of the times, is not unfavourable. It is not surprising to read that he effected cures in difficult cases of leprosy, gout and dropsy.[97]

Summing up, what seems most remarkable in Michael Scot is extent and variety of his scientific activity. No important scientific discovery is associated with his name, and probably his greatest single achievement was the opening up of the study of Aristotle in the West, so far as this was brought about by his translation of the commentaries of Averroes and other works. Even here he does not stand alone, for there were other translators from Arabic and Greek who contributed to the new knowledge of Aristotle. Nor was the introduction of Aristotle an unmixed blessing, for it seems to have led directly to the development of the scholastic philosophy, which engrossed the best minds too exclusively after the 13th century. Yet when we consider that Michael Scot's interests included notably astronomy and astrology, but also zoology, medicine, etc., as well as philosophy, and that his written works deal with practically all

95 *Ibid.*, IV, c. 10.

96 In the *Liber Introductorius*. See Lynn Thorndyke, *op. cit.*, II 323-324.

97 Cf. Wood Brown, 153.

the scientific preoccupations of the age and merely in point of bulk, as we now see, form an impressive record of effort and achievement, it is difficult, or rather impossible, to withhold our admiration. Evidently the mountains which this man moved and the superhuman tasks he performed existed only in the imagination of simple people. But these legends seem to reflect the passage across the stage of the 13th century of a remarkable personality, whose real labours command respect and were not without usefulness to future generations. Without any doubt, the basis of the activity of Michael Scot lay in Arabism, and to the Arabic texts in their original form or in translations his recourse is constant throughout the whole widely diversified range of his production. In the foregoing account we have not attempted to show his sources in detail. But it may safely be taken that the work of Michael Scot is typical of the Arabist movement in the Middle Ages, and that there are few, if any, other authors whose writings afford better means of judging the movement as a whole.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF KHIYAL IN PAK-INDIA

by

DR. A HALIM, UNIVERSITY OF DACCA

It will be my endeavour in the following pages to prove that Khiyāl singing in Pāk-India, as it is known today, emerged like other fine arts, through a process of slow evolution. Before I discuss the subject I would like to point out the differences between Dhrupad and Khiyāl, the two great rival schools of music in the sub-continent.

Both differ from each other in theme, method of composition, and above all, in the style of chanting Dhrupad, which appears to have been the earlier of the two systems, being an abbreviation of 'Dhruv-pad' (from Dhrūva, pole-star) stands for something conventional, static and rigid; Khiyāl, meaning a phantasy or imagination, or an idea, is something fleeting and dynamic, something not bound by strict convention. Dhrupad is devotional music in the sense that it makes an appeal to sublime thoughts, is sombre and avoids reference to vulgar and lewd things. Its aim is to arouse *bhakti* (devotion). It may consist of the praise of God or gods and deities or of kings or depiction of scenes from Hindu mythology. Khiyal's subject-matter is love, supposed to be mystical and allegorical in character. The comparatively modern Khiyāls are mainly centred on Lord Krishna's antics with the 'gopis' (cowherdesses) in Vrindāban, where he passed his boy-hood, his playing a naughty boy, the entreaties, protests and remonstrances of the 'gopis', who, after all, loved him from the recesses of their hearts, or their grief and lamentations when they discover that Krishna had left Vrindāban for Muttra.[1] This also was supposed to be allegoric in character being the theme of the Bhagats of the Krishna cult. Dhrupad consists of four traditional parts 'Sthāi', 'Antarā', 'Sanchāri' and 'Abhōg', each of which follows conventional laws of chanting. Khiyāl though following the fundamental laws of Indian music and techniques of its rāgas, consists of

[1] I do not deny that a good many Khiyals consist of devotional themes, those composed earlier, being in praise of God as Data, Kartar, Karim, Rahim, or Ram or 'Ali.

'Sthāi' and 'Antarā' alone, its whole beauty being imparted by a series of almost endless melodies, created by 'tāns' (cadenses), in which a combination of notes within the grammar of a rāga (air) is selected by the artists like flowers of different varieties selected one after another, by a skilful maker of garlands. Dhrupad is sung with the accompaniment of the Mridang (Pakhāwaj), an old Indo-Pak drumming instrument, Khiyāl of the Ṭabla, which appears to be a diminutive edition of Ṭabl (or Aṭabl), an Arab timing instrument, a picture of which is given by Prof Farmer in his *Arab Musical Instruments*.[2] Dhrupad starts with 'Alāp', that is scantion of notes within the grammar of a rāga, for the preparation of the background of the song proper, and then the recitation of the song follows in slow and halting style, as in devotion, each note composing the song is correctly chanted except where there is pre-arranged ascent or descent for displaying a curve, as in 'Mīnd' or 'Sūt'. Khiyāl, no doubt, starts with 'Alāp', like Dhrupad but is less regardful in laying stress upon every note of the song which is not possible when notes are played upon with speed. Khiyāl's aim is production of beauty by harping on imaginary combination of notes in myriads of new settings, each 'tān' presenting the picture of a new design, like arabesque in architecture. Since Khiyāl aims at production of beauty, it allows sparing use of discordant notes (Vivādī Srutis), which process is never allowed in Dhrupad. Dhrupad permits of no 'tān'. Its beauty consists in the chanting of notes with clarity and precision, and in accompaniment of exact time-beats, the only variation allowed being the multiplication of time-beats of double, triple, quadruple or even fractional units The last process is reminiscent of the attitude of a devotee with a rosary in hand, who, when he reaches an ecstatic condition in his devotion counts the beads with great rapidity, being completely oblivious of his surroundings. He then regains consciousness and counts the pieces with the speed with which he started at the beginning. So does a Dhrupad artist when singing, so that Dhrupad takes the form of an accurate mathematical music. It assumes an acrobatic character, when the musician and the timer each depends on his own calculations, in terms of double, triple, quadruple or even fractional measures.

2 London, p. 223.

Khiyāl is connected with the Perso-Arab music which the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid caliphate devoloped during the early Middle Ages. This Perso-Arab system of music must have come in contact with the Indian system after the conquest of Sind by the Arabs It may also be presumed that the Indian music like Indian astronomy or Mathematics was not unknown to the Arabs particularly after the establishment of the 'Bayt-al-Ḥikmah' (House of knowledge) by Hārūn. In fact, Mas'ūdi's[3] reference to the musical instruments of the Arabs, Persians, Nabaetians and of the people of Sind and Hind,[4] in his *Muruj-al-Dhahab*, indicates that the Arabs took cognizance of the Indian system as well. The similarity of the Perso-Arab music with that of the Indian one[5] is proof positive that the two systems might either have a common source or might have influenced each other at one stage, rather deeply

The common source theory cannot be neglected, because the Arabs starting with the Assyrian and Babylonian systems, borrowed instrumental music from the Persians, and the vocal one from the Greeks, and hence their music like that of the Indians, is based on melody. In both the sound scales are almost similar. Both admit of about half a dozen Parent modes or scales corresponding to the 'Ajnās' (Generes) of the Arabs and 'Janak Thāt' of the Indians, around which are clustered other modes or airs Both are based on the conception that music is in full consonance with nature, and as such, capable of evoking varied moods, such as anger, pleasure, laughter, passion etc. Both set apart certain airs for the different periods of the day and night. The Greeks might have influenced Indian music as they did their sculpture in the Gandhara region. Or else the Greek system came to the Indians through the Perso-Arab sources. This theory might explain the existence of flat notes (the Kōmaltar, softer and Kōmaltam, the softest notes), in Indian music which are not met with in the earlier treatises on Indo-Pak music.[6]

Yet the Indian and Muslim systems differ in other respects, as do their other branches of fine arts, architecture and calligraphy for

[3] 10th Century A.D.

[4] *Vide* Prof Farmer, *History of Arab Music*, p. 156.

[5] *Vide* Writers Chapter on 'The Evolution of North-indian Music, published in the Muslim Year Book, Bombay, 1948.

[6] C/f *Rages of Hindustan*, published by the Phil-harmonic Society, Poona 1918, p. 1.

instance. With the Indians art is tacked to religion; it is a handmaid of religion, and in its broader aspect, life in its entirety. To them art becomes less the pursuit of beauty, than an attempt to realise life in all its fulness and mystery, which is, which was and which is to come. The conscious aim of Indian art is the portrayal of the unfathomable divinity. On the other hand, the whole Arab history, language and social life, may be summed up in one word phantasy that is Khiyāl, imagination. Their literature, science and art, certainly reveal abundant evidence of this. Look at their architecture, it is mere decorative design and complicated pattern than stable architecture. Their pictorial representations all point to colour-array, and undefinable arabesque without organic arrangement. The same with their music. It is the gloss, the variants and ornaments that is the fundamental factor.[7] This aspect has been harped upon by Berchem in his article on Muslim architecture, in the *Encyclopaedia of Isam* when he says, 'Arab art is not nature, but the dream of nature.'

Indian art is spiritual in content, Muslim art is secular. The Muslim mosque is not a temple where God dwells, it is the assembly house for prayer. Applied to the domain of music, music as an art was cultivated by the Muslims for art's sake, as a means of joy and beauty, as an agency for the flight of the senses to diverse experiences, and hence it was remarkable for its fulness and glitter, decorousness and refinement

Thus it can be deduced from the foregoing analysis, that when the Muslims under the Ghaznawids settled in the Panjab, they were already acquainted with a musical system which was quite similar to that of the Indians But in practice the two systems applied different measuring rods for its appreciation as has been said before. It was probably on this score that it did not take the Muslim settlers in northern Pak-India a long time before they became masters of the Indian system of singing as is evidenced from the story of a duel between Nāyak Gopāl, a famous Deccani musician whose palanquin was borne by twelve hundred of his devoted disciples and Amīr Khusraw, the poet-laureate and musician-in-chief of Sultān 'Alā-al-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.), mentioned in almost all the manuscripts

7 Prof. Farmer, *Arab Muscial Instruments*, p. 193.

and printed literature on the history Pak-Indian music. Amīr Khusraw not daring to accept the challenge, hid himself behind the Sultan throne, for seven successive days, and emerged on the eighth day, to repeat the performances of Nāyak Gopāl in 'chhand,' 'man', 'git', 'sūt', with all the niceties and techniques of Nāyak Gopāl. He drew more applause, by singing Muslim modes, like 'qawl', 'qalbāna', 'tarāna', 'naqsh,' nigār,' 'gul', 'hawā', and 'basīt', most of which had been from his own composition.[8] The time of Sultān 'Alā-al-Dīn Khalji may rightly be regarded as the period of assimilation of Hindu music by the Muslims, and even imparting to it a certain individuality of its own[9] Amīr Khusraw himself introduced into Indian music nearly a dozen Perso-Arab airs, like 'aiman' (probably a corruption of Yemen), 'ghāra', 'sanam', 'ghanam', 'sāzgarī', 'firūdast', 'zilaf', 'z'ush-shāq', 'muwāfiq', 'sarparda' etc[9a]. Many songs in these rags in Khiyal sung by him are still extant. The Hindus for the first time conceded to the Muslim Khusraw the coveted title of 'Nāyak', that is one proficient in the theory and practice of music past and present, a title which was denied to the great Tānsen who was only a Gandharb (that is, one proficient in the practice of music) It connot be denied that music, in its early stages (after the advent of the Muslims) was nursed in the *khanqahs* of the sūfīs particularly of the Chishtiya Order And even Hadrat Bahā-al-dīn Zakariah Qureshi Multāni is credited on authentic sources to have invented a few airs of composite character

Yet unalloyed Perso-Arab music existed side by side with the Indian methods as testified by Barani in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* in connexion with his accounts of the gaieties and rivalries of Sultān Mu'izz-al-Dīn Kaiqubād.

Then we come to a stage when a renaissance was produced in the Indian system as a result of impact of the Perso-Arab school of music.

[8] Cf Mirza Faqirullah's *Rag-darpan*, Muslim University 'Aligarh manuscript.

[9]Connoisseurs of music would no doubt support me if I say that a musician like a speaker, unconsciously betrays while singing, the locality he hails from, or the school he belongs to.. A musician friend told me that he could distinguish a Muslim from a non-Muslim musician of India if he hears him on gramophone records or through radio-programmes To me it appears to be possible and not a vain boast.

[9a] For Khiyal songs in these ragas, including 'qawl, and 'qalbana, see Agha Shamsuddin's (Bare Agha's), chapter in the book entitled '*Hayat-i-Amir Khusraw*, by Naqi Muhammad Khan Khurjavi, Karachi, 1956, p. 182 ff.

This was most prominently noticeable in the fifteenth century A.D. The main agents of this re-orientation were, Sultān Ḥusayn Shāh Sharqī (1457-1483 A.D), the last independent ruler of Jawnpūr. He was a contemporary of Sultan Buhlul Lōdī. The other stalwart was Rāja Mānsing Tonwar (1486-1516), himself. Many historians are almost unanimous on the issue that Sultān Ḥusayn Shāh introduced the Khiyāl school of music, though others reserve this honour for Amir Khusraw. Ḥusayn Shāh was a master musician and inventor of the Ḥusainī Tōdī or Jawnpūrī Tōdī, an Asāwarī known as Jawnpūrī, Ḥusainī Kānrā and twelve varieties of Shyām Khıyāl, then was certainly, the Muslim method of singing in decorous style but had incorporated rules of Indian music and was less Persianised than it had been in the time of Amīr Khusraw, about a century and a half earlier. Mīrzā Faqīrullāh, the author of the *Rag-Darpan*[10], testifies to the fact that Rājā Mānsing effected a thorough standardization of Indian music, through a band of musicians of whom the chief was Nāyak Mahmūd, his principal court musician. Many rāgas, introduced by the Muslims were accepted and incorporated in the rigid Indian system. This reform gave to the north-Indian music a form which was the synthesis of three systems, north-Indian, Karnatic and Muslim and contributed at the same time, to its universalization, so that in no time, it became assiduously cultivated by princes and nobles, soldiers and statesmen [11] Even Sultān Sikandar Lōdi, who was otherwise very orthodox, would not go to sleep unless he had listened to the music of skilled players carefully trained by him.[12] Just before the advent of the Mughuls the courts of Āgra, Jawnpūr, Māndū, Bandhogarh (Rewā), vied with one another in attracting towards them the best of the musicians. From this time onwards Dhrupad held full sway in the musical domain of Pāk-Bhārat till about the first quarter of the seventeenth century, to such an extent that it will not be an exaggeration to characterise it as the Age of Dhrupad. And the sober and moral atmosphere prevailing in Akbar's court and the *bhakti* cult influencing the moral and social life of the people, to a large extent, contributed to its acceptability.

10 M. U. Aligarh manuscript.

11 *Vide* Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad's *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, p. 32.

12 Cf Abdullah's *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Bankipore Ms; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi* A. S. B. Cal. Text, p. 48.

The climax of its influence is certainly the reign of emperor Akbar though it cannot be denied that the ground had been prepared by the later Sūri rulers of Agra and Gwalior, in whose court flourished Mahāpātr Narohari, Nāyak Dhondē and Bābā Rāmdās. According to Badāyūnī (later repeated by Shāh Nawāz Khān in his *Mirat-i Aftab-Numa,*) both Ibrahīm Khān Sūr and 'Adıl Khān Sūr, were expert musicians. As a reviver of many indigeneous things, Akbar patronized Pak-Indian music on a lavish scale. Abul Faḍl gives a long list of about thirty-six musicians and instrument players in his court of whom the major part came from Gwalior His reign marks a further stage in the absorption of the Irānian and Turānian with the Indian system. Miān Tānsēn who headed the list, was a matchless singer and inventor of new rāgas,[13] and a prolific composer at the same time. Nearly a hundred of his Dhrupads, bearing his nom de plume, have been quoted by Pandit Krishnānanda Veyāsadēva in his *Sangita-Raga-Kalpadruma*, (Part III).[14] Other celebrities were, Bābā Rāmdās (inventor of Rāmdāsī Malhār) ranking second in order of precedence, and excellence, and Bāz Bahādur the ex-king of Mālwa, and inventor of the Bāzkhānī style of singing.[15] Gwalior was represented by Subhān Khān, Shrigyān Khān, Bichitr Khān, brother of Subhān Khān; Miān Lāl, Tāntarang Khān, son of Miān Tānsēn; Miān Chand, Chānd Khān, Nāyak Charjū and his son Pūrbīn Khan (a vina player), Bīrmandal Khān, a player of Sūrmandal; Shihāb Khān Binkār (vina player) and Sarod Khān, a singer. The distinguished musicians outside the Gwalior school were, Rangsēn of Āgrā, and Sūrdās, son of Bābā Rāmdās, the former being the inventor of Sūrdāsī Malhār The foreigners monopolised the instrumental side of music. They were Ustā Dost of Mashhad, a famous 'nai' (flute) player; Shaikh Dawān of Khurāsān, and Mīr 'Abdullah, both being players of Qānūn (the dulcimer, a stringed musical instrument); and Mīr Sayyid 'Alī of Mashhad, and Bairām Qūli of Herāt, both Ghichak (a stringed musical instrument) players;

[13] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, vol. I, 681.

[13a] For instance, Mianki Malhar, Mianki Todi, Mianki-Sarang, in addition to a Kanra which he renamed Darbari, (Darbi Kanra) due to Akbar's excessive fondness for it.

[14] Edited in Bengali and Hindi, by Nagendra Nath Vasu, Calcutta, 1916.

[15] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann I, p. 681

and Tāsh Bēg of Qipchāk, a player of Qabūs.[16] Ustā Yūsuf of Herāt, Sultān Hāshim of Mashhad, Ustā Muḥammad Ḥusayn, and Ustā Muḥammad Amīn were all Tambourinists,[17] and Usta Shāh Muḥammad was a player of Surnā[18]. It has been proved that the vocal music of Akbar's court was indigenous by which I mean that which had envolved in Pak-India, while the instrumental music was mostly foreign, and hence more Perso-Arab than the indigenous one.

During the regin of Jahāngīr, Miān Lāl Khān, Miān Tānsen (who died in the thirteenth regnal year), Hāfiz Nād 'Alī, Bilās Khān, son of Miān Tansen, Mirza Zulqarnain Farangī,[19] the last one a disciple of 'Aqil Khan, and described by Jahāngir in his memoirs as being 'preeminent in music' were all Dhrupadists, the reign being for purposes of artistic and literary development, a continuation of that of Akbar.

During the reign of Shāhjahān, praised by a cretain composer of a Hindi song as the bestower of 'Arab' and 'Kharb' (billions and hundreds of billions) and the remover of the poverty of the destitute (*Sangita-Raga-Kal padruma*, III,) music like architecture and painting, attained a polish and grace unprecedented in the past. Reading between the lines of Mīrzā Faqirullah's *Rag-Darpcn.*, we discover a tendency towards ornamentation and beautification. We have it on the same authority, that there were about thirty musicians and instrument players, in the service of the court, all of whom were conversant with the techniques introduced by Mānsingh Tonwār of Gwalior through his '*ManKautuhal*', a book compiled by band of musicians of which the Muslim Nāyak Maḥmūd, his court musician was one Further, during this reign, the contact between the indigenous and foreign schools which had become intense and intimate during the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr, resulted in synthetic blending, and co-mingling till the Indian and foreign school lost their identity, and both colesced to assume a standardised Pak-Indian

16 A stringed instrument.

17 Tambur, a kind of violin, perhaps the parent of our Pak-Indian Sarangi.

18 Surnai, perhaps the same as Shahnai.

18a *Vide* writer's article in the *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society* Karachi, Vol I, Pt I, p 73ff

19. *Vide* writer's article on Music and Musicians of the Court of Shahjahan, *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, Deccan, Nov. 1945.

form. Whereas, during Akbar's reign more than a dozen of the musicians and instrumentalists, hailed from Irān and Turān (Trans-Oxiana), in Shāhjahān's reign, the source of supply of foreign music, being cut off by the loss of Qandahār, Balkh and Badakhshān, only two foreigners are noticed representing the non-indigenous school. The majority of the musicians were Dhrupadists or qawl singers [20] Faqīrullah mentions in his *Rag-Darpan* that there were two Khiyāl singers as well in Shāhjahān's court, viz Rājā Idsing Gor and Rājā Rāmshāh of Khargpūr. This is undoubtedly a great stage in the revival and popularity of this form of music, and it is all the more interesting that its exponents were non-Muslims. Shaykh Bahāuddīn of Barnāwa, a green clad mendicant, Sher Muḥammad, Miān Dālū, Miān Lāl Khān Gunsamundar (Ocean of virtues), the latter a disciple and son-in-law of Bilās Khān (son of Miān Tānsen), and his son Khush-hāl Khān, were the principal musicians of the Dhrupad school Others of the first rank were Jagannāth Mahākavirāi, a Deccani musician and foremost composer of his time; Gunsēn who bore the title of *Naik-i Afdal*, and Rang Khān, who ranked next to Lāl Khān Gunsamundar. Others were Muḥibb Khān, Gujarātī, and his disciple Basanthi Kalāwant, Bāzīd Khān, Hamīrsēn and his son Subal-sēn, Misri Khān and Gūn Khān, the last two accompanying Prince Shujā' to Bengal Muḥammad Bāqī, the Mughul, and Mīr 'Imād of Herāt were the two lone exponents of pure Vilāyati (foreign) school. It is very significant to remember that Rājā Idsing Gōr and Rājā Rāmshāh of Kharagpūr are described by Mirza Faqirullah as being 'well-versed in the style of Amīr Khusraw and Ḥusayn Shāh Sharqī !' We may presume that this revival of Khiyāl meant the going back to the ornamental and decorous style of singing, which kept pace with the growing refinement in taste coming during Shahjahān's time in the realm of fine arts in general.

'Alamgir. having come under the influence of Shāfi'i tenets, is said to have banned music at his court, but I am in extreme doubt if it had any effect in northern Hind-Pakistān, because the emperor

20. Qawl (from which comes the word Qawwali), in the form of its development in Pak-India, is a mixture of Arabic and Persian expressions, some times incorporating *bols* (sounds of musical instruments as in *Tarana*). *Vide* also *Hayat-i Amir Khusraw*, by Naqi Muhammad Khan Khurjavi, Karachi, 1956.

spent the last twenty-five years of his reign in the Deccan. The musicians maintained themselves in the court of the princes and house-hold of the nobles all right. To support my contention, I may refer to a song in the third volume of the *Sangita Raga-Kalpadruma*,[21] composed by one Vīr Jīvdās (Vīr, in my opinion being the poetic name), who describes himself as the *wazir* of emperor 'Alamgīr. It appears from the context that the song in question was sent to the emperor in the Deccan. The translation of the opening lines would stand thus.

'It is not easy to bear the separation of the dear ones;

I am, believe me oh brother, like a fish out of water without seeing you.'

This song was composed under rāga *Bahravi.*

We have also many evidences to show that it was during the reign of this so-called puritan emperor, that a number of scientific treatises on music were written. *Naghmat-ul-Israr* of Mīr Aḥmad, son of Mirza Muḥammad, completed in the 13th year of 'Alamgir's reign is to be found in the Subhānullah collection of the Alīgarḥ Muslim University Library. Mawlāna Abul Kalām Azād informs us through his illuminating discourse on music in his *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, that the *Miratul Khiyal* of Sher Muḥammad Kḫān, was completed during this reign and is to be found in the Asiatic Society of Bengal Library at Calcutta. Considering that there existed exponents of Kḫiāyl in the reign of Shāhjahān, it may be presumed that their number had increased during the reign of his son.

Kḫiyāl, as it is known and sung today, took its shape during the days of the later Mugḫuls. This was possible when a change took place, in the occupation of the aristocracy, profoundly affecting their pastimes and tastes. When conquests ceased, and portions of their territory were being seized and alienated, the nobles became averse to out-door life, and inertia bred luxury. The diverted energy found expression in the cultivation of this highly ornate art. But soon after, the devotional aspect formerly needful for its cultivation and eventual popularization, was lost sight of due to its patronage, by puppet kings and their do-nothing nobles. The compositions of

21 *Sangita-Raga-Kalpa-druma*, Vol III, P 58.

new Khiyāls in Braj Hindi, based upon the stories of Krishna took shape. This amounted to the retention, apparently, of the devotional aspect in Indian art, because such songs and hymns formed, till a century past, the devotional prayers of the Bhagats of the Krishna cult.

Khiyāl composition, of the new type (referred to earlier) started during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, who on account of his habit of keeping awake the whole night, obviously regaling in music, and sleeping till mid-day, was named *Shah-i bi Khabr* (the listless king). Ni'amat Khān, son of Narmul Khān, who assumed the pen-name of Sadārang, composed under royal patronuge, Khiyāls, Dhrupads and Horis (a special type of songs sung in the spring festival of Holi that is sprinkling of coloured water), with the assistance of Niāzī Qawwāl, and Lālā Bangālī before he entered the service of Muḥammad Shāh (1718-48) During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh as well, he composed a large number of such songs and set them to tune It must be remembered that Muḥammad Shāh himself was an expert musician and his poetic name in his songs was 'Sadārangila,' (the ever-gay) There were two other musicians who could be ranked as master-khiyālist, namely Shaykh Mu'in-ud-dīn, grand-son of Sher Muhammad Khān, the latter a musician of Shāhjahān's court, and Fīrūz Khān, son-in-law and disciple of Ni'mat Khān, described as a peerless producer of beauty, by the author of the *Mirat-i Aftab-Numa* The reign of Muḥmmad Shāh registers the full bloom of Khiyāl which becomes the more acceptable and popular form of scientific music, for the very obvious reason, that neither the heroic, nor purely devotional themes appealed to the aristocracy, the patrons of the musicians. It had the additional merit of being imbedded in local mythology, and completely in keeping with the tradition of the Mughul court and practices of the Mughul grandees who to please their subjects and retain their loyalty observed the Muslim as also the Hindu festivals with equal zest and ardour. Dilation of the themes of Lord Krishna's sport with the 'gopīs' was not a new feature for the composers of the time; they came as a sort of legacy from the hymns composed by the Bhagats of the Krishna cult, like Vidyāpati Thākur, the great Sūrdās and all the rest. But formerly

the pieces were sung to rouse *bhakti* (devotion) or love towards God in mystical or allegorical strain. But in the changed circumstances, these were used as mere agencies for rousing mirth and joyous feelings Even Hindi poetry undervent this very process of change. However, the Indo-Muslim character in the Khiyāl of the later days can be very clearly distinguished by a layman as well, in this sense that the entire background of Khiyāl, from its composition side is Indian.

The new type of Khiyāls are based on Hindu mythology, the vehicle of its expression is neither Persian nor Rekhta; it is pure Hindi as spoken in Braj-bhum. The style of singing is more Islamic than Indian; in fact, it has been shown that this method was foreign to India. This is like constructing by the Muslims their mosques and palaces with the material found in the locality, employing local workmen The stamp of Muḥammad Shāh on Khiyāl music is so distinct and undeniable, that even today, about sixty percent of the standard Khiyāls, bear the names of Muhammad Shāh and Sadārang

To sum up my arguments, I may say that when the Muslims came into the Pak-Indian subcontinent as conquerors and settlers, they came with art forms which tended towards glosses, ornaments and variants. At first the flexible Muslim conception toward music stood side by side with the rigid Indian system which refused to take cognizance of the changes effected by the Muslims in the Indian system, as the result of their contact. The Muslims being in minority, first cultivated the Indian music as they cultivated their literature and dialects. To music they added certain grace and embellishments. added new airs to the Indian list, and introduced new techniques, as has been explained earlier. In their hands music of Pak-India took a different shape, and they introduced new fashions as they did to their languages and building art. The new style which had advocates in every age did not assert itself till it had broken the spell of Dhrupad school with its appeal to the devotional aspect and rejection of all compromises. The reign of Akbar gave it a longer span of life, because in the age of conquest, things appealing to the lighter senses could not gain much ground. When fresh conquests had ceased and the Mughul empire reached its climax of expansion and prosperity,

Khiyāl revived in the reign of Shāhjahān, till it became a full product of cultural synthesis during the subsequent period.

My thesis will have proved that Khiyāl or ornate music is not really the invention of a master musician. It is the true product of Muslim culture so far as its origin is concerned. It is for this very reason that whoever revived this art-form has been designated as its inventor. And it is on this very account that many writers on music and practical musicians say that Amīr Khusraw of Delhi was its inventor, and others concede this place to Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī.

SHAH JAHAN'S NORTH-WESTERN POLICY (I)

by

A. A. ANSARI, UNIVERSITY OF KARACHI

The reign of Shāh Jahān witnessed the fruition of the long cherished desire of his ancestors to reconquer the Timurid possessions of Central Asia. Shāh Jahān achieved this ambition with his indomitable courage and force of arms, but he could not unfortunately retain his hold on the territory he won beyond the Hindu Kush. The policy started by Akbar was carried to a successful conclusion by Shāh Jahān There were several causes of the Mughal failure to retain their conquests in Central Asia.

The vast expenditure incurred on this expendition, the heavy loss of life due to the severe climate of the Central Asian platueau and the final retreat of the Mughul army inflicted such a deadly blow on the prestige of the Empire that its decline may be said to date from the abandonment of Qandahar in 1648. The later events such as the permanent loss of Qandahar and the deterioration of the Mughul position in the Kabul area were the direct out-come of this defeat. Alamgir completely abandoned all expensionist ambitions in the north-west and turned his attention to the Deccan.

Shāh Jahān was an able and courageous leader, a shrewd diplomat and a very good administrator These qualities had been demonstrated in the Deccan compaigns during the reign of his father.

On ascending the throne he made an all round improvement in the affairs of the governament. His reign was marked by peace and tranquillity; his treasury was full and the people were generally prosperous. Moreland rightly ascribed the prosperity under Shāh Jahān to his careful administration, which raised the income of the state beyond all precedents [1] Shāh Jahān had a large army and able generals in the persons of Sa'adullāh Khān, 'Alī Mardān Khān, Mahābat Khān and Prince Aurangzib.

With all these advantages at his disposal Shāh Jahān was more than justified in his desire for the conquest of the territories beyond

[1] *From Akbar to Aurangzeb.* p. 126.

the Hindu Kush. Shāh Jahān had an orderly mind; he belived in doing one thing at a time, and in leaving no work half-done. Before starting on an expedition he used to plan down the expedition to the last detail

From 1628, when Shāh Jahān ascended the throne till 1638 he was busy considering the details of a major attack on Balkh and Badakhshān. As the writer of *Badshah-Namah* 'Abd-āl-Ḥamīd Lāhūrī, puts it, "Ever since the beginning of his reign the Emperor's heart had been set upon the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, which were hereditary territories of his house, and were the keys to the acquisition of Samarqand, the home and capital of his great ancestor, Tīmūr *Sahib-Qiran*".[1] The situation in the Kābul and Qandahār area was not favourable for Shāh Jahān. As a prince he had noticed the diplomacy of Shāh 'Abbās, who had taken Qandahār after inciting the Deccan states against the Mughuls. Moreover, Shāh 'Abbās had refused to help him in his revolt against his father. Yet again the Persians formed a league with the Uzbegs against the Mughuls All these events had enabled Shāh Jahān to see a clear picture of the situation before determining his future course of action. First of all he wanted to establish the Mughul superiority in the Deccan, as the Deccan states were a perpetual source of friction and a drain on the resources of the Empire. Secondly two major rebellions, that of Jujhar Singh Bundela and Khān Jahān Lodhī diverted his attention from his main aim. Thirdly, the uprising of the Roshnī, Afghans, demanded his attention. It was therefore not before ten years after his accession to the throne that Shāh Jahān could take any action in the north-west. Slowly, but steadily he worked up his plan of invasion and strengthened his position at home considerably.[2]

During the first two years of his reign Shāh Jahān faced the two great rebellions of Jujher Singh Bundela and of Khān Janān Lodhī. Jujhar Singh was the son of Bir Singh Bundela, who, in 1628, left the capital of Agra and proceeded to Orcha, his stronghold, where "he set about raising forces, strengthening the forts, providing munitions of war and closing the road."

[1] *Badshah-Namah* (Text) vol. 2 p 482.

[2] 'Abd-al-Hamid Lahuri in *Badshah-Namah*, vol. I, pp 232-482. '*Amal-i-Salih*, vol, II, pp. 325-329.

Shāh Jahān sent an army under Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānān.[1] The imperial forces attacked Orcha from three sides. Jujhar Singh, having no hope of escape waited upon Khān-Khānān and made his submission. The Emperor pardoned his misdeeds.

However he soon resumed his lawless activities and put Bhim Narain (*zamindar* of Garha) and a member of his followers to death and took possession of his fort, with all the money and valuables it contained.

Bhim Narain's son complained to the Emperor about this oppression. A *farman* was then sent to Jujhar Singh, charging him with all these misdeeds and directing him to surrender the territory to the officers of the crown, or else to give up his *jagirs*. Jujhar resolved to resist. Prince Awrangzīb and other commanders were sent to suppress the rebellion. The rebellion was crushed and by 1639 the last of the Bundelas was wiped out by the Mughul armies.[2] Thus a great obstacle was removed from the path of peace and tranquillity.

In the second year after Shāh Jahān's accession, Khān Jahān Lodhī, son of Daulat Khān Lodhī, rebelled against the Emperor. He was for some time nourishing the desire to become independent. The state of uncertainty before Shāh Jahān's accession, was considered by him to be a great opportunity; he thought he could asserting himself in the south, where he held the office of governor-commander. Like his predecessor, Khān Khānān, he did not hesitate to accept bribes from the Deccan chiefs. When the war of succession was in progress, Khān Jahān Lodhī surrendered the Bālāghāt territory to Nizām Shāh for a petty sum.[3] After his accession Shāh Jahān sent for him and made it known to him that he would pardon him, but Khān Jahān had his own hidden fears as Mahābat Khān was given promotion over his head and his claims were ignored. He also feared that the Emperor would force him to answer for his embezzlement of the Deccan. He soon began to doubt his personal safety and under these circumstances he sought the alliance of Nizām-ul-Mulk and fled towards the Deccan. He was hotly pursued

1 *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol. II, p. 271.
2 *Badshah-Namah*, vol. I, pp. 232-248. See also *'Amal-i-Shalih*,
3 *'Amal-i-Salih* vol. I, p. 345
Badshah-Namah, vol. I, p. 271-273.

by the royal army. It inflicted several crushing defeats upon him and almost broke his strength.

Finally Khān Jahān was deeply affected by the loss of his sons and followers. "They were either killed or taken prisoners by the Imperial forces. All hope of escape was cut off and he told his followers that he was weary of life, that he had reached the end of his career, and that there was no longer any means of deliverance for him; he desired, therefore, that every man should make off as best he could. A few determined to stand by him, but many fled. In the midst of the struggle Madhu Singh pierced him with a spear, and before Muzzarfer Khan could come up, the brave fellows cut Khān Jahān and his dear son Aziz to pieces . the heads were sent to Imperial Court".[1]

Khān Jahān's rebellion was crushed in 1629, but the after effects of this incident involved Shāh Jahān with the Deccan states and also served as an incentive for the frontier Afghans to start fresh trouble

Deccan Preoccupations

Shāh Jahān decided to follow a firm policy in the Deccan. Ahmadnagar was the first state to bear the weight of Mughul pressure in the south The internal weakness of Ahmadnagar had made it difficult for that state to stand before the Mughuls. Although it had acquired the help of Bījāpūr and other Deccan states, the death of Shāh 'Abbās of Persia stood in the way of close relations between that country and the Deccan states. There is no doubt that the encouragement they had received from Shāh 'Abbās and his promises to help were a great unifying factor among these states. Now the absence of that cementing force created a great rift among these confederates. The lack of honest, faithful and able ministers also made their position weak against the Mughuls. These factors rendered the task of the Mughuls easy. 'Ā'ẓam Khān captured Dharūr and Khandāwar. He threatened the extinction of the Niẓām-Shāhī dynasty but for the help of Bijapur, which saved the day by foiling Ā'ẓam Khān's designs. It was Fatḥ Khān's treachery against his master, Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh II which gave the Mughuls a chance to occupy the whole of Ahmadnagar. Fatḥ Khān

[1] E. & D. vol. VII. Trans. *Badshah-Namah* p. 7-22. *Badshah-Namah* (text) II, Pp. 271, 351

secretly joined the Mughuls, sent all the Niẓām-Shāhī treasures to the Mughul court and had the *khutbah* read and coins struck in Shāh Jahān's name. Shāh Jahān could therefore leave Bhurhanpur, on March 6, 1632, and returned to the capital.

Soon trouble again broke out in the Deccan when the Bījāpūrīs in league with Shāhū stormed the Dawlatābād fort where Fatḥ Khān was besieged Fatḥ Khān sought help from the Mughuls and asked Mahābat Khān to come quickly to his aid, promised to hand over the fort to him, saying he himself would proceed to the royal court.

On 17 June, 1633, the fort of Dawlatābād was delivered to the Mughuls and thus the Nizām-Shāhī dynasty was virtually extinguished [1] The Niẓām-shāhī officers, however, offered their services to the king of Bījāpūr, promising to take Dawlātābād from the Mughuls, a task in which they failed hopelessly On the other hand Mahābat Khān proposed to Prince Shujā' that the Mughul forces should take Parenda and should establish a base there for the reduction of Bijāpūr. However the Deccan states were suffering greatly from a severe famine which was raging at the time. Both parties realised the importance of peace, and Bījāpūr in particular was eager to submit. Peace was concluded in May, 1636 and continued till the death of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr in November, 1656 [2]

Shāh Jahān also won a victory over Golconda with the result that his name was included in the *khutbah* against that of the Shāh of Persia.[3] Thus the submission of the Deccan states was complete in 1636.

Situation beyond India, 1636.

By 1636 Shāh Jahān was free from his major preoccupations in internal affairs and he now turned his attention to his long cherished ambition of the conquest in the north-west, but there was a great obstacle in his path. The fort of Qandahar was still in the possession of the Persians. Shāh Jahān's desire to recapture it was foremost in his mind. He felt personally responsible for the loss

1 *Badshah-Namah*, vol. 1. p. 496.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol. II, p. 149.

of Qandahār.[1] That was the reason why he continuously strove to recapture this fort.

A number of embassies were exchanged with Persia These were to gain information about conditions prevailing in that country and to discover the designs of the Shāh regarding the defences of the fort.[2] The death of Shāh 'Abbās provided Shāh Jahān with a suitable opportunity

The successor to Shāh 'Abbās was an inexperienced man and also lacked in the qualities of his grandfather He neither maintained his relations with the Deccan states nor kept the alliance with the Uzbegs alive. He was unaware of his neighbour's intentions.

Shāh Jahān profited by the unrest that followed the death of Shāh 'Abbās and by the youth and inexperience of the new Shah, to advance his designs against Persia. Shāh Jahān tried to dazzle the young Shah by lavish presents and the accounts sent to him of the brilliance of mughul victories in the Deccan and the suppression of the Portugese at Hugli [3] The letters containing descriptions of his victories and the costly presents which accompanied each embassy produced the desired effect Besides these overtures to the Shah, the Mughul diplomats were busy in negotiations with the Persian governor of Qandahār, 'Alī Mardān Khān.[4]

The position of the Persian monarch was very precarious. All his neighbours leagued agaist him. They had suffered at the hands of Shāh 'Abbās Now it was their turn to take vengeance. The Turkish monarch, Murad IV had aggressive designs on Iraq, in the north the Uzbegs began to think of Khurāsān In spite of all this they dared not attack Persia for her prestige was still high.

Shāh Jahān wanted to secure the support of these powers against Persia, but he failed because he could not abandon his idea of the conquest of his ancestral possessions in Central Asia. This ambition proved to be a serious abstacle. Moreover he was indiscreet in

1 As he had himself declined to obey his father's orders to take the fort of Qandahar from the Persians. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

2 *Ibid* vol. I, p. 550.

3 *Bashah-Namah*, vol. I, part I, p. 282, and Part II, p. 257 (Persian text).

4 See *Ma'athir-al-Umra*, p. 186 (Trans).

treating the ambassador of Turkey in a way, which was taken by the Sultan as an insult. In this way Shāh Jahān lost an invaluable ally.

Qandhar.

At the outset the policy adopted by Shāh Jahān seemed to be very wise. His aim was to capture Qandahār by diplomatic efforts and to reserve his energies to carry out his plan against Transoxiana at a later stage. During his father's lifetime a promise was made by the ruler of Tūrān to help the Mughul Emperor in his effort to capture Qandahār. The promise still stood. Shāh Jahān was given the assurance in a letter from Imām Qulī Khān, the ruler of Tūrān.[1] Accepting this offer, Shāh Jahān still continued his friendship with the Persians and definitely intended to continue it as he needed it at the time of his prospective attack on Transoxiana. He hoped to gain possession of Qandahār through diplomatic overtures This calculation however proved to be fatal

The method which Shah Jahan had adopted for the recovery of Qandahār was the same which Shāh 'Abbās had employed against Jahāngīr. Shāh Jahān proposals with a request for the return of Qandahar to Persia. At this time the Shāh was surrounded by his enemies and Shāh Jahān wanted to take full advantage of this situation, but the Shāh was reluctant to comply with the Fmperor's request Shāh Jahān therefore tried another channel and opened negotiations with 'Ali Mardān Khān, the Persian governor of Qandahar.[2]

The new channel for Mughul deplomacy was provided by a rivalry at the Persian court between the prime minister, and 'Ali Mardān Khāh. The former brought to the Shah's notice the arrears due from 'Alī Mardān Khān, as he had failed to send the accumulated revenues for several years. There was no doubt that 'Alī Mardān Khān was guilty of this, and he knew only too well the fate which would overtake him if he proceeded to the court. 'Alī Mardān Khān offered excuses for his inability to attend personally, but at the same time he sent his son, Muhammad 'Alī with a promise to pay 12,000 *tumans* yearly if left undisturbed in the government of Qandahār. The

1 *Badshah-Namah*, vol. I, pp 431, 470.

2 *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol. II, pp. 271-3.

Shāh rejected the petition and sent another officer to take charge of the fort from 'Alī Mardān.[1]

Thus an awkward situation was created for 'Alī Mardān Khān. He was fortunate that Shāh Jahān had been trying to win him over for some time past by offering him rich rewards. 'Alī Mardān Khān jumped at this proposal and immediately sent a messanger to Sa'īd Khān, the governor of Kābul, asking him for immediate help. He also despached a petition to Shāh Jahān promising to surrender the fort if sufficient troops were sent to take it. As the newly appointed Persian governor arrived near Qandahār, 'Alī Mardān's position became more precarious and he began to send repeated appeals to the Mughuls to come to his succour immediately He especially appealed to Qilīj Khān and Sa'īd Khān, the governors of Kābul and Multān.[2]

Sa'īd Khān ordered 'Iwad Khān to proceed to Qandahār He reached there in February, 1638 and 'Alī Mardān Khān opened the the gates of the fort.[3] Sa'īd Khān himself followed 'Iwad soon 'Alī Mardān sent a formal letter of submission with newly coined *muhars* to the Emperor.[4] Thus the fort of Qandahār was surrendered to the Mughuls. Shāh Jahān showd his appreciation by granting large sums to the officers of 'Alī Mardān as well the people of Qandahar.[5] 'Alī Mardān Khān was handsomely rewarded and later in the year was made governor of Kashmīr and the Punjab and granted the grand titile of *Amīr al-Umara*.[6]

The surrender of Qandahār necessitated immediate arrangements for its security from futrher attacks Moreover the Persian governor-designate, had been threatening the fort, as he was still camping in the vicinity of Qandahār.[7] Shāh Jahān did not want to enter into a fierce encounter with the Persians at this juncture. He simply

[1] *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, p 186 (Trans) See also for details *Khald-i-Barni* p 114-116 b and *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol 2, p 272.

[2] *Badshah-Namah* vol. 2, p. 24. See also *'Amal*

[3] *Ibid* pp. 24-26.

[4] *Badshah-Namah*, vol. II, pp. 35-40 *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol 2, p. 273. Nine coins were sent through Mashoob Beg to the emperor.

[5] *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol. II, p. 274. 500,000 rupees were sent for distribution

[6] *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol. II, p. 295 See also Lahori, vol. II, p. 125.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 276.

wanted to dispose of the Persian army present in the vicinity. For this reason a special *farman* was dropped into the hands of the men of the Persian governor in which Shāh Jahān ordered Sa'īd Khān, the governor of Kābul that "if Siyawash attacks Qandahar with his short-sightedness, you should move with the victorious army, leaving Quli-Khan in Qandahar, direct to the Furat (Euphrates) without fearing the difficulties of the way or anything, depending on whatever treasury, provisions and forces you have at present. For that reason we are sending 20,000 cavalry and a sum of 20 lacs of rupees with the Prince to you with the orders that if the ruler of Persia turns his attention towards Qandahar, the honoured son should divide the whole army into five sections and march against him at the head of the army"[1] The letter, falling into the hands of the Persians was duly sent to Persia and brought the desired resutls for Shāh Jahān. Siyāwash was ordered to withdraw from Qandahar.[2] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ says that an encounter took place after which the Persians fled which seems unlikely.[3] The other historians, both Persian and Indian, say that the Persian army retired without taking the field.

Shāh Jahān feared that Shāh Ṣafī might retaliate. His position in Qandahar would not be secure unless he occupied the regions of Bust, Zamīndāwar and Hirmand (Hilmand) It was his plan to lay them all waste if he could not hold them. His aim was to deprive an invading Persian army of the provisions they could collect from these adjoining forts. This was a wise move which his predecessor had completely ignored, but unfortunately the work of destruction was not carried out with the thoroughness which Shāh Jahān wished. Another weakness was shown when Qulī Khān, the Mughul commandant, left a force of only 500 troops and bowmen to guard the forts of Bust, Girshīk and its dependencies,[4] which were quite insufficient to meet the Persian attack.

From all these actions Shāh Jahān took, the fact can be deduced that it was not his aim to attack Īrān, though he had promised

1 'Amal-i-Salih, vol. 2, p. 276.

2 *Ibid.*, vol 2, p. 278 See also Lahori vol 2, p. 24-42.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 278.

4 *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol. 2, p. 285.

Tūrān and Turkey to do so. Shāh Jahān's real intentions were the conquest of Central Asia. It was his diplomatic game that he had given promises to Tūrān (Transoxiana) and a Persia which ultimately proved fatal for his own empire. His plan after the conquest of Qandahār seemed to be to renew his friendly relations with Persia as a preparation for his intended attack on Balkh.

This intention gleams through the letter which Shāh Jahān sent through Yādgār Beg, the Persian ambassador, who had been staying at the Mughul court throughout the time of these hostilities. In this letter Shāh Jahān tried to justify his occupation of Qandahār, emphasising his ancestral claim to that fort, he also requested the Persian ruler to forget this incident and to continue the friendly relations as before.[1] This was a clear proof of the fact that Shāh Jahān had no intention of carrying on hostilities with Īran. Moreover it was contrary to the innate desire of Shāh Jahān for the conquest of Transoxiana. The occupation of Qandahār was a necessary step towards the realisation of the main aim. Had Shāh Jahān not occupied Qandahār there would have remained a serious danger to his line of defence, on the western front That occupation would have been imperativs in the event of an alliance between Persia and Transoxiana. There is no doubt that it was wrong on the part of Shāh Jahān that he did not adhere to the promises made to Transoxiana and Turkey According to the plans for joint action the allied powers could have conquered the whole of Persia. Realising the inaction of Shāh Jahān after the occupation of Qandahār, Sulṭān Murād of Rūm (Turkey) who had attacked Baghdād and occupied it in accordance with the original plans, had to give up the newly acquired city as the other partners did not carry out their share of the bargain

Shāh Ṣafī of Persia concluded peace with Sultān Murād in 1639 and then turned his attention towards Qandahār[2]. 1He collected a huge army for the recovery of Qandahār.[2] It was the good fortune of Shāh Jahān that, at this critical juncture Shāh Ṣafī died suddently on 12 *Safar* 1025 A.H./1642. A.D.

[1] *Badshah Namah* (Lahori) vol. 2, p 125.

[2] *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol. II p. 364. See also Lahaori.

It was the most opportune time for Ṣhāh Jahān to invade Īrān in accordance with the treaty with Transoxiana and Turkey. Shāh 'Abbās II who succeeded Ṣhāh Ṣafī was a minor and internal conditions made Persia weaker, but Shāh Jahān had other plans in mind. Instead of sending an expedition against Persia he sent, in 1642, an ambassador to the young Shāh for the re-establishment of the old friendly relations between their two countries[1]. The deeper motive beeind this richly laden embassy was to secure the neutrality of Persia for the forthcoming Mughul invasion of Transoxiana.

Shāh Jahān succceded in this effort and maintained friendly relations with Persia for another seven years, when again Qandahār, the bone of contention broke the relations between the Mughuls and the Persians.

It appears curious that Persia maintained friendly relations with India when they had such a strong grudge against the Mughuls. Not only this, but they also refrained from taking sides with the Uzbegs. Otherwise they could have retaken Qandahār with ease and beaten the Mughuls back beyond the Indus. Although the Indian historians are silent on this subject, the Persian historians indiacate that bigotry and religious bias in Persia were at their height. The Persian King and the majority of his courtiers did not appreciate the idea of helping a Sunnī power, like the Uzbegs, against an old ally! The other reason was probably the minoriry of Shāh 'Abbās II. Although the prime-minister, Sarū Taqī was an able man, he did not want to adopt an aggressive foreign policy during the minority of the Shāh. Above all, he did not seem to be sure of the power and position of Persia at that time, for the country had suffered much after the death of Shāh 'Abbās I and again during the life-time of Shāh Safī.

[1] *Badshah-Namah* (Lahori) vol. II, p, 596-602.

A NOTE ON TWO LITTLE KNOWN FIGHTERS IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, 1857-58

by

MAULVI MOHD. SULEMAN BADAYUNI

Sahaswān, a tahsil and town of some importance in the district of Badāyūn is situated at a short distance from the river Mahawa.

It is a place of considerable antiquity and tradition relates that it was founded[1] by a Hindu chieftain, named Sahasrabahan or Sahastrabahan, but the date is not known, nor can it be easily fixed A very ancient temple stands near the lake, Dhūnd Jhil. It is said that the rajahs of Qannawj and Dihlī used to visit the place on hunting expeditions

The ruins of a fort of the time [2] of 'Alā-al-Dīn Khaljī indicates even today the antiquity of the building and the town. The following inscription on the fort shows that it was built by the orders of the great Khaljī monarch

'' بنائے ایں حصن رفیع الارکان از برائے مامن اهل ایمان بفرمان
مجلس اعلیٰ خدایگان زبده سلاطین جهان سایه رحمان علاء الدین
- والدین الواثق بنصر الله المجاهد فی سبیل الله ابو المظفر محمد شاه
السلطان ناصر امیرالمومنین خلد الله ملکه، تاریخ غره جمادی الاولیٰ
روز جمعه مبارک هفتصد سال از هجرت نبی علیه السلام والتحیته ''

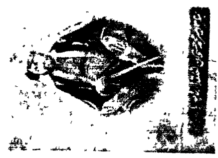
In the days of the Rohilla ascendancy Sahaswān was under the jurisdiction of 'Abdullah Khan, the eldest son of Nawwab 'Alī Muḥammad Khān. In the time of Wellesley the region known as Rohilkhand became a part of the East India Company's dominion. Originally there were only two districts in this area—Moradabad and Bareilly; Sahaswān formed part of the larger district of Moradabad, but later it was made a tahsil in Bareilly.

In 1824 it became the headquarters of the present district of

[1] *The District Gazetteer*, Badayun, P. 239.

[2] *Sabhat-al-Marjan fi Zikr-i-'Ulma-i-Sahaswan* by Abdul Baqi, p. 7.





Badāyūn and Mr. Setan was appointed district magistrate and collector. In 1838 the headquarters were shifted to Badāyūn.

The population of Sahaswān according to the census of 1951 was 21,422, the Muslims being in majority. It has always been a centre of learning and some wellknown scholars were born and flourished there. Mawlawī 'Abd-al-Bari, Shams-ul-'Ulamā Mawlawī Amīr Aḥmad and Mawlawī Muhammad Bashīr may be mentioned by way of illustrations.

The title of Shamsul-'Ulama was conferred on Mawlawī Amīr Aḥmad in the first batch of the recipients of that title in recognition of their learning. Mawlawī Muḥammad Bashīr was a scholar of such eminence that Isḥāq b. 'Abd-al-Rahmān b. Hasan b. Muḥammad b. Wahhab Najdī came[1] to him to study *Hadith*.

Sahaswān had not only the distinction of being a centre of learning but was also the birthplace of soldiers and noblemen who sacrified their lives and property in the cause of freedom during the War of Independence, 1857-58.

Mīr Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān of Sahaswān was a *mir munshī* in the secretariate ot Awadh government. One of his sons Mīr Fidā Ḥusayn Khān was a captain in the army of Awadh, the other son, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān held the post of a collector. They were also owners of considerable property and were among the leading *ta'alluqah-dars*

Mīr Muhammad Ḥusayn Khān was[2] the *nazim* of Khayrābād when the War of Independence broke out in 1857. He decided to join the struggle for freedom and marched towards Tāndah[3] at the head of a group of *mujahids*. Tāndah soon became a strong-hold of the *mujahids*. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khan collected an army, took[4] possession of Gorakhpur and established the authority of the national government. Through his efforts the movement thus gained much strength in that region.

Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān attacked Khalīlābād, fifteen miles from Gorakhpur, with a force consisting of 5000 fighters.

1 *Muhammad b. Abd-al-Wahhab*, p. 59.
2 *Baghi Hindustan* by 'Abd-al-Shahid Khan Sherwani p. 200.
3 *Qaysar-al-Tawarikh*, vol. II p. 3-5.
4 Kaye and Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. VI, p. 59.

Mr. Bird, the collector of Gorakhpur offered resistance. In spite of artillery and cavalary that he had under his command the *mujahids* inflicted[1] a crushing defeat and Bird fled away. The victors seized the treasury and its contents were distributed among them by their leader. Though a victor on the field of battle Muḥammad Ḥusayn faild to consolidate his position. The Company's forces made a determined attempt to recover their lost position. A fierce action was fought and Bird had the day this time. The revolutionary forces were completely routed and Muḥammad Ḥusayn was surrounded by the enemy forces. Concealing his identity he managed to reach Gorakhpur.

A *khila't* with title of *Muqarrab-al-Dawlah* was conferred[2] on Mir Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān for his services in the War of liberation by the government of Birjis Qadr.

Wingfield, the commissioner of Bahraich assisted by Bird, and Jang Bahādur of Nepal now marched on Gorakhpur to face the *nazim*. A battle was fought[3] which resulted in the defeat of the *nazim*.[4]

When the news of the *nazim's* defeat reached Lucknow, Nādir Mirza *wasiqadar* sent Mir Fidā Ḥusayn with Rajah Man Singh to help the *nazim* in order to face the British and Nepali forces but the rajah cheated him.

The rajah's army did not obey the *nazim* and[5] left him alone. In the company of Nādir Mirzā the *nazim* presented himself before Ḥaḍrat Maḥal, the Queen of Awadh at Bari but unfortunately here also they met with a defeat. Muḥammad Ḥusayn now went into hiding in order to save himself from falling into the hands of the enemy.

In 1859 the British authority was reestablished, and peace and

[1] Kaye and Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol VI p 59.
[2] *Qaysar-al-Tawarikh*, vol VI, p. 305.
[3] Kaye and Malleson *History of the Indian Mutiny* vol. VI p. 59.
[4] The fall of Gorakhpur was followed as usual by indiscriminate executions; "Ten men were hung the day after we arrived, and six on the following day; how many more since it is not easy to say, as the gallows was removed from the conspicuous spot it occupied in consequence of an intimation from the Nepalese chief that it was displeasing to him to see bodies hanging."
[From a letter quoted in *Indian Mutiny* (vol II, p. 228) by Ball.]
It is needless to add that here as in several other engagements the revolutionaries suffered a defeat because of the treachery of the Gurkhas,
[5] *Qaysar-al-Tawarikh*, vol. II p. 307.

order were restored. After the Proclamation of Queen Victoria the two brothers Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān and Mīr Fidā Ḥusayn Khān came out of their hiding. A case was filed against them but both were discharged as a result of the efforts of Mīr Mawdūd Bakhsh who had been loyal to the British and acted as a *risalahdar*. The orders for their discharge were issued from Calcutta. But it was only their lives that were saved. Their property was confiscated and the magnificent houses owned by them were blown by cannon and turned into ruins. A similar treatment was meted out to their neighbours and relations.

The two brothers spent the remaining days of their lives in obscurity in their native town of Sahaswān. Mīr Muḥammd Ḥusayn Khān met his death in 1888 and his brother Mīr Fidā Ḥusayn died in 1897.

Another notable *mujahid*[1] belonging to this family, named Sayyid Niāz Aḥmad who was a scholar as well as a soldier attained martyrdom with a *tasbih* (beads) in his hand and the *kalimah* on his lips.*

[1] *Subhat-al-Marjan-fi-Zikr-i-'Ulamai Sahaswan*, p. 53.
*The photos of the two brothers were secured from their descendants.

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume V Part III

JULY 1957

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

The *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* is published in Janua April, July, and October. The Society does not assume responsibil for statements of fact or opinion made by the contributors.

Annual subscrip (excluding postage) ... Rs. 10/-
Single copy ... ... Rs. 3/-

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume V Part III

JULY 1957

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

CONTENTS

ARABIC SCIENCE IN THE WEST

III Albertus Magnus, Philosopher

Another famous author in whom the effect of the Arabist movement in the 13th century can well be seen is the celebrated Albertus Magnus. His life-story in broad outline is easily told Born in Suabia and son of a count of Bollstadt, he early joined the Dominican order with which his life thereafter is identified. Eventually becoming Provincial of his order and Bishop of Regensburg (Ratisbon), he resigned the latter dignity after three years, in order to devote himself to teaching. The early part of his career seems to have been spent mainly in teaching and writing on theology Philosophy and natural science claimed his middle years, while the latter part of his life was engrossed by administration.[1] He had the distinction of being the master of Thomas Aquinas and died at an advanced age in A D 1280.

The 19th century botanist Jessen, who, as a diligent student of that part of the work of Albertus which dealt with his own branch was well qualified to judge, has left a memorable tribute.[2] 'Albertus of Lauingen, of the family of Bollstadt', says Jessen, 'a man not inferior to Aristotle in genius and learning, and whom his contemporaries called "the Great", justly admiring that most learned man's modesty and piety, far removed from pride and superstition, has been so neglected by later generations that he has been called a magian and fabulist even by the most eminent scientists, who without due investigation have attributed to him spurious books, full of trifles and old wives' tales. Hence it is that the pioneer of natural science in the West, who first assimilated the sources of Greek wisdom to the Christian religion, who first put natural history on a level with ecclesiastical doctrine .....who first attempted to give a rational morphology of the forms of created things, who indeed first unfolded a complete account of the whole of nature, has been disdained as a vain and garrulous imitator, and the century in which

1 G. Sarton, *History of Science*, II 936

2 *Alberti Magni De Vegetabilibus* (Berlin, 1867). V.

the title indicates a digression, it is an addition of ours, with a view to supply additional matter or by way of proof. In this way we shall complete the books to the same number and with the same names as Aristotle. We shall also add in some places parts of books which were incomplete, and in other places neglected or omitted books which Aristotle did not write, or if he wrote them, have not reached us. But where this happens the (title of the) treatise will make it clear."

This is a coherent and modest statement of what Albertus proposes to do in a vast undertaking. His attitude to Aristotle, whose words are not to appear throughout, can scarcely be said to be slavish The right to criticize is safeguarded explicitly by mention of the digressions, which are to be an essential part of the work Doubts will occur, and there are obscurities to resolve. To say more at the beginning of a book intended primarily for members of a religious order for whom obedience and intellectual assent to authority remained virtues, might well seem out of place When once in full flight Albertus will show that he is not bound by Aristotle, but is prepared to follow wherever the argument, as it seems to him, with fresh knowledge from other new-found sources, will lead Aristotle provides the framework of his system, but most of what the thirteenth century knew, or thought it knew, will find a place in his pages, as we shall see.

As already indicated, the extent to which Albertus utilized Arabist works in developing this programme is very considerable. Here we shall restrict ourselves for the most part to his zoology, botany and mineralogy. It is convenient to begin with the zoology in the *De Animalibus*, though this was written by Albertus after his principal works on mineralogy and botany [4] The *De Animalibus* is in no less than twenty-six Books, occupying 1600 pages in the modern edition of Stadler (1920) [5] By far the greatest part is drawn from Arabist sources. Michael Scot's translation of the Arabic *Historia Animalium*, together with the same author's *Abbreviatio Avicennae*, was of course now available. So was the *Canon of Medicine* of

[4] Jessen, xxxii.

[5] *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, XV—XVI (Munster 1916 and 1921).

Albertus rose to true distinction has been regarded as occupied solely with scholastic disputations.' This is high praise for Albertus, and if, as we shall attempt to show, he drew extensively on Arabist works of all kinds (not being confined, that is, to versions of Aristotle from the Arabic), the credit for his success is due at least in part to the translators The importance of the Arabist movent is readily seen when we consider the system of Albertus, raised to a great extent on Arabist texts as bases and in any case inconceivable without them

The charges which Jessen here sets aside, that the later Middle Ages were entirely given over to fruitless theological disputation and that Albertus was merely, as he has been called, 'the ape of Aristotle', are not new To understand what he was really trying to do in his main scientific work, we cannot do better than quote his own words[3] "Our intention in natural science", says Albertus, "is to satisfy as far as we can the brethren of our order, who for many years past have been asking us to compose a book on physical matters in which they may have a complete natural science, and from which they may gain a competent understanding of the books of Aristotle Though we consider ourselves inadequate, yet being unable to disregard the requests of the brethren, we are at last assenting to the task which we have so often refused, and yielding to the requests made by some, have undertaken it, first to the glory of the omnipotent God, who is the source of wisdom and the begetter, creator and ruler of nature, and for the use of the brethren, and next for the use of all who read it and desire to attain a knowledge of nature.

"Our method will be to follow Aristotle's order and thought and to give in explanation and proof whatever will seem necessary, but without any mention of his text. In addition to this we shall introduce digressions, making clear any doubts which occur, and supplying whatever has been said less clearly and caused the thought of the philosopher to be obscure for some. We shall divide up the whole work by means of chapter-headings. Where the heading shows simply the subject-matter of the chapter, it indicates that this chapter belongs to the series of the books of Aristotle, but where

[3] *Alberti Magni Physica*, I i I (Jessen, op. cit., xxv).

Avicenna, which had been translated by Gerard of Cremona in the previous century. It is not very surprising to find that Books 1—19 of Albertus follow Michael Scot's rendering of the *Historia Animalium* very closely and are supplemented in the anatomical portions by extensive appropriations from the *Canon* of Avicenna and the *Abbreviatio*.[6] These first nineteen Books of the *De Animalibus* of Albertus amount to rather more than three-quarters of the whole work. Without the Arabist sources they simply disappear.

The case is different for the remainder. Books 20—21 are philosophical discourses of a general nature, probably due to Albertus himself[7] Books 22 to the end are based on Thomas of Cantimpre.[8] a contemporary, and contain lists of animals (Book 22), birds (Book 23), fishes (Book 24), reptiles (Book 25) and 'worms' as Albertus calls insects (Book 26) Though in these last Books he is following a Latin source, even here some of the material is ultimately from Arabic, as appears from numerous Arabic words more or less obvious in spite of their Latin dress, e g *algazel* for 'gazelle', *alfech* for 'panther' (Arabic *al-fahd*), *seraph* for 'giraffe' (Arabic *zarāfah*), etc It is noticeable that these Arabisms occur so to say exclusively in Books 22, 25 and 26, i e for exotic animals unknown in the West and for reptiles and insects as yet without a fixed nomenclature. Birds and fishes, on the other hand, have, like the common animals, native or at least Latin names

One of the subsidiary authorities used by Albertus in the *De Animalibus* is a certain 'Gyrgyr',[9] a name at first sight baffling By comparison with a passage in the *De Mineralibus* where 'Gilgil' is named, as from the city of Seville in Spain and author of a scientific work[10], it would seem that this Gyrgyr or Gilgil is the medical man Ibn Juljul, who practised at the court of the Umayyads in Cordova during the 10th century A. D. It is from Ibn Juljul that we hear how Dioscorides, the famous Greek botanist, was first correctly interpreted in Arabic in Spain.[11] Ibn Juljul was also

[6] Stadler, op. cit., XV xiii.
[7] Stadler, XVI v.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *De Animalibus*, XXII 117.
[10] *De Mineralibus* III i (*Alberti Opera*, ed Jammy, II 247): '*in secretis suis*'.
[11] Ibn abi Usaibi'ah. ed. Muller, II 46ff.

interested in the *History* of Orosius, one of the few Latin books translated into Arabic in the mediaeval period, and perhaps the only work of classical Latin literature to be so translated. One may see what Vergil looked like when rendered into Arabic in the tenth century Spain from a quotation in the translation of Orosius. This has recently been studied in an apparently unique MS. in New York by Professor Della Vida.[12]

Another source for the *De Animalibus*, rather frequently cited throughout the work, though from the nature of the case not basic, is the *Problems* of Aristotle, which are of miscellaneous character and by no means confined to zoology Here at any rate Albertus was independent of Arabs and Arabists, it appears, since this work of Aristotle hardly passed into Arabic [13] The version used by Albertus had no doubt been rendered fairly recently from the Greek.

Quite uncertain is his authority 'Jorach' or 'Jorach the Chaldaean,' who so far has defied all attempts at identification. An alternative form of the name is Jorath This might suggest the well-known ninth century man of science, Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Ṣābi', who appears in Western works as Thabit ben Corath or simply as Alcorath.[14] Jorach or Jorath is, however, explicitly cited by Albertus as author of a work *De Animalibus*,[15] and no such work seems to be ascribed to Thābit ibn Qurrah. While it is arguable that he may have had to do with the translation of a compendium of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* by Nicholas of Damascus,[16] as he is certainly reported to have improved a rendering of the same author's book *On Plants* made by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunain[17], there is no certainty that Thābit ibn Qurrah is intended by Albertus The latter cites Jorach more than

12 'La traduzione araba delle storie di Orosio', *Miscellanea G. Galbiati*, III, 1951 (Fontes Ambrosiani, XXVII), 185—203, reprinted with additions and amendations in *Al-Andalus*, XIX (1954), 257—293.

13 M Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Ubersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, § 62, 74: cf. Jourdain, *Recherches*, 175

14 Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 727, 802.

15 *De Animalibus*, XXII 16.

16 Wenrich, *De Auctor. Graec. Version*, (Leipzig, 1842), 294 (cited by W. A. Greenhill, in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, sub v. Nicolaus.

17 Steinschneider. *Die arab. Ubersetz*, §76, 102.

a dozen times in Books 22, 23 and 25 of the *De Animalibus*, i. e. where he is dependent on Thomas of Cantimpre, as mentioned above, and once in the *De Vegetabilibus*.[18] Jorach is named also by other writers of the period, Bartholomew of England and Vincent of Beauvais.[19]

According to Albertus, Jorach is the author of the extraordinary opinion that the salamander lives in fire [20] The salamander is mentioned in the classical authors (including Pliny), and its reputed immunity from fire was admitted[21]. But it was reserved apparently for the Middle Ages to assign to it its peculiar habitat (i. e. actually in the fire), and to invent stories of robes made from salamander's wool, which could only be cleansed by casting into the flames. [22] Some of the innumerable legends of the mediaeval period, for whatever reason, have had a peculiar hold on men's imaginations, and have been affirmed as fact long after the rest were forgotten. Such is the tale of the barnacle-goose, glanced at and denied by Albertus but still current in the seventeenth century. The salamander story has been equally tenacious of life It is even given a fresh development in the writings of Paracelsus (16th century), according to whom the salamanders are spirits of the fire, like the sylphs whose native element is the air.[23] In the 18th century the same range of idea is found in the impostor Cagliostro

If the enigmatic Jorach is author of the salamander story, as Albertus seems to say, he must have written earlier at least than the appearance of the spurious *Letter of Prester John*, which purports to have been sent to the Greek Emperor Manuel (1143—1180) and mentions already the peculiarities of the salamander. Of Prester John's *Letter*, according to Lynn Thorndike, there are actually 12th century manuscripts[24]. It is in any case by no means clear that 'Jorach'

[18] Ed Jessen, VI 154 for '*nardus*'.

[19] Thorndike, II 404, Jessen, 697,

[20], *Multi . sequentes Jorach philosophum dicunt quod hoc animlala vivit in igne' De Animal*, XXV 36)

[21] Sir D'Arcy Thompson in the *Cambridge Companion to Greek Studies* (Cambridge, 1916), 45

[22] Charlemagne is reputed to have possessed such a robe (Thorndike, II 242, n. 4).

[23] *Lib. Philosoph*, ii (quoted Franz Hartmann, M D *Life of Paracelsus*, London; no date, 121).

[24] *Op. cit.*, II 240, n. 3.

was an Arabist work. The citations in Albertus are for antelope, dog, hyena and fox, for eagle, the mythical harpy and dove among the birds, and among reptiles for the snake *jaculum* (also mentioned by Pliny), the *prester* or fiery serpent (which comes in Lucan), as well as for *serps, spectaficus, stupefaciens aspis* and viper. These citations suggest a Latin or possibly a Greek original. Again, the Jorach citations come in Book 22, 23, and 25 of the *De Animalibus* of Albertus. We have already seen that he had Arabist words in Books 22, 25 and 26, but apparently not at all in Book 23. The lack of correspondence seems again to indicate that 'Jorach' was not an Arabist work[25]. The salamander story cannot therefore be assigned an Arabic origin on the evidence before us. The word certainly occurs in Arabic in the form *samandar* but this, like many other terms used in the Arabic sciences, is evidently from the Greek

The botany of Albertus is in his work *De Vegetabilibus*. Here again the basis is Arabist texts—the *De Plantis* (the original of which was ascribed to Aristotle, but is in fact by Nicholas of Damascus), and the *Canon* of Avicenna The *De Plantis*, translated into Arabic by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunain, as we saw, and corrected by Thābit[26], was next translated from the Arabic into Latin by Alfred of Sareshel (Alfredus Anglicus[27]). This Arabist text has a subsequent history which is perhaps unique It was actually translated back into Greek from Alfred of Sareshel's Latin The Greek original has never been found, and the Greek re-translation, rendered into English, may now be read in the Oxford translation of Aristotle[28].

Albertus, who used the *De Plantis* in the translation of Alfred of Sareshel, remained under the impression that it was an authentic

25 Yet Jorach Chaldaeus (Thorndike, II, 23) may be the same as Poron Chaldaeus, as suggested by Steinschneider The work of Poron Chaldaeus, *De Animalibus* was to have been printed by the Medici Press in Rome, in the sixteenth century, according to a list which has survived and was published by Libri, *Histoire des sciences mathematiques*, I 244. The Arabs rendered the name of the Greek philosopher Pyrrhon as Furun (=Poron), see the *Tabaqat al-Umam* of Sa'id ibn Sa'id of Toledo (transl. R. Blachere, Paris, 1935, 74), but no work of his on zoology is known

26 See n, 17.

27 Steinschneider, *Die europaischen Ubersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*; § 13 , 4

28 A. J. Arberry, 'An Early Arabic Translation from the Greek'. *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Egypt*, I (1955), 49.

work of Aristotle. It is the more curious to find him writing at the beginning of the 9th chapter of the *De Vegetabilibus* as follows: 'Everything which has been said from the beginning of this book seems pretty obscure (*satis obscura videntur*), except that part of my own which I gave in the first chapter. I think that this obscurity is the fault of the translators of the books of Aristotle *On Plants*, whose interpreter and redactor I am Either they did not understand the philosopher, or perhaps they were not completely at home in the language from which they had to translate,' Albertus goes on. 'So on that account I must recapitulate from the beginning what has already been said and express it more clearly In this way I shall give a better account of what I think, and the words of the philosopher will be clearer' There is no question of cancelling the first draft and re-writing it. Albertus simply repeats himself without apology.

Since, broadly speaking, the sources of the *De Vegetabilibus*, like those of the *De Animalibus*, are Arabist, it is natural that Arabic words and turns of expression meet us throughout the work. Balsam, we learn, is found especially in Egypt at a place called Oculus Solis [29] This is evidently for 'Ain al-Shams, a well-known locality near the ancient Heliopolis, not far from Cairo. The substance is extracted from the balsam-producing tree after the rising of the star 'Assarahe'. In the Latin 'Calendar of Cordova' another form 'Assahare' occurs and is doubtless more correct.[30] It is Sirius, arabicized as ash-Shi'rā, whence directly these Latin forms. Again, the plant fumitory appears in Albertus as *olus regis*.[31] This is a literal translation of the Arabic name for fumitory, *baqlat al-malik*, 'king's herb'. Or we are told that certain plants grow in the land called in Arabic Zahdia, which is very hot [32] Zahdia appears to be for Upper Egypt, the so-called Ṣa'īd. A striking and familiar Arabism occurs in the account given of the plant orpine, which is said to be collected *circa augem solis*.[33] *Augem* is evidently

[29] *De Vegetabilibus*, VI, 34
[30] Libri, op. cit., I 397.
[31] De Veget, I 159,
[32] *Ibid*, I 166.
[33] *Ibid*, I 402.

not Latin. The presence of such words in the text of mediaeval writers made the Renaissance scholars very angry, perhaps chiefly because they did not understand them The men of the Renaissance called a word like *augem* barbarous Latin ('barbaro-Latinum'). It is of course not Latin, but Arabic with a Latin termination. In Arabic *auj* (sometimes pronounced *aug*) means 'summit, zenith'. Inflected forms in the Arabist texts are, as well as *augem*, *augis* or *abgis*, *abge*. It is, it would seem, from the latter inflection that the European languages derive the astronomical term 'apogee'.[34] Yet again, speaking of the sap of plants, Albertus remarks that it resembles what he calls the *nucha* in animals. (The same expression comes in an edition of Albertus made during the Renaissance by the Averroist Zimara as *nuca* or *nuta*,[35] an indication that the Averroists at that time were unfamiliar with the originals of the texts on which they laid the greatest weight) *Nucha* is in fact correct and exactly reproduces the Arabic word *nukhā'* for the spinal narrow. A further example is what Albertus calls *zinziber caninum* This is a rendering of *zanjabil al-kilab*, dog's bane as we say, but in Arabic 'dogs' ginger' [36]

Subsidiary authors quoted either directly or indirectly (i.e. by way of the *De Plantis* and the *Canon*) include Benmesauge (Ibn Māsawaih, Mesue) and Constantine Africanus, Abrucalis or Abrutalus, whom Albertus evidently confuses with Protagoras but who is in fact Empedocles,[37] also a certain 'Lycophron whom the Arabs call Lecineon' [38] This Lycophron or Lecineon is not known elsewhere, and for identification one has to have recourse to the Arabic. The Arabic text of the *De Plantis* was given a good edition in 1933 -1934 by Professor A J Arberry,[39] and one can there find the equivalent of the perplexing name as *rajul yuqālu lahu Alqnāun*, 'a certain man called Alqnāun', who said that the earth was the mother

34 Rather than from the Greek *apogaion*, cf. Millas, *Las traducciones etc.*, 202.

35 *De Veget*, ed. Jessen, II 51, n

36 *Ibid.*, VI 480.

37 Cf. Jessen, op cit, 6n, Arberry, op. cit. 50, 62.

38 Or Leucineon, which has been preferred by the editors of Albertus, whose manuscripts here vary. Cf G S Kirk, 'A Passage in *De Plantis*,' *The Classical Review*, New Series, VI (1956), 5-6

39 See n. 28.

of plants and the sun their father The form of the name and the naivete of the opinion suggest an early rather than a late Greek source. We may here have a reference to the pre-Socratic physicist Alcmaeon.

Albertus also quotes several times the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, It would be natural enough to expect that he made use of the translation of the *Metaphysics* ascribed to Michael Scot, whose *Historia Animalium* and *Abbreviatio Avicennae* he so largely appropriated in his zoological work. The version which Albertus used has at all events been influenced by Greek. In one citation, speaking of a bald man, he says that he is not *colobon* because of having lost his hair [40] The word, which looks strange in its Latin context, is of course not Arabic but Greek. The Juntine Latin version of the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, on the other haud, gives the equivalent *mutilum* [41] Both renderings mean the same-a bald man is not mutilated in any sense *Mutilum* may be an improvement on a thirteenth century translator, who simply transliterated the Greek word in an inflected form, made by the Renaissance editor Certainly the presence of the word suggests that Albertus was using a translation from Greek, and it is generally understood that Michael Scot's versions were from Arabic

Definite Arabist influence is, however, given by references to the *De Elementis* of Isaac Israeli[42] and the *De Physicis Ligaturis*, ascribed to Qusṭā ibn Lūqā [43] Isaac Israeli was a medical practitioner who flourished in North Africa in the tenth century. His *De Elementis* had been translated by Gerard of Cremona. Qusṭā ibn Lūqā of Ba'albak worked in Baghdad and died in Armenia about 300/913. The *De Physicis Ligaturis* ascribed to him appears to have been translated by Arnold of Villanova,[44] who died in 1312 or 1314. Both works were thus available to Albertus in a Latin dress. Mention of the *De Physicis Ligaturis*, the alternative title

40 *De Veget*, I, 134

41 Juntine ed. V 27=Bekker, IV 27.

42 *De Veget*, I 10.

43 *De Veget.*, ed Jessen, V 118, cf, Thorndike, II 847.

44 Mentioned, e.g. by D Campbell, *Arabian Medicine* (London),1926), II 4.

of which was *De Incantatione*,[45] leads naturally on to the attitude of Albertus towards magic. Something will be said about this below. Meantime we have to discuss his work *De Mineralibus*.

Albertus begins the *De Mineralibus* by saying that he has not seen the books of Aristotle on the subject except in part, and that what is given by Avicenna is not sufficient He goes on,[46] 'There are men of great authority in philosophy who, treating not of all but only some kinds of stones, say that they have mentioned them sufficiently, such as Hermes Cuates, king of the Arabs, Dioscorides, Aaron and Joseph, who, discussing only precious stones, have not made mention of their genus. Pliny too in his *Natural History* has given an insufficient account . . It is not necessary for us to cite the opinion of each of these, for knowledge of the matter is not so abstruse that we need to assemble it from the errors of many The natures and complexions of stones will be adequately known when their proper material, efficient cause (*efficiens proximum*), form and proper accidents are known from the methodical investigation in Book 4 of the *Meteora*' The latter, it may be noted, was one of the translations from Aristotle ascribed to Michael Scot, whose work therefore is presumably again referred to here. Albertus continues . 'We do not intend to show how a certain *istorum* is transmitted into another, or how by means of a medical antidote, which the alchemists call elixir, diseases are healed and men's secrets revealed, or conversely their open knowledge is concealed, but rather to show that these stones are compounded from the elements and how each one is constituted in its own species For we are not concerned to investigate the difference between a stone and a spirit or vapour and the substance and accidents of the body, which are matters which the alchemists investigate, calling a stone everything which does not evaporate in the fire, and at the same time body and substance, and that which does evaporate in the fire, like sulphur, quicksilver and the ingredients of the so-called stones of various colours (sc. which the alchemists make), they call spirit and vapour and accident. It belongs to another science to investigate these matters, which depend on very abstruse reasonings and methods.'

[45] Thorndike, II, 847, 853

[46] *De Mineralibus*, I i (*Alberti Opera*, ed. Jammy, II 210).

Albertus, he means, is not going to discuss alchemy. Two expressions are quite incomprehensible as they stand—Hermes Cuates, king of the Arabs, and *istorum*. The first is likely to be for Hermes *and* Evates or Evax, a reputed king of the Arabs, who is said to have written a work on precious stones to the address of the Emperor Nero[47] Even so further clarification is necessary. As to *istorum*, which in the context should mean 'element' or 'principle', it is natural to explain the word by some corruption of Arabic *'unsur* or *ūss* which have these meanings respectively In the preface as a whole what is most striking is the attitude of Albertus to alchemy Though he is not here concerned to deal with it and indeed may be thought to speak of it somewhat slightingly, it is clearly for him another science Later on he remarks that alchemical operations are difficult and imperfect, especially in the manufacture of stones This perhaps indicates scepticism of the utility of the pursuit, for as is well known, an important part of the efforts of the alchemists was directed precisely to the production of the 'philosophers' stone', by means of which transmutation of the baser metals into gold was to be effected. On the other hand, several works on alchemy are attributed to Albertus,[48] and he nowhere comes forward, it appears, with a clear denial of its possibility [49]

At his practice was, after some general discussion of the subject Albertus proceeds to delimit it 'We shall lay down', he says, 'the names of the principal stones and their virtues, according to what we know either by experiment or from the writings of others We shall not give all that is said about them, because it is of no advantage to science For natural science is not simply the acceptance of what is reported, but enquiry into the causes of natural phenomena.' Some examples may show how Albertus applied what he has thus enunciated.

'The amethyst'[50], he says, 'is a very common gem, and is of a sort of purple colour and somewhat obscure transparency Many differences are found in this species, but five grades of obscurity are

[47] See below,

[48] Thorndike, II 569

[49] Cf, however, E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Pelican Series), 1957, 113.

[50] Ed. Jammy, II 228

generally admitted. It is found in India. It is very suitable for cutting, because it is less hard than others It is effective against drunkenness, according to Aaron, makes a person wakeful and restrains evil thoughts It confers good intelligence in things knowable.' It is interesting to find that the following account of a stone mentioned also by Pliny is evidently regarded by Albertus, since he gives it, as of advantage to science. 'The *diacodus*[51] or *diadochus* is said to be a pale stone somewhat like the beryl It is said to evoke phantoms to such a degree that the Magi make a principal use of it. Yet when applied to a corpse it loses its virtue, and it is held to have a horror of death. Such an account as can be given of these matters is to be found in the books of the Magi, Hermes, Ptolemy and Thābit ibn Qurrah, and it is not our present intention to discuss them '

In another instance Albertus quotes his personal experience in confirmation of what he has found in his authorities '*Draconitis*[52] is a stone extracted from the head of a dragon and is brought from the East, where there are great dragons I myself saw in Suabia in Germany a stone upon which more than five hundred snakes had come together, in a meadow among mountains When the owner passed that way, his men drew their swords and cut the snakes into many pieces, At the bottom of the pile lay a great snake cut in many pieces, under whose head was found a black stone shaped like a pyramid, not transparent, with a casing of white colour uud containing a very beautiful representation of a snake. This stone was gived me by the nobleman's wife, and I had it by me with the snake's head ' Again he tells us of 'the hyena stone, so called from the animal of that name, from whose eyes, when they turn into stone, it is extracted The ancients Evax and Aaron say, however, that when placed under the tongue, it helps towards predicting the future by divination.[53]' This is quite a typical notice of Albertus. He accepts the existence of the 'hyena stone' and its origin from eyes of a hyena, but adds the rationalizing explanation 'when they turn into stone'. The further statement that it is useful for divination

[51] *Ibid.*, II 230

[52] *Ibid*

[53] *Ibid.*, II 232.

he adds on the authority of those who say so He is able also to tell of a stone called *ophthalmus*,[54] so called from ophthalmia. Its colour is not named, perhaps because it is of many colours. It is said to help the wearer against all diseases of the eye It is further said to blind the sight of bystanders, on which account it is called also "patron of thieves", for its wearers are rendered, so to speak, invisible'

Some of these statements are bound to strike us as highly fantastic The question of the sources of Albertus in his mineralogy is of considerable interest but by no means easy to answer The sources actually named in the preface and elsewhere throughout the *De Mineralibus* present great difficulties, as is generally admitted Evates or Evax has already been mentioned as a king of the Arabs who is said to have written a lapidary for the Emperor Nero Such a work exists in Latin,[55] and was apparently used by one Marbod in the eleventh century as the basis of his own lapidary written in verse[56] Marbod's versified account of the amethyst, *diacodus*, hyena stone and *ophthalmus* tallies to a marked extent with the extracts just given from Albertus, and there can in fact be no doubt that Albertus made extensive use of the same material. Thorndike supposed that Evax and Aaron together Marbod[57] Evax and Aaron are sometimes named together in Albertus Aaron cannot be identified with any known Arabic author, but would on this view be accounted for. But Aaron (which is a very suitable name, from the mediaeval point of view, for the author of a lapidary, because of Aaron's breast-plate, set with precious stones, in the Bible) is certainly not mentioned by Marbod and is quoted without Evax by Albertus.[58] These are facts which may seem to rule out Thorndike's equation Ruska, on the other hand, thought that Aaron and Joseph, mentioned together, as we saw, in the preface, should be a pair of alchemical authorities who come in Greek works of alchemy, viz. Reson and Josaphthia, *alias* Zosimus and his sister Theosebeia[59] If this seems

[54] Ibid., II 235
[55] Bodleian MS Hatton 100 (W A Greenhill, op. cit., sub v. Evax).
[56] See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 171.
[57] Op cit., II 430 He is followed by Sarton
[58] E g, above, on the amethyst
[59] *Das Steinbuch Aristoteles*, 68, 70

far-fetched, it well illustrates the difficulty of identifying these sources of Albertus. It may indeed be that Albertus knew both the prose Evax, the text of which, as already said, actually exists, and the versified Marbod, and referred to them sometimes together, sometimes separately, but the unfamiliar Marbod has been altered at some point to Aaron As to the origin of the prose work, it is probably too early[60] to be Arabist, in the sense of an Arabic text put into Latin, nor do the names of the stones suggest an Arabic source. Neither does it appear to be classical, though some editions of Pliny mention Evax as dedicating his work to Nero manuscripts (or Tiberius). The best omit this[61] It looks like an addition to Pliny after the work of the so-called 'king of the Arabs' had become well known. Yet this cannot be said to be certain, and even if it is right, 'Joseph' is left entirely unaccounted for[62]

Certainly Albertus had Arabist material for his *De Mineralibus*. Not only does he mention 'Hermes' and Avicenna repeatedly, but he refers also to the *Quadripartitus* of Ptolemy, an astrological work which had been translated by Plato of Tivoli a hundred years or more earlier (in 1138), giving it the Arabist title of *Alarba*, i.e. the Four (Treatises)[63]. Gilgil (Ibn Juljul) has already been mentioned. Yet no doubt on the whole the *De Mineralibus* is less obviously Arabist than either the *De Animalibus* or the work on botany, not having as its basis any major translation from the Arabic By the same token, it has to be admitted that in the general impression which it makes, the *De Mineralibus* falls somewhat below the other two works If we had time to cast our net a little more widely, we should have many more Arabist works to cite from Albertus, e. g. the *De Differentia Spiritus et Animae* of Qusṭā ibn Lūqā,[64] translated into Latin by John of Seville; the

[60] Cf Albertus *supra*, 'the ancients Evax and Aaron'. Here Aaron is doubtfully for Marbod, if the 11th century date for the latter (see above) is right

[61] Greenhill, *loc cit*

[62] 'Joseph', author of a dream-book, is referred to by Thorndike, II 293, 294 n, 5

[63] Ed Jammy, II 226 Cf Steinschneider, *Die europaischen Ubersetz, etc,*, 65

[64] *Physica* I i 4 (Jessen, op cit, xxxi) Cf Steinschneider, ibid, 43, and especially Manuel Alonso, Traducciones de Juan Hispano, *Al-Andalus*, XVII (1952), 134ff.

De Intellectu of al-Kindī in the version of Gundisalvi, which Albertus for some reason found more convenient to use than the slightly later version of Gerard of Cremona,[65] the *De Intellectu* of al-Fārābī;[66] not to mention al-Ghazālī[67] These, however, fall outside the limits which have already been laid down, and we cannot pursue the matter here.

We return to consider a question which has already been raised, viz. the attitude of Albertus to magic. It is noticeable that he is, so to say, at home with magic and magical practices in a way in which men of an earlier as well as a later age were not. Consider a passage in the *De Mineralibus* where he discusses images on gems and the alleged effects of these, and say specifically that this is a branch of necromancy[68] It is a doctor of the Church who is speaking, in a book admittedly his. We may contrast the attitude to necromancy in the late classical period, or in the 17th century, when Dr Dee and the medium Kelly are supposed to have been concerned with it The expression here in the *De Mineralibus* must be regarded as free from all sinister associations

Speaking on the subject of the virtue of plants, Albertus remarks[69] 'It must be added that certain plants seem to have divine effects, which those who study magic attend to particularly Thus betony is said to offer divination, vervain to induce love, and what is called woodpecker's herb (*herba meropis*) to open closed bars. There are many such things, which are written about in the books of incantations of the philosophers, Hermes and Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, in the *De Physicis Ligaturis*' The plantain, which in these days country children know will soothe a nettle-sting, has according to Albertus a virtue against the bite of a snake[70]. Such an operation, he says, we cannot attribute to simple qualities, but rather the active or passive quality has some one or more of these operations, by a heaven-sent virtue residing in the plant which operates thus. Some seem even to

[65] Manuel Alonso, 'Las traducciones del arcediacono Domingo Gundisalvo', *Al-Andalus*, XII (1947), 315

[66] *Ibid*, 319

[67] Jessen, *op. cit.*, xxxiii

[68] *De Mineralibvs*, III i

[69] *De Veget.*, V 118

[70] *Ibid*, V 116

operate by simple suspension from the neck, like peony seeds, which are said to be efficacious against epilepsy, and there are many such operations. Ebony of the blackest shade has the best operation. Those who study incantation and the physical ligatures say that when fastened to a cradle, it will prevent a child being terrified by phantoms [71] Another instance of a similar kind of magic is afforded by the wood of the medlar, which is sought for by enchanters to make therefrom the cudgels of professional fighters [72]

That enchantment was real enough for Albertus seems clear when he tells us that the two halves of a hazel rod, split down the middle, will be attracted towards each other entirely *without* enchantment [73] On the other hand, he uses the pharmaceutical notices of the *Canon* of Avicenna in rather a curious way, appropriating the strictly medical part without comment. but when magical precepts are given as not uncommonly happens, attributing them to '*incantator*' the enchanter [74] This usage, which misled Thorndike,[75] seems to indicate that Albertus distinguished clearly between magic and medicine His attitude is illustrated also by a passage in the *De Animalibus*, where speaking about the hoopoe he says that 'its members, and especially the brain, tongue and heart, are much sought after by enchanters'. This he has taken from his source here Thomas of Cantimpre He adds on his own account, 'But we are not here concerned with this, for to investigate such things belongs to another science'.[76] Magic and incantations exist in general for Albertus and are the legitimate object of science, but there is a note of hesitancy- 'it is said', 'it seems', 'they say'-about most of his particular instances. When a story is specially fantastic, he will go farther. Jorach says that the hyena changes its sex from time to time But Jorach is frequently found to be a liar [77] Thomas of Cantimpre has a fine story, taken over by Albertus, of how the enchanter, bound to a dragon, flies through the air for long distances But sometimes

71 *Ibid.*, VI 96

72 *Ibid*, VI 133

73 *Ibid*, VI 178

74 *Ibid*, 369, 431

75 *Op cit*, II 555—536

73 *De Animalibus*, XXIII 143.

77 *Ibid.*, XXII 106.

when the animal tires, both fall into the sea and are drowned. Albertus notes 'All these things are rather credited by rumour than actually experienced'[78]. Yet the surprising fact is that he gives the story Enchanters exist, practising their art. Dragons or at all events serpents exist (cf the account above, where he begins with dragons in the East and ends with snakes in Germany). These things being so, he appears to say, it could just be that enchanters gain control of dragons, for example by beating an inflated skin or drum,[79] but this is not very likely

We are concerned however, not with the mental attitude of Albertus, but with his sources of information about magical practices. The question is whether he is dependent here, as elsewhere to an almost unlimited extent, on translations from Arabic. It may be said that there is an initial likelihood of this The difficulty is to show in particular instances that it was so. As far as ligatures are concerned, it may be assumed that the work of Qusṭā ibn Lūqā on this subject might explain a good deal, but it is not available The question in any case goes much further than a single book, and we have to consider indirect as well as direct dependence

An Arabic lapidary ascribed to Maslamah of Madrid[80] provides at least one unmistakable parallel if not with Albertus, at all events with his contemporary William of Auvergne, from whom according to Lynn Thorndike,[81] Albertus borrowed the account of the property of a split hazel wand noted above Whether this is so or not, William of Auvergne thought he knew that visions and revelations will be produced by the eye of an Indian tortoise and the heart of a hoopoe[82] Albertus, as we saw, speaks of the heart of a hoopoe as sought for by enchanters As to the eye of an Indian tortoise, it is one of the gems listed in the lapidary of Maslamah of Madrid, and in this case we can be practically certain that the source is Arabic. The whole passage in the lapidary is as follows[83] 'The

78 *Ibid*, XXV 28

79 *Ibid*

80 Bodleian MS. Marsh 452

81 *Op cit*, II 362.

82 Thorndike, II 361

83 MS. Marsh 452 p 122

tortoise stone This stone is in the eye of the Indian tortoise. It is a small stone, white in colour It is extracted by being placed in a brazier of lighted coals The tortoise is heated therein, not budging or moving from its place so long as the brazier is alight. The virtue of the stone is that when placed under the tongue, which has first been anointed with honey, the tongue utters knowledge of the future, as long as the stone remains under it [84] The time during which the stone is to be employed thus is five days from the new moon, or at the beginning of the new moon' This highly superstitious account involves sympathetic magic (honey upon tongue) as well as astrology Shorn of these trimmings, the idea re-appears in William of Auvergne, as above, and even in Albertus (jewels in the eyes of the tortoise, without mention of prophecy) [85] It seems virtually certain that this is not coincidence, and that the Arabic, even if not actually Maslamah (10th century A D), is more original

Light is cast on the stories of magical practices in the writings of Albertus and his contemporaries by an Arabic MS. in the Cambridge University Library described in the catalogue as the *Book of Talismans* of Ibn al-Waḥshīyah [86] Ibn al-Wahshīyah is well known as the author of a fantastic work on Babylonian or, as he called it, Nabataean agriculture which is unique of its kind in Arabic, and was studied last century by Chwolsohn Ibn al-Waḥshīyah also wrote a curious but scientifically worthless account of ancient alphabets, especially the Egyptian hieroglyphics, edited with an English translation by Von Hammer as long ago as 1806 Ibn al-Waḥshīyah flourished about A D 900, and was studied, in a desultory fashion apparently, by the Muslims till much later. The older contemporary of Albertus, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdadī, tells how when a young man in Baghdad, he met a Moor who was a student of alchemy and talismans. This man's favourite authors included Ibn al-Waḥshīyah, and although 'Abd al-Laṭīf did not like him he spent some time in trying to master the books which he recommended.[87] The Cambridge MS is not, strictly speaking, in

[84] Cf. the hyena stone, above

[85] *De Anim.* I 143

[86] *Second Supplementary Handlist of Muhammadan MSS*, No. 418 (=Or. 1665).

spite of the catalogue and the title-page, Ibn al-Wahshīyah's *Book of Talismans*, for it cites a work of the much later author, Ibn al-'Arabī.[88] But it contains a number of citations from Ibn al-Waḥshīyah, and gives a good general impression of what his *Book of Talismans* was like. The following magical 'experiments' are more or less exactly matched in the Latin writers of the age of Albertus.

(1) A lamp[89] which when you open your hand over it, goes out, and when you close your hand, the light returns. Take Indian nuts or chestnuts, and pound them. Then knead to a paste with water of camphor and spread upon your palm. Open it over or in front of the lamp, and its light will disappear. Close your hand, and the light will return. The same recipe is given by Lynn Thorndike[90] from a *Book of Fires for Burning Enemies* by Marcus Grecus.

(2) When you wish to make people think that they see you walking upon water[91] in a room or otherwise, take a green frog and kill it over a vessel of glass, taking care that none of the blood is lost. Then place in a suitable container, of which the mouth is stoppered, and heat till it is pulped. Then cast upon it a *dirham* of sulphur of Iraq and leave till absorbed. Then cast upon it a *dirham* of red arsenic (*sandaracha*). When you know that it is absorbed, throw upon it a *dirham* of frankincense, then a *dirham* of sea-snail. Triturate and cast in certain aromatic roots, then heat till you know that all is pulped. Remove from the fire and pour into a glass vessel. When you wish to use it, cast it on a hot fire in whatever place you wish. You will see before you a sea, and the people will gird up their garments and plunge in after you. A similar 'experiment' 'When you wish to make people think that water like a sea is in your house, etc.'[92] is given later in the *Book of Talismans*. One or other of these is mentioned by Thorndike, as in a Latin collection entitled *Experiments Good and Best*[93].

[87] Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, ed. Muller, II, 203-205.
[88] Cambridge MS. Or. 1665, p. 107.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[90] *Op. cit.*, II 786.
[91] MS Or 1665, p. 78.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[93] *Op. cit.*, II 802.

(3) When you wish to show your room full of snakes and scorpions.[94] But let no one separate from his neighbour, because of the danger, and let no one turn against the creatures, lest he faint from the strength of the vision. This is given by Thorndike once from the *Liber Vaccae*,[95] and again from the *De Mirabilibus Mundi*,[96] a work ascribed to Albertus but not accepted as genuine by Thorndike.

Other 'experiments' in the Arabic *Book of Talismans* include the preparation of an egg which plays and dances in the warm room of a bath[97] (by inserting quicksilver in the egg); clearing the house of rats[98] (by burning the hoof of a mule); making the spectators imagine that they have asses' faces,[99] causing the apparition of a monk clad in black robes with a crozier in his hand;[100] producing the illusion of a palm-tree with leaves of different colours[101] All these are nearly enough matched by Thorndike from the Latin writers. It can scarcely be doubted that there is borrowing and on which side the borrowing took place

Fantastic as much of this appears, it was evidently the stock-in-trade of a number of the Latin contemporaries of Albertus Some trace of the same attitude of mind, in which literally anything may happen or indeed may be made to happen if one has the appropriate knowledge, has passed into the massive works of Albertus, which won the admiration of contemporaries and later generations So far as the analysis has gone, in comprehending, as we must suppose he did, practically all the new knowledge, hermetic as well as rational, then available in Latin, Albertus appears to have been influenced occasionally by the former as well as the latter elements. To say this is not to detract from the greatness of his work, any more than criticism of the books ascribed to Maslamah of Madrid and

94 MS. Or, 1665, p. 77.

95 *Op. cit.*, II 782

96 *Ibid*, II 736.

97 MS. Or, 1665, p 74.

98 *Ibid.*

99 *Ibid*, p 78

100 *Ibid*, p 75.

101 *Ibid*, p. 77

Ibn al-Waḥshīyah implies an adverse judgement of Arabic science. In both cases, what appears erroneous or trivial falls into place within a much greater whole, and the very quaintness of the ideas from our present-day stand-point, so far from causing tedium or disgust, serves to mirror aspects of the reality of things which cannot be exhausted even by a system as comprehensive as that of Albertus or by a science as extensive and various as Arabic

THE SITE OF THE SO-CALLED BATTLE OF TALIKOTA

(Fought on January 23, 1565)

The problem which has so far defied solution is that of the actual site of the battle which is usually called the Battle of Tālīkota after a village of that name situated twenty-two miles north of the Krishna, where the concentration of the armies of the allied Sulṭāns took place [1] It is nowhere mentioned that there was ever any fighting at Tālīkota, for when the armies had been mobilised and comissariat arrangements had been made they were ordered to proceed southwards at once It is only by a mere convention that the battle is named after the village There is great divergence in the viewes concerning the site of the actual battle, and it would be interesting to examine them in some detail

Our Persian chronicles are not clear about the site of the battle, but they are unanimous that the engagement took place south of the Krishna They are also fairly unanimous in the description of the earlier clashes. When the allies reached the northern banks of the river, which formed the boundary between the Bijapur and the Vijayanagar states, they found the route blocked, for Rāmarāj had already constructed a huge wall, two or three gāv in length, along the whole waterfront on the southern bank of the river and mounted pieces of artillery on it, blocking practically all the fordable approaches of the allied army [2] The allies were much perplexed, and there was a stalemate lasting several days, for neither side had the courage to strike first The Sultāns now held a council of war which decided that they must have recourse to a ruse, and the whole

[1] *Talikota*, not on the Krishna as in *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah* (*Q S*) MSS Asafiyah, *Tarikh Farsi* 401 and *Ferishta* (*Fer*) II, 39, but on the Don, 22 miles due south of the Krishna, in the Muddebihal taluqa of the Bijapur district, Bombay State, 16°28′ N, 76°19′ Concentration of the army of the allies, *Fer*, II, 39, *Briggs* III 126, *Bur*, 416, *Q S*, 177 Talikota is not mentioned in the *metrical* history of the Qutbshahs, the *Tawarikh Qutbshah*, India Office Library, MSS, Ethe 1486 (*T Q. I*), where it is mentioned that the concentration took place "in the Gulbarga plain", (*T Q I.*), 112 b

[2] *Gav* is a little more than 6 miles Not 30 or 40 *kroh* or 60 to 80 miles as in *Fer*., II, 39 ; this is unthinkable as the spurs of the Western Ghats reach the south bank of the Krishna within 20 miles of this place.

army should break camp and move up-stream to a point further than the fortifications put up by Rāmarāj. As the allied forces marched westward by the northern bank they were followed by the Vijayanagar army on the southern bank. Vijayanagar officers were in fact deluded that the allies wanted to cross the river beyond the earthworks erected by them. The allied army marched leisurely for two or three days, closely followed by the Vijayanagar forces. They now suddenly stopped, left forty thousand soldiers to fight a rearguard action if necessary, turned round, and managed to cover the distance back in a single night. They found the original ford undefended and the great crossing was led by the Sulṭāns themselves. In the morning Rāmarāj knew that he had been hoodwinked, but when he returned he found that the enemy had already crossed over to his territory. It is related that they continued their march till they reached the Hukeri river situated six *kos* or twelve miles from the Krishna, and it was then that fighting began.[3]

Perhaps the first attempt to explore the site of the battle by a modern writer was made by J. A. Campbell, the author of *Bijapur District Gazetteer*. He says that the battle was fought on the right bank of the Krishna "about thirty miles south of Talikota" (which he calls Tālikoti) and six miles from Nalatvad. The ford by which the allied army crossed was at Ingalgi on the left bank, while remains of the earthworks erected by Rāmarāj were still visible on the left bank near Tondihal village. The allies manoevered as if they would cross by the Dhānūr ford ten miles higher up. They marched leisurely on the northern bank westward for three days in the direction of Dāhnūr and then marched back suddenly to the Ingalgī ford and crossed.[4]

Sewell has another theory to offer. He says that there is no available information regarding the site of the battle, but it was probably in the plains about 'the village of Bayapur or Bhogapur"

[3] The first contacts, *Fer*, II 39, 128, *Basatin*. 97 98. *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, 97 says that the earthwork was erected " opposite all possible crossings. See also *Q. S.*, 177.

[4] J. A. Cambell, *Bijapur District Gazettee*, 1884. pp 416 679. He names the town *Talikoti* although it is generally known as Talikota and is so named in the *Survey of India map* 56/D/SW 1922. *Nalatwad*, on the direct route due south from Talikota, 6 miles due north of the south ward curve of the river, 16°15′ N., 76°15′ E.

on the road leading from Ingulgi to Mudgal.[5]

All these theories have been discussed by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. Venkata Ramnayya in their comprehensive work, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, along with information contained in the Telugu *Kaifiyats* of a number of villages and towns, as well as in *Ramarajana Bakhair*.[6] They brush aside the evidence of "Muhammedan historians" who "state that the battle in which the Deccani Sultans overthrew Ramaraja was fought in the village of Talikota".[7] They then go on to say that "the place of the famous battle has been correctly described in the Hindu records" They first take their stand on *Ramarajana Bakhair* which "locates the camp of Ramaraj in the plain between the villages of Rakkasi and Tangadi ... . This is confirmed in the village Kaifiyats several of which allude to the event" Further on they state that "the majority of the Kaifiyats merely assert that Ramaraja the Great perished with all his army near the confluence of the rivers Krishna and Matapatari (the modern Malprabha); one of them, the Kaifiyat of Nandiyala, says . .. that the Muhammadans . . put Aliya Ramaraja together with his army to death at Raksasi-Tangadi in the pargana of Honugunda near the confluence of the rivers Krishna and Malaprabha" Thus "these accounts contradict the accounts of the Muhammadan historians" Yet, in spite of the assertion that the battle has been correctly described in the Telugu records referred to, the learned authors are not fully convinced of their veracity and close the discussion with the ominous query, "Where does the truth lie?"[8]

Before proceeding to discuss the various data contained in the statements before us, it is well to understand the topography of the

[5] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 1900, p 199, note 2 *Mudgal*, Headquarters of the taluqa of that name in the Raichur district, now in the Mysore State, 16°1′ N, 76°26′ E *Bhogapur*, 6½ miles from the nearest bank of the Krishna, in the south-eastern direction of Nalatwad ; 16°6′ N, 76°2′ E It is distinct from *Bayapur*, which is 1½ mile to the south-east, 16°5′ N, 76°22′ E Sewell is mistaken in regarding them as the two names of a single village Both these hamlets as well as the town Mudgal as well to the south-east of Talikota, and it is very unlikely that the allied army should have swerved in its march to the south.

[6] *N & V.*, II, 263-65

[7] This is no doubt due to a misunderstanding, as it is nowhere mentioned that the battle was fought at Talikota

[8] The query is on I, 265.

locality. To begin with, Tālikotā is situated on the river Don twenty-two miles from the northern bank of the Krishna. The land lying between the village and the river is absolutely flat, and there is still a cartway from it leading to the river and passing through the town of Nalatvad which is six miles from the nearest point on the southward curve of the river Ingalgi is a village about half a mile from the north bank practically on the straight line from Tālīkota southwards, while Tondihal, where the remains of earthworks were noticed by Campbell, is almost exactly opposite Ingalgi on the south bank These earthworks extended to a distance of about ten miles westwards. There is a local tradition that the battle was fought at a village called Islāmpūr half a mile south of the Krishna near the place where the Ilkal joins it It should be noted that the Krishna has a very narrow bed here and there is a ferry which takes passengers from the bank opposite Rakasgi to the bank opposite Islāmpur. The site of the battle indicated in the Survey of India 2 inch map is fully three miles east of Islāmpur and quite a distance from where the limits of the earthworks were seen by Campbell, and it is not known why the site of the battle was indicated there. If we suppose the Vijayanagari wall to commence at Tondihal it would pass through Islāmpūr and extent westwards to Dhānūr ford about thirteen miles from Tondihal and a couple of miles from the sangam of the Mālaprabhā and the Krishna Hukeri river joins the Maski twelve miles south of the Krishna which corresponds with the site of the battle given by Ferishta Bayapur and Bhogapur are the names of two distinct hamlets south-east of Ingalgī on the road to Mudgal, and are separated from each other by about a mile and a half. In the same way Rakasgi and Tangadgi, which are doubtless, the real names of the villages mentioned in the Telugu documents as Raksagi and Tangadi, are two distinct places on the northern or left side of the river, both half a mile north of the Krishna but separated from each other by nine miles.[9]

[9] *Ingalgi*, village in the Bijapur district, now in the Mysore State, half a mile from the northern bank of the Krishna, almost within one of the southern bends , 16°9′ N., 76°17′ E.

Tondihal, in the Raichur district, now in the Mysore State, almost due south of Nalatvad, half a mile from the south bank of the Krishna , 16°13′ N., 76°17′ E.

Dhanur, in the Bijapur District, about 12 miles from the ford opposite Tondihal to the west, a couple of miles from south bank of the river ; 16°12′ N., 76°7′ E.

Now if we look at the topography of the locality objectively and picture to ourselves the probable movement of troops, it would appear that the invading army proceeded due south from Tālīkotā towards Vijayanagar territory, especially as it would then pass through the friendly town Nalatvad, and then reached the northern or the left bank of the river which is but six miles from it. On reaching Ingalgī it would save the earthworks in full view just twelve furlongs away on the southern or the right bank at Tondihal. These earthworks must have followed the present straight path from Tondihal to Dhānūr and the sangam of Mālaprabhā and the Krishna. The invading army adopted the ruse of leaving the Ingalgī ford, passed by Rakasgi to Tangadgi (which is almost opposite to Dhanūr as Tondihal is to Ingalgī), then it suddenly turned back and reached Ingalgī, which is twelve miles distant from Tangadgi, and crossed the ford When there was hardly anyone to oppose it. It is possible that some Vijayanagar troops were left to guard the place where the Ilkal joins the Krishna which later came to be known as Islāmpur and an engagement took place there between the opposing armies. As the main Vijayanagar army was some miles distant it must have been a walkover on the part of the allied forces and after this initial advantage they must have moved on to the south till they reached Banhatti on the confluence of the Maski with its southern tributary. There is no doubt that by this time the main Vijayanagar army had reached Banhatti as well and the two main armies came to grips. There is no reason why the allied armies should have waited at Tondihal and not taken advantage of the open ground to push forward.[10]

contd. from page 026

Rakasgi, (not Raksasi), in the Bijapur district half a mile south of the Krishna, 4 miles west af Ingalgi, 16°11′ N, 76°14′ E *Tangadgi* (not Tangadi), also in the Bijapur district half a mile north of the Krishna, but 8 miles west of Rakasgi 16°13′ N. 76°6′ E *Sangam* of Malaprabha with the Krishna, also the name of a village, 16°12′ N, 76°3′ E

It is interesting to note that local tradition places the ford by which the allied armies crossed over from Ingalgi Islampur on the other side of the river; for this see Bashir-uddin Ahmed, *Waqi'at Mamlukat Bijapur*, Agra, 1915, Vol. 1, p 112, n *Islampur* in the Bijapur district, ½ a mile south of the Kirishna, about 2 miles W N W. of Tondihal; 16 9 N.; 76. 14 E.

[10] River Hukeri, *Fer.*, II, 128; *Briggs* III, 246. The Hukeri flows into the Maski from the south near the village *Banihatti* which is situated on 15°53′ N., 76°18′ E. This place is twelve miles from the Krishna within what was then Vijayanagar territory. *See Bijapur District Gazetteer*, p. 770.

There is not much to be said in favour of the battle having taken place between Rakasgī and Tangadgī on the northern or left bank of the Krishna, and even the protagonists of the theory are not absolutely certain of it *Ramarajana Bakhair* on which a stand may be taken, is full of the most absurd details in regard to the battle as well as in other matters "Akbar Jalalu'd-din Mughal Padshah; the king of Jahalnapur" is made to take part in the fight with two and a half crores of foot-soldiers, one lac elephants, two lac camels and many others, that the weight of the gunpowder carried by the Vijayanagar troops is said to have come to nearly ten crores of maunds, that the number of cannon balls in the army reached the astronomical figure of ten thousand billion, obviously it is difficult to put any reliance on a document like this. The same highly exaggerated account of the battle is given in the *Kaifiyat* of Nandiyala as well as some other *Kaifiyats*, where it is related that "the Muhammadans who invaded (the country) put Aliya Ramaraja with his army to death at Raksasi-Tangadi. Now an "invasion" of the Vijayanagar country was possible only after the enemy had crossed the Krishna and not otherwise. There is absolutely no evidence to show that Ramaraj crossed the river at all We must also remember that the place where the Vijayanagar army was routed was, according to the *Kaifiyats*, near the confluence of Mālaprabhā and the Krishna, and this confluence is on the southern bank of the Krishna. The two villages, Rakasgī and Tangadgī are separated by no less than nine miles, and yet they have been hyphenated together as if they formed one unit and placed near the Sangam! It is related by Ferishta that the allies left forty thousand soldiers at the furthest point they reached in the strategic movement westwards, which would be near Tangadgī, and it is possible that some kind of rear-guard action took place there, but it could not have been a major action as the Vijayanagar army must have set upon the pursuit of the main allied army which had marched southwards. There could have been no attempt on the part of Rāmarāj to cross over when the enemy was already within the Vijayanagar territory ready to give battle. It is strange that even the late Father Heras, who was always in search of objective realities, accepted "Raksas-Tagdi" as the scene of the battle, and further tried to coordinate the Persian

chronicles with Telugu documents by placing the two villages south of the Krishna.[11]

Thus, with the historical, topographical and documentary data at our disposal we must reach the conclusion that the so-called battle of Tālikota or Raksasī-Tangadī was fought twelve miles south of the Krishna, possibly at Bannihatti on the sangam of the Maski river and its southern tributary. It is time that either the traditional name of Tālikotā is restored or, better still, the battle is called the *Battle of the Krishna* as it was fought a few miles south of that river.

11 *Araviḍu*, 203.

MURAQQA'-I-GULSHAN

During one of my recent visits to Irān I enjoyed the proud privilege of being shown round the imperial Palace of Golestan in Teheran, where some of the finest manuscripts of the Imperial Library of Iran were also displayed. These, among others, included the world-famous Mughal album styled as *Muraqqa'-i-Gulshan* This album contains specimens of calligraphy aud miniatures by Iranian and Mughul artists and was shown to the public for the first time. when, among other objects it was sent over by the Iranian Government to the Exhibition of Iranian Art held at Burlington House, January-March, 1931.

Laurence Binyon, who published a descriptive catalogue of the miniatures exhibited at Burlington House in 1933, described this album as follows·

" It contained ninety-two folios, so arranged that a double opening of calligraphy alternated with two pages of miniatures, and measured 40 x 24 5 centimetres It was bound in a nineteenth-century Persian binding, but the mounting, and therefore the compilation, was evidently the work of the Imperial Mughul library".[1]

Besides the fact that Binyon has nowhere mentioned that the title of the album is *Muraqqa'-i-Gulshan*, by which name it is famed in Iran, and which is written on every painting displaped at the Burlington House Exhibition and visible even in the prints included in Binyon's *Miniature Painting*,[2] there are other discrepancies of detail, that I discovered on seeing this album. For instance Binyon has recorded that the album contained 92 folios, but on checking up I found that the album contained only 88 folios, which are

[1] Binyon, L., *Persian Miniature Painting*, p 192.

[2] Binyon, L., *Persian Miniature Painting*, Illustrations No. 81, 91, 95, 132, 133, 165, 232, & 236 These illustrations correspond to the following pages of the original album respectively marked on the prints. 55 & 62 (double paged miniature), 6, 7, 131, 138, 147, 158 & 42,

divided as follows:

Miniature Paintings:	49 folios
Calligraphy :	34 folios
Miscellaneous	5 folios
Total :	88 folios

This description tallies with the account given by Dr. Mehdi Bayani, [1] the Director of the National Library of Teheran, who in his *Specimens of Fine Writing from the Imperial Library of Iran* states:

توصیف مرقع گلشن ' خود در خود تالیف رساله ایست مفصل که البته
در این مختصر نمی گنجد مجمل آن مفصل اینکه ، این مرقع باندازهٔ
۲۴۰ - ۴۱۰ و مشتمل بر ۱۷۶ صفحهٔ مذهب مرصع دشعیر سازی
ممتاز است که منقسم به ۹۸ صفه مجالس نقاشی ابرنگ و نیسیا تور
ممتاز و ۱۰ صفه متفرقه و ۶۸ صفحه خطوط نستعلیق با قلام مختلف
از اسافیه شده است ، واز خطوط بیش از سه چهارم آن ، رقم میرعلی
یروی و بقیه رقم سلطان علی مشهدی ' محمد حسین کشمیری ، سلطان
محمد نور عبدالرحیم عنبرین میبا شد

"The description of *Muraqqa'-i-Gulshan* demands that a detailed thesis should be compiled on it, which, of course, cannot be included in this space. Briefly this album is 240 x 410 and comprises 176 excellent gilded, decorated and flower-painted pages, which are divided into 98 water-colour and miniature paintings, 10 miscellaneous pages and 68 pages of *Nastaliq* calligraphy by various pens of master scribes More than 3/4th of the writings are written by Mir Ali Haravi and the rest are written by Soltan Ali Mashhādi, Mohammad Husain, Kashmiri, Soltan Mohammad Nur and Abdur Rahim Anbarin Qalam".

Obviously Binyon did not check up the contents of the album properly, just as he has omitted to mention the name of this famous album.

Lately in a section of the West Pakistan press some paintings of this album have been discussed The discussion relates to a painting of "Two Camels Fighting by Behzad" (page6 of the *Muraqqa*

[1] Bayani, Dr Mehdi. *Specimins of Fine Writing*, p. 122

and illustration No. A1-32 in *Persian Miniature Painting*) and a copy of this painting by Nanha, the well known artist of the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr (page 7 of the *Moraqqa'* and illustration No. 133 in *Persian Miniature Painting*) Dr. Abdullah Chughtai, in an article published in the *Proceedings of the Idara-i-Ma'arif-i-Islamia* (First Session) had thus described the paintings:

اس تصویر میں ایک آونٹ ھے اور ایک معمر شخص اس کی نکیل تھامے ہوئے ھے۔ غالباً بھٹانے کی کوشش کررھا ھے جہانگیر نے اس تصویر کی ایک عمدہ نقل اپنے عہد کے ھندو مصورنا ھنای نامی سے ۱۰۱۷ھ میں کرائی تھی۔ یہ بھی لندن کی نمائیش میں موجود تھی۔

"There is a camel in this painting and an old man is holding its halter. Probably he is trying to make it sit down Jahangir got prepared a fine copy of this painting, in 1017 A H., by Nanhai, a Hindu painter of his reign."

In the recent discussion it has been correctly stated that Dr. Abdullah Chughtai has mixed up the paintings of Behzad and Nanha (it is not Nanhai as mentioned by Dr Chughtai) with some other paintings, which he describes in his article. In fact the paintings described by Dr. Chughtai (neither by Behzad nor its copy by Nanha) are not contained in the *Muraqqa'-i-Gulshan*, and the correct description of paintings as recorded by Binyon is: "The camels are interlocked head on while their two keepers endeavour to separate them: the one by a rope round its foreleg, the other with a stick. In the background is a man spinning the camel hair. The two camels are in contrasting shades of light and dark brown, and have silk saddle-cloths".[1]

It may be mentioned that the subject of fight of two camels has attracted the attention of some other Artists of this time also, and they have treated it with modifications and variations. For instance in the miniatue painting preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, we find there are only two camels in the scene bitting at the legs of each other. Similarly the illustrated *Babur Namah*, preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, contains

[1] *Proceedings of the Idara-i-Ma'arif-i-Islamia* p 406

a miniature painting, in which along with the scenes of other sports like the fight of eléphants and wrestling, midst a large gathering of spectators, we find two camels without any saddle-cloths, biting at each other's legs.

There is another point in the article of Dr. Chughtai, which deserves attention. Talking about Amīr 'Alī Shīr Nawāī, a minister of the court of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā Baiqarah (875-911 A. H.) and a contemporary of Behzad, Dr. Chughtai has remarked:

غالباً یہ اعلیٰ مصور بھی تھا ۔ جس کا ثبوت بوسٹن موزیم امریکہ کے مجموعہ کی ایک تصویر سے ملتا ہے جس پر ”عمل میر شیر علی“ لکھا ہے ! ۔

"Perhaps he was also a fine painter. This is proved by the inscription of "Work of Mir Ali Sher" on a painting in the collection preserved in the Boston Museum, America".

This guess is far from correct. Amīr 'Ali Shīr Nawaī, the great poet of Turkish and Persian languages, although a great patron and all authorities like *Qāmūsul 'Alam* (vol. 1, p. 41), *Lughat-i-Tārikhiyah wa Jughrāfiyah* (vol. xiv,p. 53) and *Tazkira-i-Nasrabādī* (p. 470), while praising the poetic talent of Amīr Alī Shīr Nawaī have made no mention of his artistic proclivities. Dr. Chughtai has done well in not including the name of this learned *wazir* in the list of the pupils of Behzad which he has appended to this article.

1 Binyon, L, p 130
2 No. 169 of Plate LIX in *The Splendour that was Ind* by K. T. Shah.
3 *Ibid*, No. 312 of Plate CV
4 *Proceedings of the Idara-i-Ma'arif-i-Islamia*, p. 400.

SHAH JAHAN'S NORTH-WESTERN POLICY

Having made his position secure Shāh Jahān directed his attention to the problem of Central Asia. He decided to make Kabul his head-quarter, and reached there in 1638, 'to enquire into the routes to Mawara-un-nahr for its conquest, which is the ancestral kingdom of the Shah"[1] To forestall the suspicions of the Uzbegs, Shah Jahān gave out that the movement of the armies was a precaution against Shāh Ṣafī's expected attack on Qandahar. He ordered Dāra Shukoh to proceed with his army to Kabul and encamp near Nawshehra.[2] A review of this army of 50,000 was held there and then an order a was given for a march towards Kabul.[3] Sā'id Khān and Khān Daurān were already in Kabul with their armies.

The presence and reinforc ment of the Mughul army in Kabul created a great commoton in Balkh Nadhar Muhammad Khān was frightend and appealed to his elder brother Imām Q uli Khān, the ruler of Tranoxiana for help[4] The authors of *Bahrul-Asrar* and *Tadhkirah Muqim-Khani* are correct in their estimate of these preparations Some of the modern writers on Indian history are mistaken in their view that Shāh Jahān planned to move direct on Balkh. In support of this conclusion the testimony of *Tadhkirah Muqim Khani* has been put forward, that Shāh Jahān desisted from the attack due to a threatening letter from Imām Qulī Khān, who had come down from Samarqand and to help his brother, Nadhar Muhammad Khān The real explanation of the delay of five years in launching an attack on Balkh is that Shāh Jahān wanted to prepare thoroughly before taking any vital step He wanted to give his troops a thorough training in mountain warfare, to collect sizable quantity of provisions, and lastly he wanted to take necessary

[1] *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol II, 303.

[2] *Ibid*

[3] *Ibid* p. 305.

[4] *Bahrul-Asrar-fi-Manaqib-al-Akhyar*, I.O Ms. ff 268.

precautions any Persian move against Qandahar. Besides this it was necessary to make a demonstration to terrorize the refractory tribes who had been giving trouble at the instigation of Naḏẖar Muḥammad Ḵẖan. For these reasons it does not seem probable that Ṣẖāh Jahān was overawed by the letter of Imām Qulī.

The first step which Ṣẖāh Jahān took was to send expeditions against the tribesmen tribesmen These expeditions served two purposes; the refractory tribes were subdued as the Mughul army acquired some experience of the difficulties of mountains warfare. They also gave the Mughuls a chance to reconnoitre the area for military operations.

Both Ndẖr Muḥammad Ḵẖān ānd Imām Qulī Ḵẖān professed friendship towards Ṣẖāh Jahān and had been despatching regular embassies with rich presents to him.[1]

Naḏẖr Muḥammad Ḵẖān was an ambitious man At the time of Jahāngir's death he had tried to move into the territory of Kabul, but he had suffered severe reverses. He remained quiet for some years, then he started again intriguing against his own brother, Imām Qualī Ḵẖān. This was the reason why he wrote secret letters to Ṣẖāh Jahān and Dārā Ṣẖukoh, probably asking for help against his brother.[2] To counter this embassy Imām Qulī also despatched an ambassador to Ṣẖāh Jahān.[3]

Thus the situation looked quite encouraging for Ṣẖāh Jahān; he sent Mīr Birkah in 1641 to Buḵẖārā to report these developments to the court.[4] At the end of 1641 Mīr Birkah informed the court that blindness had caused the abdication of Imām Qulī Ḵẖān from the *Wilayat of Turan* in favour [1] of Naḏẖr Muḥammad Ḵẖān. This abdication was effected by the constant intrigues employed by Naḏẖr Muḥammad Ḵẖān. Imām Qulī started for a pilgrimage to Mecca, but he wanted to go by way of India. This may have been a move on his part to seek the help of Ṣẖāh Jahān against his brother, Naḏẖr Muḥammad Ḵẖān. The latter curtly ignored this wish and sent Imām Qulī Ḵẖan by way of Persia[5] Naḏẖr Muḥammad Ḵẖan was

1 *Bahrul-Asrar*, I. O., Mss. ff. 262-272.

2 *Badshah Namah*, vol. II, p 192.

3 '*Amal-i-Salih*, vol. 2, p 324.

4 *Ibid*, p. 346.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 347.

proclaimed ruler of Transoxianain 1641.[1] His ambition to amass wealth and land soon made him unpopular with the nobility of Māwarāun-nahr. [2] He deprived most of the nobles of their lands and wealth on vari ous pretexts.[3] A group of hostile *amirs* was formed against him under the leadership of Bāqiyūz Nor were his relations with his kinsmen happy

When 'Abdul 'Azīz requested him to bestow the rulership of Balkh, retaining the whole of Samarqand and Bukhārā under himself Nadhr Muhammad declined the request[4] Thus he lost the sympathies of 'Abdul-Azīz as well. Bāqiyūz rebelled against him in 1642 with the help of the Kosacks [5] 'Abdal-Azīz, who was sent to crush the rebellion himself joined the rebels

The position and authority of Nadhr Muhammad Khān were shaken to their roots A better opportunity could not have presented itself as far as Shāh Jahān's plans were concerned. He decided to send his son " Murād Bakhsh with 50,000 horse and 10,000 musketeers, rocket men and gunners " to Balkh [6]

During the years 1642 to 1645 the Mughul army under 'Alī Mardān Khān had not only completed their scouting and reconnoitring but had also effected minor conquests [7]

Although the opportunity was favourable to push the victory further, 'Alī Mardān Khān, realising that they were short of provisions, and especially of fodder for the horses, desisted from sending a large force to Balkh [8] A band of stone carvers and diggers were sent to the Kotal pass to make it passable, during the winter.[9] Raja Jagat Singh who undertook to complete the task was ordered to put a wooden structure at the site of the pass to prevent avalanches [10]

1 *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol. ,2 p. 346 See also Lahori and *Bahrul Asrar*

2 *Ibid*, p 438.

3 *Ibid*, p 439 For the whole story see *Bahrul Asrar*, ff 268-290.

4 *Ibid.*, p

5 See Lahori, vol II, p 436

6 *Badshah Namah*, vol II, p 482

7 *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol. II, p 451

8 *Ibid*, p 451

9 *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol. II, p 454

10 *Ibid*, p 439 This was the only pass which was passable during the winter.

On the last day of *Dhil Hijja* 1055 H the Emperor gave his farewell to Murād Bakṣh and to *Amirul-Umara* 'Alī Mardān Khān (who was, of course the real commander), as well as other officers,[1]

The Mughul army entered Balkh and captured Kahmard, Ḥiṣār and Dih Mirzāyān [2] Prince Murād was anxious to capture Qundūz the capital of Badakhshān, as he wanted to make it his headquarters.[3] On 19 *Rabi'* I 1059 H (April 1649) Murād entered Qundūz without much opposition [4] Prince Murād spent a lavish amount on the people of Qundūz to allay their fears and pacify them. This gesture was necessary because the city and the countryside had been suffering hardships [5] The land lay fallow due to inter-tribal quarrels and scarcity of provisions This point is to be noted, as some modern historians[6] have charged the Mughuls with responsibility for the famine and pestilence, which broke out on the eve of their departure from Badakhshān. This is wrong and not borne out by facts, as the signs of famine were already apparent before their original attack, and extended to Samarqand, which they never reached

After capturing Qundūz, Murād advanced towards Balkh where Nadhr Muhammad Khān was still holding the fort Negotiations were started for a peaceful settlement [7] Nadhr Muḥammad realised his weak position as he was cut off from the forces of Samarqand which he had antagonised towards himself in the past. It was impossible for him to keep his hold on Balkh, so he decided to yield to the Mughul prince [8] but his advisers pointed out the dangers in giving himself up to the Mughuls. Taking this advice Nadhr Muḥammad took to flight with his sons, Subḥān Qulī and Qutluq [9] Murād sent Asālat Khān and Bahādur Khān to pursue him He was defeated near Shibar-ghān Nadhr Muḥammad and fled towards Khurāsān [10] Murād entered Balkh victoriously in July, 1646

1 *Badshah Namah*, vol 782.
2 Salih, vol. II, p 480.
3 *Ibid*
4 *Ibid*
5 *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol II, p 480.
6 For instance Sarkar, Sharma, and Saksena.
7 *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol II, p 484.
8 *Ibid*
9 *Ibid*, p 485
10 *Ibid*, p 487, Also *Tarikh Shah 'Abbas*, ff 144

Prince Murād however soon got disgusted with the expedition and recalled Bahādur and Aṣālat Khān to Balkh, to hand over the city to them, and then retire to Kabul He requested the Emperor to recall him, but Shāh Jahān was not prepared to do so Instead he offered him the post of governor of Tūrān, which had still to be conquered, and also sent Sa'dullāh Khān to advise him to stay there for some time, but the Prince declined to obey his father who had to recalled him [1]

Murād's departure created a feeling of frustration among the *amirs* and officers of the army who had been serving in the campaign for more than six years. The rigours of the climate and scarcity of provisions lowered their morale For the Hindustani soldiers the conquered country and its people offered peculiar difficulties. Murād's retirement was therefore a ruinous step Several of the Rajput cheifs retired to Kabul while other *amirs* proceeded towards Balkh without waiting for orders The result was chaos the tribesmen began to raid the northern and eastern parts of Balkh and Badakhshān Some of the Mughul soldiers also plundered the country side [2]

Shāh Jahān had received detailed reports of all these events Anxious to redeem the situation as quickly as possible he despatched his trusted and able minister, Sā'dullāh Khān He was directed to persuade Murād to hold on to the governorship, if he disagreed then Najābat Khan, son of Shāh Rukh Mirzā, who had once ruled over Balkh and Badakhshān was to be appointed in his place It was a good proposal, and would have created good feeling between the people of Badakhshān and the occupying force, but Murād and Najābat Khān did not listen to Sā'adullāh Khān, and he was obliged to appoint Bahādur Khān, and Aṣālat Khān to govern Balkh Qulī Khān was appointed governor of Badakhshān. The army was kept under the command of Rustam Khān in the fort of Andakhūd [3] To win over the peasants and the common people of Balkh and Badakhshān, who had lately been oppressed by the army, an order was given to distribute cash among them so that they could start thier sowing again.[4]

[1] *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol II, p 494
[2] *Badshah-Namah* (Lahori) vol II, p 559
[3] *Badshah-Namah*, vol II, p 560 *'Amal-i Salih*, vol. II, p. 496.
[4] *Amil-i-Salih*, vol II, p 497 Also Lahori, vol II, p. 563.

Presents and grants were also distributed among the learned *khwajahs*, *'ulama* and the leading people of Balkh The members of Nadhr Muhammad Khān's family were kindly treated and sent to the Mughul court with all honour and respect Mughul commanders and administrators were posted in important places.[1] The Mughul coinage was introduced [2] Sa'd ullāh Khān was a capable man He completed his task in only twenty two days and then returned to the court at Kabul on 6 September, 1646.

In spite of all their efforts, however, the Mughul officers could not pacify the country. The hatred between the conquered people and the Mughul army continued The resistance to Mughul occupation assumed a national character. The situation in Balkh needed a strong man to call a halt to the local resistance and once again reestablish a firm spring board for further conquests in Māwarā-un-nahr.

Shāh Jahān therefore summoned Aurangzib from Ahmadābād on 3 *Sha'ban*, 1056 (4 September 1646) He could not have selected a better man for the purpose Aurangzib joind the royal court at Lahore on 20 January, 1647. Shāh Jahān gave him leave for Balkh on February 10, and in the beginning of May he crossed the Hindu-Kush [3] Aurangzib found the situation to be critical, but without being discouraged by it he entered Balkh and defeated Nadhr Muhammad's son Qutluq in a hotly contested battle. His task was difficult because he had to fight the hostile and contumacious bands at every stage. To add to his difficulties Nadhr Muhmmad Khān also returned to Balkh without acquiring any considerablehelp from Shāh 'Abbas of Persia [4] Aurangzib was not given enough forces for this difficult task Murād had more then 50,000 troops, while Aurangzib was given less then half of this number [5] Moreover, whatever Mughul forces were at present in Balkh, he could not have utilised them as they were distributed over the whole occupied country and were guarding important military posts and cities. The scarcity of provisions was another

[1] *Ibid*, p 499.

[2] *Badshah-Namah*, vol. II, p. 563 *'Amil-i-Salih* p 497

[3] *Badshah-Namah* vol II, p 709

[4] *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol II p. 529 *Fawaid Safawiyah*, ff 486. See also *Mnnsha'at Tahir Wahid*, ff. 53 b

[5] *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol II p 552, 553

threat to the occupying power Aurangzib advanced towards Pashāi, clearing Ulbergha, 'Allabād and Timūrābād from the enemies.[1] But Subḥān Quli, who knew the country so well, taking a cross country route, appeared with a large force in the rear of Aurangzib He marched to Fayzābād and reached there on 7 June, 1647. Here he faced the enemy who had gathered his full force 'Abd-al-'Azīz had also joined this force[2] Aurangzib fought with remarkable courage but the battle was indecisive On 16 *Jamadi-ul-awwal* 1047 (9 June, 1647) 'Abd-ul 'Azīz Khan started negotiations for peace with the Mughuls The author of *Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri* says that while fighting was in progress" the time of mid-day prayers arrived. Aurangzīb, without taking any notice of the force of battle spread his carpet and began to repeat the obligatory prayers Aurangzib was within the sight of 'Abdul 'Aziz Khan, who, on seeing this was very much impressed by the sterling character of Aurangzib and uttered that "one who is so devoted to Almighty is unconquerable."[3]

Perhaps this was not the sole reason for the peace negotiations 'Abd ul-'Azīz had realised the weakness of his position His soldiers was were not as experienced as those of his opponent, in arms also they were far inferior to the Mughuls In view of all these weaknesses 'Abd-ul 'Azīz retired to Samarqand realising the futility of such a war[5] Aurangzīb himself retired to Balkh, from where he forwarded the peace proposals, offered by 'Abd-ul 'Azīz to Shāh Jahān. Nādhr Muḥammad Khan, who had also arrived in the country started his negotiations for the recovery of Balkh and Badakhshān as promised to him earlier by Shah Jahān He promised to remain loyal to the Mughuls by sending his son and grandson to the Mughul court.[6]

Shah Jahān had been approached on this subject by Persia. Shāh 'Abbas II, after assuming his full powers, wrote to Shah Jahān asking for the return of the country of Balkh to Nadhr Muḥammad[2] Shah Jahān was no doubt worried about Nadhr Muḥammad's escape

1 'Abdul Hamid, vol. II, p 694, 695
2 *Ibid*, p p 786, 789
3 *Maathir-i-'Alamgiri*, p 531
4 *Badshah-Namah* vol II, p 709. Also *Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri*, p 531
5 Muhammad Waris, *Badshah-Namah*, p. 10-14
6 *Mu'nsha'at-i-Tahir-Wahid*, p. 30, 31 32 (Newal Kishore)

to Persia, and the sequence to that escape, the letter from Shah 'Abbās, pointed to the possibility of an alliance of Nadhr and 'Abbās. To counter this he had sent an ambassador to Shah 'Abbās, requesting him not to help Nadhr Mudammad. Shah Jahān was partially successful in his request, as Shah 'Abbas did not help Nadhr Muhammad Shāh Jahān had to face many enemies He had to fight 'Abdul-'Aziz, the people of the country, and Nadhr Muhammad besides forces of nature, such as the severely of the climate and scarcity of provisions He had already spent a huge sum on these wars; to continue it would have been a severe burden on his treasury. He therefore seized the opportunity of granting peace to Nadhr Muhammad and accepting his submission.

After concluding peace on 23 *Sha'ban* 1057 (13 September, 1647) and leaving the country in the custody of Nadhr Muhammad he returned to Kabul On his way back the Mughul army suffered great hardships due to the harshness of winter and the snow laden passes.[1] Thus ended the long cherished desire of the Mughul Emperors for the occupation of Balkh, Badakhshan and Samarqand.

The Mughul withdrawal from Balkh affected their position in Qandahar especially and in the north-western territory as a whole Their rivals and opponents took advantage of this situation. Persia was the first to seize the opportunity Shah 'Abbās demanded the return of Qandahar [2] No reply was sent to this communication but preparations were started to defend the fort

Shāh Jahān reached Lahore on December 8, 1648, and wanted to proceed to Kabul without delay, but his courtiers advised to the contrary. They said that the young Shah would not attack Qandahar during this severe winter Unfortunately Shāh Jahān accepted this advice and stayed in Kabul The Mughal calculations proved wrong because 'Abbās launched an attack on Qandahar on 12 *Muharram* 1059/ 16 January, 1649 and laid siege to it Shāh Jahān was upset and hurriedly ordered Aurangzīb, Sa'dullah Khan and Raja Jaswant Singh to march against the Persians with a force of 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. He himself started for Kabul on 5 March, but while he was crossing Attock on 19 March, he received information that the fort was surrendered to the Shāh by his governor who had lost hope of succour from him, and that Shāh 'Abbās, after making arrangements for the defence of the forts of Qandahar, Bust and Zamīndāwar had

1 Waris, p. 14.

2 Tahir Wahid (Letters of Shah 'Abbas) p 32, 33.

returned to Persia on 27 February [1]

Aurangzīb reached Qandahār on May 16 and besieged the fort. But his army was not equipped for a seige It did not have a single big cannon which could penetrate the defences of the fort As the army had started in a hurry it did not even have enough provisions. Aurangzīb was helpless in these conditions The besieged Persian garrison showered bullets continuously on the Mughuls Aurangzīb wisely decided to send a detachment to capture the route through which the Persians got reinforcements He himself turned to digging tunnels and trenches In the meantime he heard of the approach of a Persian army which had overcome his forces at Bust. He immediately sent another detachment which defeated the Persians; but the situation at Qandahār did not improve Shah Jahān recalled Aurangzīb on 5 September, 1649 [2]

Shāh Jahān ordered another siege in the following year The preparations went rapidly ahead, but the expedition was delayed for two more years through the machinations of Dārā Shukoh Aurangzīb's letters throw a flood of light on this subject They are the best source of information for the causes of Mughul failure to recover Qandahār

Dārā himself wanted to join the expedition of 1652, but he did not want to share the laurels of victory with his brother of whom he was jealous His position at court was very strong Shāh Jahān loved him dearly and used to listen to and act on his counsel. It can be said that Shāh Jahān was under Dārā's spell Dārā not only stopped Shuja' from joining Aurangzīb's forces but was also successful in getting Shah Jahān's departure to Qandahār postponed [3]

In addition to these drawbacks Aurangzīb had to face the obstinacy of his father No doubt he had possessed a keen judgement and had been an able warrior, but he developed the weakness of disregarding the advice of others He thought in all the affairs his opinion was right and his orders should be implicitly carried out Dārā took advantage of this and continuously poisoned his ears against Aurangzīb. Shāh Jahān's arrogance and Dārā's intrigues were mainly responsible for Aurangzīb's failure to recapture Qandahār.

Aurangzīb's plans for an attack on Qandahār, were rejected ; he was forced to look to Shah Jahān for every order and could not take decision even on minor matters. This was a lamentable position for him.

[1] Waris, pp, 35-48

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 46-49

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 49-64

The Emperor ordered him to attack the fort from two sides. In reply Aurangzīb explained the impossiblity of such an action; but Shāh Jahān insisted on his orders. Aurangzīb again emphasised the impracticability of the royal orders and wrote to the Emperor that he would act according to his plans but would not be responsible for the consequences. Much valuable time was lost in this exchange of letters.[1]

Meanwhile affairs of Kabul took a new turn. An army of 10,000 Uzbegs had descended on Ghaznah through the western ranges of the Hindu Kush Shāh Jahān was alarmed by this new danger He at once concluded that this incursion was at the instigation of the Persians He feared that they would block the way from Kabul to Qandahār and immediately despatched an order in July 1652 to Aurangzīb and Sa'dullah Khān to raise the siege and to repair to the royal court, bringing the cannons with them [2]

Aurangzīb knew too well that this was not a danger which should alarm the Emperor He wrote to Shāh Jahān about his reactions, but the Emperor would not listen Even his petition to prolong his siege for at least one more month was rejected [3] His request for another chance to conquer Qandahār was curtly refused [4]

The issues became much clearer when Dārā himself assumed the command of the third siege of Qandahār [5] There was no doubt that it was Dārā's intrigue that had completely crippled the efforts of Aurangzīb, and as a result Shāh Jahān began to underrate him He was sent as governor to the Deccan

Dārā Shukoh led the campaign against Qandahār in 1653 His mishandling of the officers and severe orders soon made him unpopular with his army. Many of his nobles trurned against him. Ultimately the siege was called off

This was the last Mughul effort to recover Qandahār from the Persians. The signs of internal strife in the Mughul Empire were already apparent Dārā persisted in his opposition to Aurangzīb His *jagir* was reduced and he was slighted in other ways But he more than made up his failure in Qandahār by his victories against the states of Bijapur and Golconda.[6] This enraged Dārā greatly and he intensified his intrigues against Aurangzīb.

1 *Ruqqa'at* pp 25, 32.
2 Waris, p 110 Also *Fawaid Safawiyah* and *Ruqqa'at*, pp. 25, 32.
3 *Ruqqa'at* (edited by Najib Ashraf Nadvi) p. 62.
4 *Ibid*
5 *'Amal-i-Salih*, vol. III. p. 161
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 235.

"THE SULTAN" IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

(Later Ghaznawids)

The word "Sultan (lit. power) appears to have been first used in its modern sense in the fourth century of the Hijrah era

Ibn Khaldūn was perhaps the first historian who used this title of Sultan for Ja'far Barmakī Ibn-al-Athīr maintains that Mahmūd of Ghaznah was the first prince on whom this title was conferred by the Khalifah. Al-Utbī, a contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd, catagorically denies this theory of *Athir*, but he always refers to Mahmūd as "Sultan" in his *Tarikh-i-Yamini* The first Muslim coin bearing this title is that of Ibrāhīm bin Mas'ūd 1059-99, a grandson of Maḥmūd The Ghaznawids were followed by the Saljūqs who made a free use of this title The Mongols, the Mamlūks and the Ottomons continued this title

Even in the very early stages of the 'Abbāsid regime their arose the need of justifying the power and position of these mighty defenders of Islam Māwardī was the first political thinker to discuss this problem, although he has used the term '*Amir*' He has tried to adjust his supremacy in the administrative set up with the *dejure* sovereignty of the Khalifah Nizam-ul-Mulk warned the Sulṭān not to interfere in religion 'Awfī in his *Jawami ul Hikayat* and Shaykh Sa'dī in his *Bustan* have written much on the 'Sultan', his duties and good government

Enthronement of the Sultan

The slogan 'The King is dead, long live the King' was not unknown to the Ghaznawids The enthronement of the new Sulṭān at Ghznah was always an occasion of great import and merrymaking The people mourned the death of the deceased Sulṭān, but they also celebrated the coronation of his successor with rejoicings

The saintly natured king is dead,
The king of pious descent has ascended
The world still mourning the departed soul,
Is set in rapture by enthronement of the other
If the illumination lamp is removed from our midst,
In its place luminous candle is inducted.
Ibrāhīm, friend of the country, is found.
By those who lost Shāh Fārrukhzad.[1]

[1] Bay haqi, p. 378. The author has not mentioned the name of the poet.

The ceremony of enthronement was held in the great audience hall of the palace. The Sulṭān entered the hall in a procession, set himself on the throne and gave public audience. The courtiers, dignitaries, civil and military officers and the jurists approached the throne one by one, condoled for the departed soul of his predecessor and offered felici-tations to the new monarch Then the Sulṭān was crowned. The enthronement was the formal declaration of his accession to power To the Subuktīginids the enthronement had a great significance. Of the seventeen rulers of the dynasty only four succeeded to the throne peacefully , otherwise in rest of the cases the fratricidal war decided the issue of succession Under these circumstances, more often than not, it was the enthronement that established the authority of the new change over, from all the pulpits in his dominions the *khutbah* was recited in his name Even the 'Letter of Patent 'from the Khalifah at Baghdad was received after the coronation,[1] and as such only confirmed the succession

The enthronement ceremony was celebrated in the midst of general rejoicings and festivities Besides these, petitions from the public were heard, justice was dispensed and the prison doors were opened,[2] palaces,. gardens, bazaars and houses were decorated, *qasidahs* were read in the praise of the Sulṭān and portion of the *Holy Qur'an* were recited Large sums were given in charity to the poor Music and singing also formed part of the celebrations [3]

It was not necessary that the enthronement ceremonry should be held only at Ghaznah , it could take place at provincial headquarters also.[4] In such cases the ceremoney was also held in absentia at Ghaznah [5]

Normally the corronation took place on the death of the one and the coming to power of the other ruler But some time there were two rulres simultaneously claiming to exercise their authority Mas'ūd for instance crowned himself in *Sha'ban*, 421 H , while his brother Muḥammad was still supreme at Ghaznah [6] When Mawdūd managed to defeat his uncle Muḥammad and crowned himself at Ghaznah, his brother Majdūd declared himself independent at Lahore [7]

1 Bayhaqi, *Tarikh-i-Mas'udi*, p. 49.

2 *Ibid*, pp 38-9

3 *Ibid*, p. 27

4 *Ibid*, p 38

5 *Ibid*, p 6. Only one example available

6 Bayhaqi, p 39 In such cases the attitude of the Khalifah was of a passive spectator.

7 *Raudat-al Safa*, p. 113.

When Malik Arslan revolted against the authority of his brother Sherzād, he crowned himself at Garmsīr [1]

In cases of parallel enthronements the allegiance of territories constituting the state was divided When Mas'ūd crowned himself king at Nīshāpūr his authority was established in Khurāsān and 'Irāq,[2] while the rest of the possessions remained under the control of Muhammad Majdūd being in possession of Hind, his authority was recognised in that area only

Recognition of his authority

In cases of disputed successions the position of a new ruler was insecure. In Islam there being no fixed rule of succession the right of the new ruler was at first recognised by the army or by the courtiers, Then followed public recognition through *khutbah*.

To maintain his authority in the absence the Sulṭān needed a powerful army. But this reliance on military strength was full of dangers. It gave to the military commanders too much power and provided them with opportunities of interfering in the administrative affairs

When Muhammad b Maḥmūd ascended the throne of Ghaznah (421 H) his first act was to give away huge sums to the army [3] Being aware of his weak title to the throne, he was anxious to win over the loyalty of the army This was the first direct concession on the part of the ruler to the army, in matters of succession But, in the words of Sulṭān Mahmūd," the army was to suport Mas'ūd" [4] The prophecy of the father proved hundred per cent correct Another attempt of the same nature was made by Sulṭān 'Alī b Mas'ūd To face the expected march of his arival 'Abd-al-Rashīd towards Ghaznah he opened the gates of treasure on the army 'Alī b Mas'ud was on the throne that the *wazir*[5] 'Abdal Razzāq decided to raise 'Abd-al-Rashīd to the throne. He consulted the army under his command and it was only after the army had given consent that the *Wazir* declared the assumption of power by Sulṭān 'Abd-al-Rashīd [6] When Ṭughril, the chamberlain and commander of the expeditionary force in Sistan decided to rebel against his master Sulṭān 'Abd-al-*Rashid*, he had to consult the army, and it was only after

[1] *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p 107
[2] Bayhaqi, p 49
[3] *Ibid*., p 328
[4] *Jawami'al-Hikayat*, I-XI-47, f 199
[5] Firishtah, I, 80
[6] *Raudat-al-Safa*, p 117

the promise of the whole-hearted support on the part of the army that the turncoat denounced his overlord, marched to Ghaznah killed the Sulṭān and occupied the throne.[1]

These examples clearly show that it was the army in the beginning who acknowledged and recognised the authority of the new Sulṭān and then only the ruler felt his position secure

The courtiers also influenced the decision on the question of succession ; in fact the final verdict always remained with them For instance the courtriers had acknowledged Muhammad b. Mahmūd[2] but apprehensive of the growing strength of his brother Mas'ūd, betrayed the former, put him under arrest and paid the homage to the latter[3] After the asssasination of the traitor Ṭughrīl the courtiers made a hurried consultation among themselves for a new Ghaznawid successor to the throne and the choice full upon Farrukhzād[4] The death of Farrukhzad led to another brisk consultation among the courtiers and they decided to offer the throne to his brother Ibrāhīm[5] Bahrām Shah died without nominating anybody as his successor In his place his son Khusraw Shāh was raised to the throne by the common consent of the nobility at the court[6]

Thus the courtiers often played the role of kingmakers , and it was only after their recognizing the legality of succession that the ruler could have felt himself secure on the throne Whatever might be the titles and claims to the throne of the different rulers, the position of the Sulṭān always remained insecure and doubtful without the consent of the army and the courtiers.

Loyalty

The political map of the Muslim world of those days always kept changing In the absence of any recognised standard of fidelity it was only the strength of the arms which exacted and maintained loyalty from the governed Apart from this material force there were certain other factors which helped to keep the feeling of loyalty firm in the hearts of the people It was the treatment meted out to the people which became the touch stone of loyalty.

Nearly a year after the conquest of Rayy from the Buwayhids when Mas'ūd entered the city in 421 H its population offered him thanks

1 Ibn-al-Athir, IX, 400
2 Bayhaqi, p 2
3 *Ibid.*, p 4.
4 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p 101
5 *Ibid.*, p 103
6 *Firishtah*, I, 89

for their freedom from the bondage of the previous masters.[1] In 422 'Ali b 'Imrān, the deputy-commander of the Khurasanian forces of Mas'ūd occupied the city of Akrad.[2] The desposed ruler sent a secret agent to the inhabitants of the city suggesting them not to side with the invader and to rebel against the authority of the Ghazanawids This request was rejected by the population,[3] because the rule of the Ghaznawids was much better. Again, in 425 H the Ghaznawids lost the city and the province of Kirmān to the Buwayhids because the rule of the Ghznawid governor was oppressive,[4] which shows that the population helped the invaders. In 432 the population of Hirāt revolted against the authority of the saljūqs in favour of Sulṭān Maūdud b Mas'ūd turned them out of the city and saved it for its previous rulers [5] This sudden rebellion could not have been possible had the people of the city not cherished in their hearts the good old memories of the days of the father and grand father of Mawdūd One of the various reasons of the unpopularity of the usurper Ṭūghril was that his treatment of the people was such that within a short period of 40 days he made himself an object of hatred and condemnation.[6] It was on the specific request of the citizens of Ghaznah that Bahrām Shāh , fugitive in Hind, hurried to liberate them from the clutches of Sayf-al-Din Ghūrī, and the loyal citizens avenged themselves by deserting Sayf and going over to the side of Bahrām Shāh [7] When Khusraw Malik, the last ruler of the House of Ghaznah, was passed through Peshawar, on his way to Firūzkoh where he was to be kept as prisoner, its inhabitants came out of the city, wept over the condition of the fallen monarch and prayed for his safety and long life [8]

The basis of individual loyalty differed in different cases It is said that Sulṭān Mawdūd b Mas'ūd did not allow for a considerable period his slave and chamberlain Ṭūghril to lead the forces against the Saljūqs in Sīstān [9] He must have read the character of the man, because, when such an opportunity was given, he did

1 Bayhaqi, p 24
2 A city in the province of Daylam
3 Ibn-al-Athir, IX, 288
4 Bayhaqi, p 431
5 Ibn-al-Athir, IX, 334
6 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p 100
7 Ibn-al-Athir, I, 108
8 Ibn-al-Athir, IX, 111
9 *Raudat-al-Safa*, p 118

rebel against the Ghaznah government.[1] When at a later stage this renegade demanded from the *kotwal* of Ghaznah fort the person of Sultan 'Abd-al-Rashīd, he bribed him The *kotwal* handed over the unfortunate Sulṭān [2] Loyality could sometimes be purchased, but there do exist cases which could be written in letters of gold Sulṭān Malik Arsalān being apprehensive of his brother, Bahrām Shāh's arrival at the court of Sanjar, sent Qādī Abu-al-Barakat to the Saljūq ruler. Bahram perplexed by the arrival of the *qadi*, visited him one night But the *qadi* so prolonged his prayers that Bahrām had to depart disappointed Later on, after gaining the throne Bahrām Shāh asked the *qadi* to explain his past misbehaviour The *qadi* replied that the was the well-wisher of the dynasty and wanted to serve it faithfully, whoever might be on the throne at the time This straightforward answer so much pleased Bahrām Shāh that he appointed the *qadi* as one of his counsellors [3]

The attempt of Mas'ūd b Mahmūd to arrest[4] and conspire for the murder of Altuntash the Khwarismshah[5] led his son and successor Hārūn to rebel against the authority of Ghaznah. Though in full revolt against the centre this provincial governor continued to read the *khutbah* in the name of Mas'ūd [6] This two-faced loyalty was peculiar in its nature.

In the days of the Ghaznawids the loylaty towards the ruler was not based on any fixed rule It had a different meaning for the citizen and the individual and for the commander and the courtier.

Sultan and his Relatives

The treatment by the various Ghaznawid Sultāns of their relatives is a long story of suffering and misery In the early stages of the growth of a dynasty it is the personal character and capacity of the founder on which are based the healthy foundations of the state. His hands are clean and he is afraid of none In his fame, prosperity and wealth he allows his relatives to share his power Subktigīn, the Just, and his illustratious son Mahmūd the Great, allowed their relatives to share their prosperity.[7] In the early period of their rise to power the Saljuūs like Ṭughril, Chaghry Beg Dawūd, Mūsā Beghū

1 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 15
2 *Raudat-al-Safa*, p. 120
3 *Jawami'*, I-XVI-55
4 Bayhaqi, p 86
5 *Ibid*, p 316.
6 *Ibid.*, p 403
7 Nazim, pp. 32 and 152.

and Ibrāhīm Yīnāl shared the power on a basis of equality and without any rancour or hatred.[1] The love, understanding and regard which existed between Sulṭān Muhammad Ghiyāthal-Dīn Ghūri and his younger brother Sultān Shihabu-al-Dīn Ghūri[2] is an unique example. In the period of decay there starts an era of internecine wars, imprisonments, conspiracies, plots, court plots, blindings, murders and so forth.

The later Ghaznawids also were faced with the problem of the treatment of their relatives, and wars among brothers and with uncles, resulting in imprisonments became a feature of succession disputes.

Muḥammad, while marching against his brother, was deceived and arrested by his army and was confined in the fortress of Kūhtez pending the instructions from Mas'ūd In the middle of *Shawwal*, 421 Mas'ūd, while at Hirāt, issued instructions for the continued confinement of Muhammad The captive brother was to be treated as a prince[3]

While at Balkh (*Jamadi II*, 422) the Sulṭān issued instructions for the removal of his brother from the fortesss of Khūtez to Mandesh in Ghūr. Muḥammad was thus brought to Mandesh His court musicians, singers, associates and the members of the family all accompanied him there. When he slighted from the elephant, two persons were hol ding him fast by the shoulders[4]

It was here at Māndesh that under the orders of Mas'ūd, Muḥammad was deprived of his eyesight[5] This act was committed between *Jamadi II* and the middle of *Sha'ban* 422

Contrary to these traditions of the family when Sulṭān Ali Mas'ūd came to power he released his brothers 'Izadyār and Mardan Shāh, who had been imprisoned by Mawdūd, treated them with honour and restored to them all the princely privileges[6] When Sultān 'Abd-al Rashīd gained the throne against Sulṭān 'Ali b Mas'ūd he imprisoned the defeated king in a fortress The new Sulṭān even sent the ex-boyking

[1] Bayhaqi, p 628

[2] *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, 370-77

[3] Bayhaqi, p 9.

[4] *Ibid*, pp 73 and 73.

[5] There is a difference of opinion amongst the various authors regarding the blinding of the unfortunate prince Ibn-al-Athir is silent Bayhaqi, in a way, is also silent Minhaj (p 90), and Badayuni (I, p 34) both hold those very persons, who arrested him responsible for this act too that is after the arrest, they blinded him without waiting for the orders of Mas'ud But this is wholly incorrect The *Raudat-al-Safa* (p 100) and Firishtah (I, p 69) and *Jawami'* (p 141) hold Mas'ud responsible for this act

[6] Firishtah, I, 80

Sulṭān Mas'ūd II b. Mawdūd behind the bars [1] After the assassination of Ṭughril, the usurper, the courtiers searched for a sutitable candidate for the throne from among the imprisoned Ghaznawid princes. Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd being weak and unhealthy, this choice fell upon his brother Farrukhzād [2] This description reveals two points of interest, namely: Mawdūd imprisoned all his brothers, because 'Alī released only Izadyār and Mardān Shāh and not the other two, surely they were grown-ups and were regarded as dangerous rivals; secondly, the treatment of Farrukhzad with his captive brother Ibrāhīm was certainly better than that of others because, when after the death of the former, the latter was brought out of prison, he was healthy and sound. Moreover, Farrukhzād appointed him as his successor,[3] though he did not set him free

Sulṭān Maḥmūd b Subuktigīn imprisoned his son Mas'ūd because of his disobedient nature [4] Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b Mas'ūd had to repeat the same story but on altogether different grounds His son Sa'id-al-Dawlah Mahmūd rebeled against him and put himself in touch with Sulṭān Malik Shāh Saljūqī; he was arrested and thrown into prison.[5] The crime of Sayf-ul-Dawlah must have been flagrant enough because he was never released

It is to be noted that barring a few exceptional cases the imprisoned princes passed a life of comparitive ease and comfort. Mas'ūd gave one of his daughters in marriage to his released nephew. This marriage indicates that even in confinement the Sulṭān's relatives were carefully looked after and received education and training befitting their status; otherwise Mas'ūd could not have given the hand of his daughter to one who had passed all his life in imprisonment. Farrukhzād when attacked by his slaves in the bath room proved himself to be a good swordsman [6] During this confinement he must have received complete military training otherwise it was not possible for him to defend himself so remarkably Even after passing their youth in prison 'Abd-al-Rashīd, Farrukhzād and Ibrāhīm were able to govern the state. This shows they had received good training. These princes were allowed every facility to have musicians, singers and their families with them. One can safely conclude that it was a simple imprisonment The attempt to revolt from behind the prison on the part of Mardān

1 *Tabaqat*, p. 98.
2 *Ibid*, *p*. 121.
3 *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, p. 404.
4 Bayhaqi, pp. 122 and 217.
5 Qazwini, (*J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 701).
6 Ibn-al-Athir, X, 3.

Shah b. Mas'ūd against Sulṭān 'Abd-al-Rashīd b Maḥmūd[1] could not have been possible had not the captive princes enjoyed sufficient freedom of movement.

I would be of interest to add a few lines on the main features of the character of the later Ghaznawid rulers Sulṭān Muḥammad be. Mahmūd was a learned prince He possessed a refined literary taste, and was regarded an authority on Arabic poems and *qasidahs*,[2] but he was pleasure loving[3] In the words of his father Maḥmūd, he was "stout of heart, generous and fearless; and if Mas'ūd indulged in pleasure, wine and the like, Muḥammad out-did him He had no control on himself and was heedless of the important concerns of life..."[4] Muḥammad was unaspiring by nature He lacked decision, but was ambitious[5] Muhammad was a noble minded prince.[6] After being deprived of the throne he passed the first few days in a melancholy mood and then busied himself with wine, music etc[7]

Sulṭān Mas'ūd b Maḥmūd was stout, brave, courageous and warlike He was a heavy weght champion and a big game hunter[1] Many an anecdote of his valour and manly prowess is narrated by the historians. He used to take exercise and fight with such heavy maces that none was able to lift them[9] He used to rush to the thick of the battle and proved his worth as a soldier and a warrior[10]

Mas'ūd was a great patron of arts and literature Many famous poets and literary figures flourished at his court He was benevolent in the extreme "He was generous and munificent as 'Ali (The Fourth Pious Khalifa and brave as Rustam "[11] He used to bestow large sums on the poets and gave away considerable amount in charity He established many seats of learning (*madrasahs* in different parts of the empire, constructed many works of public utility[12] Mas'ūd was a very skilled architect and none excelled him as an engineer Apart from the magnificent mousoleum which he erected over the tomb

Bayhaqi, p 375
[2] *Ibid*, p 76, and *Tabaqat*, p 88
[3] Bayhaqi, p 73
[4] *Jawami'*, I-XI-47, f 199
[5] *Tabaqat*, p 88
[6] *Ibid*
[7] Bayhaqi, p 5
[8] *Ibid.*, pp 125-26-and Ibn-al-Athir, IX, 333
[9] Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, *Adab-al-Harb w-al-Shaja'ah*, pp 215-16
[10] Bayhaqi, p 628
[11] *Tabaqat*, p 91
[12] Bayhaqi, pp 128, 131, the author however, remarks that in his old age this habit had somewhat changed

of his father, he is credited to have constructed new palaces at Ghaznah and Nīshāpūr, many bridges and government buildings. He also beautified and extended palaces and buildings constructed by his father.[1]

Except the execution of Hasanak and the blinding of his brother, Mas'ūd's life is free from acts of cruelty He always showed great regard to jurists and the *'ulama* He was affectionate towards his family [2]

Though given to pleasure in his private life it had nothing to do with his public career He always observed the decorum of religion and showed the necessary regard to its observances He regularly fasted during the month of *Ramadan* and gave large sums in charity on the occasion of *'Ids* [3] When faced by difficulties and rebellions he would not touch wine for days and weeks together [4] He was regarded by the Khalifah as the 'strongest pillar of the *Khilafat*'.[5]

Sulṭān Mahmūd once remarked about his son, "Mas'ūd cannot be like me He is a proud fellow and thinks that nobody was better than himself Mas'ūd would never allow Muhammad to succeed me Mas'ud who is greedy would finish the capable persons and appoint worthless fellows instead In such circumstances everybody would try to benefit himself . "[6] These remarks of the father about his son are not all the truth. At first Mas'ūd appointed al-Maimandī, the trusted and old lieutenant of his father as his *wazir* Masū'd, unlike his father, never threw capable servants of the state into prison. Even the courtiers belonging to the party of his father and brother were appointed to posts of responsibilities.[7] His choice was, on the whole, happy and well calculated His second *wazir* Aḥmad 'Abd-al-Ṣamad served his son Mawdūd too. None of the historians has mentioned Mas'ūd as being greedy But he was self-willed and imperialistic [8] On many an occasion he rejected the advice and reversed the decisions of his council.[9] He was also obstinate to some extent.[10]

1 *Ibid*, pp 149, and 310, 500
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 113 and 396.
3 Bayhaqi, p. 94
4 *Ibid*, pp. 93-4; 477
5 *Ibid*, 369.
6 *Jawami'*, I-Xi-47. f. 199.
7 Bayhaqi, p 26
8 *Ibid.*, pp 440, 444.
9 *Ibid.*, pp 68 and 442.
10 *Ibid.*, p 532.

Mawdūd was a dignified prince He was famous for his generosity but never made a show of it. He was a tough soldier and great general.[1] Amīr 'Unsur-al-Ma'ali Kaykaūs b Iskandar b Qābūs b. Washmgīr, the Ziyarid ruler of Ṭabiristān and the author of *Nasihat-Namah*,[2] who was in attendance on Mawdūd for 8 years, noticed three characteristics in this Sulṭān, firstly, he never got a gift of less than 200 *dinars* recorded, secondly, while laughing nobody could see his teeth, and thirdly, while angry or displeased with anybody he never lost his temper.[3] These are the true qualities of a large hearted, sober, calm and compassionate ruler

Through his kindly manners and disposition Mawdūd gained world-wide fame and distinction.[4] The historians have nothing to say against his private life which means that he was decidedly better than his father and perhaps also his grand-father

'Abd-al-Rashīd[5] was enlightened but had no brains[6] and was short of judgement and lacked courage [7]

In the field of literature however he had something to his credit. He could relate oral traditions [8]

Farrukhzād coming out of prison at the age of 26 found the Ghaznawid kingdom at the lowest ebb of degradation The inroads of the Saljūqs, the internal usurpation and nearly wholesale massacre of the family made him realise the gravity of the situation and his own responsibility under the circumstances It is no wonder that all opinions agree that he was a noble soul [9] Farrukhzād seems to have continuously struggled against immoral ways of life, filthy conspiracies, unwarranted imprisonments, unjustified murders and despotic system of administration Farrukh received a moral shake up. After his narrow escape from the attempt on his life he had begun to despise the world [10] He was God-fearing, mild and of good disposition [11] He possessed an enviable character [12] He was a just and benevolent

1 Ibn-al-Athir, IX, 334

2 This is the correct name of the book and not *Qabus-Namah* See Introduction to the book

3 *Nasihat-Namah*, p 135

4 *Tabaqat*, p 97

5 For a reign of only 4 months no reference can be made and therefore no importance is attached to Mas'ud II and 'Ali b Mas'ud

6 *Tabaqat*, p 98

7 *Guzidah*, p 403

8 *Tabaqat*, p 98

9 Bayhaqi, pp 144, 178, Ibn-al-Athir, X, 3, *Raudat-al-Safa*, p 121.

10 Ibn-al-Athir, X, 3

11 Bayhaqi, p 378, *Tabaqat*, p. 102

12 Bayhaqi, p 378

sovereign. It is a pity that he died at the young age of 34.[1]

Ibrāhīm had also passed his youth under the same conditions and influenced by similar moral forces as Farrukhzād, but being more fortunate than his brother, he got ample opportunities to put into practice the higher values of life.

He was learned and accomplised, God-fearing and merciful.[2] As a mark of thanks-giving to his Creator Sulṭān Ibrāhīm prostrated himself on the ground when his efforts against the famine brought successful results [3] A friend of the scholars, a supporter of the religion,[4] a devout Muslim, he fasted continously during the months of *Rajab* and *Ramadan* [5] In the matters of the state as well as religion he consulted the learned and experienced persons of the kingdom [6] He was far-sighted, just[7] and dignified and was so much respectd as a king that even the Saljūq rulers, who were in no way friendly towards him, held him in high esteem, and addressed him with the distinguished title of 'father' In correspondance they always wrote his name at the top of the letter [8] Ibrāhīm was modest and unostentatious,[9] after assumption of power when he paid a visit to the tomb of Farrukhzād he accompanied the distinguished personages on foot [10] He led a simple life and built no palaces for himself On the other hand he is credited with works of public utility and the founding of cities. He was a well wisher of the common folk [11] He never neglected the duties of the state or the dispensation of justice [12] He had inherited the virtues of his grand-father, the illustrious Maḥmūd[13] and has been spoken of by the historians as a fortunate monarch.

Mas'ūd II was a virtuous, just and benevolent prince [14] He was capable enough to continue the enlightend and successful policy of his father Ibrāhīm The affairs of the state were conducted

1 *Tabaqat*, p 103

2 *Ibid*

3 *Adab* p 203

4 *Tabaqat*, p 103

5 Ibn-al-Athir, X, 3 Elphinstone (I, p 590) remarks that Ibrahim 'stictly enforced it' (observing of fast for 3 months) This is incorrect, Ibrahim could not dare to innovate anything new in religion

6 *Jawami*, II-IV-2 f-305

7 *Ibid*, I-VII- f 156

8 *Guzidah*, p 404

9 Badayuni, I, 51.

10 *Tab*- p 103

11 Badayuni, I, 52

12 *Adab* p 202

13 Bayhaqi p 386

14 *Tabaqat* p 106

with efficiency and regularity, and 'no heart had any cause of care from any quarter'.[1] There was perfect tranquility during his reign.[2]

Malik Arslān's short reign of two years is marked by a civil war, first against Shirzad and later against Sanjar and Bahrām.

(9 Bahram ascended the throne with the yoke of vassalage of Sanjar on his neck Mas'ūd III was an example of his own among the Ghaznawid sovereigns To the poet he was 'king of the universe'[3] and to the historian, 'just, of laudable manners, handsome, patron of the learned,[4] glorious and magnificent[5], and 'manly, just, munificent and the sustainer and protector of his subjects'.[6] The majority of these praises are however poetic exaggerations

He was munificent and lived in pomp but the wealth which he spent to maintain his prestige was forcibly exacted from the subjects The independence of the dynasty was mortgaged to Sanjar, to whom a huge tribute was paid His defeats at the hands of his powerful enemies certainly do not entitle him to the title of 'the sustainer and protector of his pepole' He was coward and an incapable ruler

The reigns of the last two rulers of the dynasty Khusraw Shāh and Khusraw Malik were a period of decline, which ended with the collapse of the Ghaznawids

Khhusraw Shah lived at the mercy of his powerful neighbours, the Ghūrids His helplessness is borne out by the fact that in the face of defeat he retired to Hind rather than face the situation in the capibal

Ibn-al-athir, however, says that "he was just, benevolent towards his people, generous to his kinsmen and a benefector of the learned."[7] According to Qāḍī Minhāj "when Khusraw Shāh ascended the throne he was weak and powerless, and was unable to maintain his rule over the country".[8]

Khusraw Malik, the last ruler of dynasty, was to a great extent responsible for the downfall of the dynasty He was a man of mild and unassuming nature and was addicted to pleasure He lacked circumspection and could not withstand the attacks of the Ghurids [9] With him ended the dynasty of the great Sulṭān Mahmūd

1 *Ibid.*, p. 107
2 Qazwini, *J R A S*, 1905, p 715
3 *Raudatal-Safa* p 132 and *Tabaqat* p 109 (the poet was Sa-yyid Hasan).
4 I. Athir, XI, 124
5 *Raudat-al-Safa*, p. 131.
6 *Tabaqat*, p 109
7 Ibn-al-Athir, IX, 173
8 *Tabaqat*-At, p 111
9 *Raudat-al-Safa*, p 134, *Tabaqat*, p 114.

CONTENTS

ISLAMIC STUDIES IN ITALY IN THE XIX-XX cc.*

by

PROFESSOR ALEXANDAR BAUSANI, ROME

Thā yahān hangāma un ṣahrā-nashīnon-kā kabhī
bahr bāzī-gāh thā jin-ke safīnon-kā kabhī
zalzale jin-se shahinshāhònke darbāron-mēn the
bijlīon-ke āshyāne jin-kī talwāron-men thē
ek jahān-i tāza-kā paighām thā jin-kā zuhūr
khā-ga'ī 'asr-i kuhun-kò jin-kī teg-i nāsabūr
murda 'alam zinda jin-ki shorish-i "Qum"-se hūa
ādmī āzād zanjir-i tawahhum-se hūā
ghulghulon-se jis-ke lazzat-gīr ab-tak gosh hai,
kyā woh takbīr ab hamēsha-ke liye khāmosh hai?

It is a remarkable fact that both the history of scientific orientalism in Italy and the history of the political struggle waged by a new conscious Italy against the zanjir-i-tawahhum of an old, obsolete Church-state and a reactionary aristocracy—in other words the period of the Italian Risorgimento, the period of Mazzini and Garibaldi begins with a renewed interest in the history of Muslim Sicily

In fact the history of modern orientalism in Italy begins with three Sicilian names Michele Amari, the greatest of the three, Salvatore Cusa and Bartolomeo Lagnmina

Michele Amari, whom the great German Orientalist H H Schaeder defined as one of the three greatest European Orientalists of the XIX c. was born in Palermo in July, 1806 His country was then a part of the so called kingdom of the two Sicilies, comprising the whole of South Italy and perhaps, had it not been for the State of the Church, the worst administered of all the petty states in which Italy was divided at that time When he was only 14 he was an eye-witness of the revolution of 1820 for the granting of the constitution and of the ensuing cruel repression, among the victims of which was his father, sentenced to 30 years imprisonment by the Bourbons Government. Amari soon became keenly interested in the history of his home island,

* For the history of Italian Orientalism from its origins to the XIX century see article "Notes on the history of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Italy during the middle ages" in Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, vol III (July 1955) Karachi.

Sicily, and in 1835 he wrote his first memoir on the establishment of Norman monarchy in Sicily after the Muslim rule. A year later he began the composition of his first masterpiece, which is worth mentioning here, though it does not directly concern oriental studies. I mean his History of the Sicilian Vespers, *i e* the revolution by which the Sicilians revolted against and drove off the French in 1282 The author, who never considered history as a dray philological exercise but rather looked for the deeper root of the events, connecting them with his own time, made in his book published in 1841, such clear hints at the tyrannical rule of the Bourbon Monarchy of Naples and at the necessity of a struggle for political liberties, that he was compelled to flee to France to avoid persecution by the police He embarked in 1842 under a false name for Marseilles and from then began his sad life of exile in Paris

His studies of Sicilian history had brought him into closer contact with the Islamic culture, and in 1842 he wrote in a letter to a friend: "in the medieval history of Sicily the Byzantine and Saracenic periods are so little known that fables and legends have taken the place of history I had been building castles in the air I want now to study so much of Greek as to enable me to read Byzantine writers currently and also to adventure myself into the study of Arabic If the way is not too full of thorns I will tread in as far as I can"

So in 1843, at a rather advanced age he began to study Arabic under the guidance of famous French orientalists such as M Reinaud and Baron McGuckin De Slane After a few years of passionate study of this language he began to collect materials for his work *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula* (then published in Leipzig in 1857) a collection of Arabic sources on Sicily in the original Arabic text with scholarly notes But before the publication of this work in the years 1845-47, he published essays on the description of Palermo by the Arabic geographer of the tenth century A D Ibn Hauqal and the part of Ibn Jubayr's travel book regarding Sicily In 1848 the new insurrection in Sicily saw him in the first ranks again, in the struggle for the freedom of his country He went back to his native island and was made the Minister of Finance of the new provisional Sicilian government He accepted this appointment only on condition that he may not receive any salary for it But this insurrection also failed and a year later his second French exile began, an exile that would last until 1859. In the year 1854 the first volume of his chief work, *History of the Moslems of Sicily*, saw the light in Florence one of the few Italian towns in which a

comparatively more broadminded government allowed certain liberties to publishers The book, though a masterpiece also of learned scholarship, was both so pro-Muslim and so critical of tyrannical governments especially the State of the Church, that it soon became the object of bitter attacks from reactionary circles I limit myself to quote a few sentences from this book he calls Muhammad "a sublime genius, who far exceeded not only his nation but his age" (p. 52) and compares him with the pope St Gregory the Great, saying that Muḥammad's work for a better treatment of slaves and for a gradual abolition of slavery was much more effective than that of the aforesaid Pope, who, though by name Christian did nothing for them (p 482) For Amari Islam is "a political and religious system remarkable for both the vastity and simplicity of its tenets, and which perfectly stood the proof of history, because it regenerated a Nation more swiftly than any other religious law and contributed remarkably to the civilization of a great part of mankind, yet it is still alive and does not seem ready to die" (pp 50-51). Finally in a letter dated 1845 when he was still collecting materials for his work he says that the "first sparks of the present European civilization were originated from the Arabic rule in Sicily and Spain".

In 1859 with the founding of a United Italian Kingdom, Amari was able to come back to Italy To Sicily he arrived, after his long exile, only in 1860 soon after the liberation of the island by Garibaldi, and was appointed in the same year as Minister of Education in the Provisional Government He came back to Florence (then Capital of Italy) in 1861 and was elected to the Senate and in 1862 he became the Minister of Education of the Kingdom of Italy His work as Minister was no less important for Oriental studies than the purely scholarly one, as a remarkable number of chairs of oriental disciplines were established in many Italian Universities, a number even superior to the present one In 1873, three years after Rome had been liberated from the Papal Government and made the Capital of Italy, Amari came to that city here he died n 1889

The second and third volumes of his *History of Muslims in Sicily* were published in 1868 and 1872 Among his other works the following deserve mention A transcription with translation and notes of the Arabic Inscriptions of Sicily (Palermo 1875, 1879, 1885) and the publication—with translation and notes—of the Arabic documents of the Archives of Florence (Firenze 1863—67) and of

some Arabic documents concerning the history of Genoa. Some years before he had published in Florence the *Solwan al-muta'* a treatise on the art of government by Ibn Zāfir, a Sicilian Arab of the XII c. and in 1858 a study on the internal chronology of the *Qur'an* which—though unprinted—was so much estimated by the Academy of France that it gave him a special prize and appointed him as its correspondent member.

Summing up what we have been saying till now we might define Amari's personality not only as that of a great scholar but also that of a man who would have perhaps much to teach to this age of ours unfortunately so neglectful of moral values, and too often forgetful, in its arid technicism, of the deeper exigencies of an integral humanity

Salvatore Cusa (born 1822 died in 1893) almost a contemporary of Amari devoted his attention specially to Arabic palaegraphy and published a remarkable work in two vols *"Greek and Arabic documents of Sicily"* which, though containing only the texts, as a monument of scholarship is still unsurpassed S Cusa was for many years professor of Arabic in the University of Palermo More or less the same subject was treated by the third of the already mentioned Sicilian orientalists, B Lagumina (1850-1931) who published old Arabic inscriptions and coins, edited the Arabic part of Cambridge's Saracenic Chronicles of Sicily and the lexicographic text of Abu Hātim Sijistanī entitled *Book of the Palm-tree*, the only manuscript in existence of which is preserved in the Library of Agrigento, Sicily, and compiled the catalogue of the oriental manuscripts in the National Library of Palermo.

One of Amari's most eminent pupils during his stay as a professor in the Superior Institute of Florence was Celestino Schiapaielli, born in 1841, who died immediately after the first world war (1919). He took his master's place in the chair of Arabic in Florence and in 1875 was called to the University of Rome One of the first fruits of his activity which gained high estimation both in Italy and abroad was the *Vocabulista in arabico*, a lexicographical work of great importance for the knowledge of the Arabic dialect spoken in Spain in the Middle Ages. Later he published the part concerning Italy, from the Kitab Rujar by Idrisi, in collaboration with Amari, then the Arabic text, with translation and notes of the geographical information about Italy contained in the works of the Arabic geographer al-Omari, the Arabic text of the *Diwan* of the Arabic poet of Sicily Ibn Ḥamdis, recently translated into Italian by Professor Gabrieli, a very nice translation of the Travel journal by Ibn Jubayr who in the XII c.

visited many mediterranean countries including Sicily. Schiaparelli was so modest that he published many of the mentioned books only after much insistence on the part of his masters and friends, especially M. Amari, and many of his unpublished works, among which the Italian translation of the *Diwan* of Ibn Ḥamdis and the Arabic text and Italian translation of another short Sicilian Arabic *Diwan*, that of ‘Ali-al-Billanubi, are still waiting for publication in the Library of the Institute of Oriental Study in the University of Rome.

When C Schiaparelli left Florence for Rome in 1875, he was succeded there by Fausto Lasinio (1831—1914) a semitologist rather than an islamist who in any case deserves mention here for his unfortunately incomplete edition of the so called Middle Commentary by Ibn Rushd (Averroes) on the Rhetoric, Poetics, Logics and Topics of Aristotle; his pupil Lupo Buonazia (d 1914) published a good Arabic grammar, for many years the only scientific one available in Italian.

A personality who almost parallels that of Michele Amari though his exterior life was far more tranquil and less attractive is Ignazio Guidi (1844—1935), considered with Amari one of the two pillars of Italian Orientalism in the 19th c Born in 1844 in Rome, then capital of the drowsy papal state, where almost all the scientific or pseudo-scientific activities in the field of Orientalism were concentrated in the hands of Oriental Christian priests living at the Court of the King-Pope, he succeeded in acquiring a practical knowledge of languages, but in his studies he had a scientific approach which was unknown to the milieu in which he lived. His knowledge of semitic languages was very extensive going from Arabic to Amharic, from Syriac to old Geez A comparison with his great contemporary Amari shows him to be rather the philologist and the grammarian averse to vast historical syntheses, but in his field he stands first among all other Italian and perhaps European arabists of that time We restrict ourselves to mentioning his Studies on the Arabic text of *Kalila and Dimna*, his critical edition of Ibn Hisham's commentary to the famous poem *Banat Su‘ad* by Ka‘b Zuhair, the edition of a part of Ṭabari's *Annals*, the index of the *Kitab al-Aghani*, the translation of the first part of the *Muhtasar* of Muslim Jurisprudence by al-Khalīl. But perhaps what make him more distinguished are his shorter papers contributed to the best learned journals of Europe In them scientific perfection is not always matched by an equal vivid participation in the subject, as in the case of Amari, a participation which I consider

—and please pardon me for this personal intrusion into this list of great spirits—equally indispensable for a good scholar.

I have just mentioned the juridic *Muhtasar* by al-Khalīl, whose first part was translated by Guidi The translator of its second part is David Santillana (1855—1931), one of the greatest authorities on Muslim law in the whole world In 1896 he was appointed as member of the commission for the codification of Tunisian laws, and on that occasion he published a masterly project of civil and commercial code that constitutes a perfect study, historical as well as juridical, of Muslim law His fame in this field was confirmed by the translation and commentary of the second part of the *Muhtasar* of Muslim Jurisprudence by al-Khalīl, and even more by his magnificent treatise in two big volumes on *Muslim Jurisprudence of the Maliki school.* This work, which— according to the opinion of an Italian living islamist of world wide fame like Levi della Vida—"constitutes the most complete and reliable handbook of Muslim jurisprudence presently in existence" was published—owing to various difficulties—in two volumes separated by a period of over 12 years (the first has been published in 1924, the second only in 1938), though it is devoted chiefly to the study of the Maliki system, it contains also notes on the Shafi'i Law The choice of these two schools was due to the fact that in North Africa where Italy had special interest, the Maliki system prevailed, whereas in Somaliland the Somali Muslims generally follow the Shafi'i school

What I consider most remarkable in this great work (the entire treatise comprises no less than 1300 pages, is first that the author tried to and succeeded in systematizing in a very clear and logical order the intricate matter of Muslim Jurisprudence, without changing its original arrangement, but rather showing to his western readers its logicality under the apparent confusion Secondly that the author is extremely objective and totally devoid of any anti-Muslim prejudice on the contrary both in the long introductory chapters and in the most delicate subjects occuring in his text, he shows his admiration for the Islamic law, generally a source of widespread criticism in Europe, a law, he says, "which favours every kind of practical activity, and holds in high estimation agriculture, commerce, and labour in all its forms, reproaching people who live a burden to others and rather enjoining to all to live by the work of their hands, a law which does not consider vile any work through which man be able to free himself from the necessity of begging". (p 8).

About slavery Santillana—contrary to many orientalists who in their work take this opportunity to derogate Islam—clearly states that with the advent of Islam any difference between slave and free disappears: the slave is now "no more a thing as he was in pre-Islamic Arabia, he is a man, a brother to all other muslims" and he rightly remarks that "in later jurisprudence more narrow ideas about slaves and slavery came to prevail but the *fuqaha'* never succeeded in completely cancelling that humanitrian spirit which Islamic Law derived from its Qur'anic origins" Santillana's fame, in Muslim countries, also was so great that he was called to teach history of Muslim philosophy in the Cairo University, the same university that a few years before had invited Professor I Guidi to lecture on Arabic geography and history.

We now come to one of the most attractive personalities of Italian Orientalism in the first part of this century, I mean Prince L Caetani, whose life and activity is — if I am not mistaken—already known in Pakistan through some articles on him In Prince Caetani we find again that interest in the vast perspectives of history, and that sense of the freedom of Science which we already saw so apparent in Michele Amari, a personality to whom he in many aspects resembled. He was born in September, 1869 in one of the oldest and most noble families of Italy, to whom Pope Caetani, best known as Pope Boniface VIII, the arch enemy of Dante, belonged and which claimed a pre-roman origin He studied Arabic under the guidance of Guidi and Schiaparelli and when still very young his adventurous spirit impelled him to travel far and wide in the Mediterranean East He visited Tunisia, Algeria, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Iraq and Iran perfecting there his Arabic Turkish and Persian A fruit of these travels was his juvenile book (published 1891) on his travels in Mount Sinai Soon after his return he devised the ambitious project of writing a comprehensive History of Islamic Peoples from the birth of Islam until 922/1517 *i e* the Ottoman conquest of Egypt He soon began to work, without communicating his idea to friends and official scholars, and in 1905 the first volume of his *Annali dell'Islam* (Annals of Islam) comprising an Introduction on pre-Islamic Arabia, the life of Muhammad and the events of the first 6 years of the Hijra was published in Milan—a real, if pleasant, surprise for the learned world In the introduction he called his book a *tentative work* and declared to wait for criticism and advice of the learned public, asking whether they considered a continuation of

his work a useful and meritorious task. Of course every one encouraged him, and so after a few years a second volume in two parts—which reached the year 12 A H appeared For the compilation of this and the following volumes—each of many hundreds of pages and of a very large size, Caetani was helped by collaborators who collected and partly translated the material under his supervision Prince Caetani collected his at own expense hundreds of photographic copies of the chief Islamic manuscripts on historyextant inthe best libraries of Europe and Asia, so that his workandthat of his collaborators was—through his generosity—greatly facilitated The big volumes of the *Annali* followed each other with regularity until the VII, published in 1914, on the eve of Italy's entering the first world War, in which Prince Caetani took part as a volunteer, thus interrupting his orientalistic work But here perhaps is the time to remark that Prince Caetani never considered a purely scientific activity the only task of his life Already advanced in years before the War he took active part in political life, as a supporter of the democratic socialism led by L Bissolati and was elected a M P for the years 1909—1913 In that period his opposition to the colonial policy of the Government of that time remained particularly memorable, and I think it worth while to mention that in one of his parliamentary speeches he bitterly attacked the idea of declaring war on Ottomay Turkey and conquering Libya, with noble expressions of friendship towards the Muslim peoples This and his rather strong anticlericalism gained him bitter hatred in rightist circles, a hatred that continued until his death But let us now return to his orientalistic activity After the end of the War the VIII volume--of the *Annali* saw the light in 1918, but then the Prince, saddened by the confused situation of his country after the War seemed to feel that his social work was perhaps more useful to his country than his Oriental studies So we see him in the years following the end of the conflict expending enormous fortunes in the execution of a noble and generous plan of agricultural reforms in his vast estates he had decided to dry the malarious swamps called Paludi Pontine and to distribute a great part of his lands among poor peasants. His really Faustian temperament led him to devote all his energies to this great work which unfortunately had to be interrupted with the advent of dictatorship in Italy The IX and X volumes of his Annali were published in 1926 but Prince Caetani had already left Italy for Canada where he spent the last years of his life without showing apparently any interest in those studies in which he had so much excelled His death took place in Vancouver in 1935, in his

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume V Part IV

OCTOBER 1957

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

The *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* is published in January, April, July, and October. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by the contributors.

Annual subscription (excluding postage) .. Rs. 10/-

Single copy ... ... Rs. 3/-

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume V Part IV

OCTOBER 1957

Edited by

DR. S MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

new lands, in the cultivation of which, like Goethe's Faust he searched to seek a liberation from his interior sorrows.

But the *Annali*—ten big volumes totalling ca. 10.000 pages, that give a detailed account of no more than 40 Hijra years — are by no means the only fruit of Prince Caetani's orientalistic activity. When he saw that his original project was too vast to be accomplished by a single living person, he thought it advisable to put to the disposal of the learned public the enormous amount of notes and papers he had already collected for the later parts of his general history and in the year 1912 he began to publish in Paris five fascicles with the title of *Chronographia Islamica*, continued in Rome, 1923, and comprising in an abridged form annalistic materials from the beginning of Islam until 144/762 The rest of the material, papers and notes are preserved by the Academy of Lincei, in the Library of the Caetani Fund, which he founded before leaving Italy with a munificent donation of his entire library. The Caetani Fund is at present one of the best centres in Europe for the study of the *history* of the Islamic East In 1915 P Caetani had started another colossal enterprise, the *Onomasticon Arabicvm*, a collection of all the proper names found in Muslim sources, printed or manuscript, together with the quotation of the chief places and passages in which they occur To this purpose he collected, at his own expenses, more than 200,000 films cards unfortunately the printing of this work, owing to obvious financial reasons, went no farther than the second volume comprising only the names from the beginning of the letter A until the end of the numberless 'Abdullah's The first volume, compiled by his chief collaborator Professor G Gabrieli, of whom we shall speak later, contains an interesting philological study on the Muslim proper names The rest of the materials, fortunately arranged alphabetically, lies at the disposal of the learned visitors of the Caetani Fund and ought to be—but I am afraid it never will completed—, rearranged and published.

On the frontispiece of the first volume of his *Annali* Prince Caetani had put Goethe's memorable lines

Oh, my God, long is Art
and short, alas, our Life!

And he really seemed to embody in his very life the saying of the German poet· in fact amongst his other unfinished grandiose works mention must be made of a *General Bio-Bibliography of Italy* that was to comprise short biographies of *all* the famous men of Italy from the Middle

Ages until the present day, and also a rearrangement if the entire *Masnad* by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal Of both works and especially the first, abundant material lies in the Library of the Caetani Fund.

The less annalistic and most conceptual part of his *Annali*, chiefly sections on the origin of Islam in pre-Islamic Arabia, a biography of Muḥammad, the beginnings of the Caliphate, the Muslim conquest of Arabia, etc. have been seprately published in two volumes under the title of *Studies in Oriental History* (1911—1914)

Summing up his life and accomplishment, we cannot help saying that Prince Caetani has been one of those complete personalities whose appearance is comparatively rare in the history of a nation Don't think I am biased in my judgement because I am living almost daily in what has been his library, surrounded by his papers, souvenirs, and books I admit that Prince Caetani's culture however great had undoubtedly its limits, limits that were those of the positivistic period in which he lived In his great Library you will find compratively few books on truly religious subjects The vast field of Muslim mystics was for instance almost ingored by him, and his anti-religious temperament even brought him so far as to neglect also valuable books on Islamic subjects simply for the reason that they were written, say, by orthodox Roman Catholics And for instance, though his judgment on Islam is generally rather sympathetic, and he also contributed to destroy some silly legends derogatory to Islam such as that of the destruction of the famous Library of Alexandria by the Caliph 'Umar, his mentality led him to give scarce or no importance to the really religious factor in explaining the phenomenon of the rise and diffusion of Islam For him the cause of the rapid spread and even of the rise of Islam was chiefly economic and materiala nd his criticism of the early tradition sums up in denying any historical value to the almost entire body of the *hadith*, which I think perhapse xaggerated

Quite a different personality from Caetani is another great Orientalist of the early twentieth century, Carlo Alfonso Nallino, who died in 1938 at the age of 66

Caetani and Nallino might be considered the counterparts in our century of Amari and Guidi in the previous century The activity of Nallino, whose life has nothing adventurous or uncommon, was concentrated on the philological field in which however he so much excelled as to be perhaps entitled to be called the best arabist of Europe in the first part of the twentieth century, C A. Nallino was

born in Turin in February 1872 and began to study Arabic as a young boy by himself in the town of Udine where his family had moved. His progress in the study of this none too easy language was such that even before entering the University he was able to read even difficult Arabic texts In the University of Turin he studied under the direction of Italo Pizzi, a remarkable Italian Iranist who, besides Iranic studies, cultivated also semitistics and islamistics The first interest of the young Nallino was concentrated on Muslim astronomy, and when still only 22 he published important papers on Arabic geography and astronomy In 1894 he was entrusted with publishing and translating the Arabic text of the *Introduction to Astronomy* by al-Baṭṭānī, one of the founders of Muslim astronomy (IX-X cc A D) For this purpose he went to Spain to copy the only extant manuscript of this work, which is preserved in the Escorial, and his conscientiousness led him to study higher mathematics and astronomy for some years in the University of Naples in order better to understand his text The fruit of these studies were three big volumes totalling 1131 pages in 4 to kwarton published in Milan between 1899 and 1907 For a long time Nallino was considered in Europe the chief authority on Muslim Astronomy and in 1909 he was invited by the Egyptian University of Cairo to lecture there on this subject He delivered many lectures, in Arabic, on the history of Muslim Astronomy in the Middle Ages. These were afterwards published in Arabic in Rome (1911) and later translated into Italian by his daughter after his death, and included in the great edition of his complete works in 6 volumes

But these astronomical works which could have consituted the life work of a less prolific author were but a fragment of the orientalistic activity of Nallino It would be impossible here to mention all the numberless articles and books on Arabic and Islamic subjects written by Nallino, I restrict myself to mentioning his Grammar of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt, and his anthology of the *Qur'an* in Arabic with notes But he really was loyal to the promise he had made to himself when a young student "I'll limit my study to the Arabic field, but of the Arabic culture I want to know *all*". There is in fact no field of the Islamic and Arabic studies in which Nallino did not leave an indelible trace But as he was rather averse to great comprehensive works of synthesis or to far-fetched theories, an appreciation of his activity is rather to be left to specialists. But one must not think that his interests were purely abstract· on the contrary he applied his scientific and sometimes even over-meticulous exactitude also to

the study of modern political conditions of the Muslim East. In 1921, soon after the end of the First World War, he founded *Oriente Moderno*, perhaps the best magazine for the study of the modern Islamic world and its political, social and cultural development. This Journal, still in existence and with which I have the honour of collaborating, is divided into two parts The first is politico-historical and contains news and information directly translated from newspapers of the different Muslim countries The second is the *cultural* part, containing articles and information about the development of culture in the modern Islamic world. Nallino was so accurate in his activity as editor of this journal as to give indications to his collaborators about the use of full stops and commas etc in the compilation of the Italian text[1] And just this accuracy is the chief characteristic of Nallino's work All scholars, even the greatest, show here and there in their works a few impefections, on the contrary, (it may be said that) you can rely completely on every statement in Nallino's works It is difficult, not to say impossible, to detect even slight mistakes in his more than 100 publications And here lies also his limit I mean the extreme philologism, I dare say coldness, of his studies which was reflected also in his methodic dispassionate civil and familiar life.

With these personalities we have almost exhausted the list of the most important masters of our studies in Italy, but there are a few others who are worth a mention If they did not reach the importance of those already considered, they widely contributed to the success and progress of Islamic studies in Italy Giuseppe Gabrieli (1872-1942) whom we already mentioned in connection with Prince Caetani, found his chief interest especially in the history of the cultural relations between Italy and the East and the History of Arabic studies in Italy Besides his masterly work, already spoken of, about the Muslim proper names, he compiled an index of the *Biographies* contained in the *Wafi bi-'l-wafayat* by Safadi and wrote a remarkable study on the Arabic poetess al-Khansa' and a grammar of literary Arabic Eugenio Griffini (1878-1925) whose chief works were a treatise on Muslim jurisprudence of Zayd b 'Ali and the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts of the Ambrosiana Library of Milan was invited, like I Guidi, D Santillana and C A Nallino to represent the Italian culture in Egypt where he was from 1920 to 1925 Librarian to the late King Fu'ad.

Mischelangelo Guidi, son of Ignazio (1886-1946) was chiefly interested in the Muslim religion. His History of the Religion of

Islam, remains one of the best works on the subject. Unfortunately death prevented him from bringing to completion a great work he had planned with the title "*History and Culture of the Arabs.*" The first part of it, until the death of the Prophet, was published—after his death—in 1951. Like his father, M. Guidi also lectured in the years 1926-1929 on Arabic philology, in Arabic, at the University of Cairo What I most admired in him (he was for some years professor of Islamic Institutions in the University of Rome) was his keen sense of the *religious* realities a deeply religious person himself and apious Christian, yet he was a mystic in the best sense of the word and his particular confession did not prevent him from looking at Islam with deeply understanding eyes His erudition in all the fields of oriental Christian theology was extreme and only a certain modesty and laziness in writing prevented him from showing more of his erudition in printed works He was one of those personalities that perhaps give their best rather in speaking and lecturing than in writing

I di Matteo (1872-1948) professor of Arabic in the University of Palermo continued the tradition of Sicilian Arabic studies so brilliantly illustrated by his predecessors, he also made important contributions to the history of Muslim mystics, with his partial translation of the *Taiyyat al-Kubra* by Ibn al-Farid, not to speak of his studies on the history of religious polemics between Islam and Christianity, and 'Abbâsid poetry

Though, strictly speaking, neither Arabists nor Islamists two Italian orientalists who died recently are worth mentioning here, L Bonelli (d 1947) and Franc Beguinot (1871-1953). The first was not only the creator of modern Italian Turkology but also the author of the best Italian translation of the *Qu'ran*, unfortunately almost devoid of notes and with too short an introduction. (In these days a new translation of mine is being printed in Florence) The second was a berberist of world renown who made an important contribution to the study of the importance of Berbers of North Africa to the Muslim cultural development Nor the personality of Prof. U. Monneret de Villard is to be forgotten, who died a few months ago, his death being a real loss for oriental studies in Italy, as he was the only specialist of Muslim art in our country. Apart from his basic works on Muslim art, too numerous to be mentioned, he made interesting contributions to the history of Arabic and Islamic studies in Europe in the Middle Ages His wonderful book, splendidly illustrated, on the Muslim paintings, in the Cappella Palatina (Court Chapel) in Palermo is a masterpiece

of both scholarship and of art. Just a few days before his death he had published a small but important booklet on Iranian painting and architecture.

But if the fact of being passed to the *darul baqa* almost unconsciously leads one to honour the dead with higher if well deserved praise, let us not forget also the names and works of the living. Three names excel perhaps above others those of Levi della Vida, F Gabrieli and E Rossi The first (b in Venice 1886) is presently professor of Islamic History and Institutions in the University of Rome and, without exaggeration, one of the best European Islamists and Semitic scholars He has been formerly professor of Hebrew and comparative Semitic Philology in the same university and for several years also in the University of Pennsylvania He was one of the collaborators of Prince Leone Caetani and his scholarly activity covers a field of study which goes from problems of Islamic history to Christian here-piography, from old Phoenician inscriptions to the biography of Muḥammad and the origins of Islam, from Jewish religion and old history to pre-Islamic poetry, from Syriac language and literature to the *Book of Horses* by Hishām b. al-Kalbī which he published in Leiden in 1928.

Professor F. Gabrieli (b 1904) presently professor of Arabic language and literature in Rome University might be called the Italian Arberry Like Prof Arberry of Cambridge he has a natural poetical and artistic taste and his writings, while of a high scholarly level, make pleasant reading even for non-specialists on account their smooth, polished style His chief fields of interests are Arabic and Persian literatures, and the history of the Umayyad caliphate He recently published, among other works, a very remarkable *Handbook of Arabic Literature* and a translation of the Ruba'iyyat of 'Umar Khayyam, not to speak of the more specialized papers in the most important learned journals of Italy and abroad None of his papers, however, even the most technical, is difficult reading for any cultivated person, for instance his renderings of ancient Arabic poetry are the best that Italian orientalism has ever produced.

Professor E. Rossi, b. 1894 is presently professor of Turkish Language and Literature in the university of Rome and is the author of the only Persian Grammar in existence in Italian language and of the best one for Turkish. In his wide activity he covers more or less all the fields of Islamic cultures, Arabic, Turkish and Persian, though he is specially interested in the field of history of the Muslim states, especially

Turkey and in the modern cultural and political development of the Middle East. Nobody could therefore be better qualified to be appointed editor of the magazine Oriente Moderno founded by Nallino and edited by him until his death in 1938

Even in so incomplete a list of modern Italian Arabists and Islamists and their works, the Arabic Grammar by Mrs Veccia Vaglieri, professor of Arabic in Oriental institute of Naples, and author also of an interesting *Apology of Islam* recently translated into English, and of deep historical papers on the struggles between 'Ali and the Ummayyads, should not be forgotten, nor Prof M M Moreno's scholarly and intelligent discussion of the differences between Muslim and Hindu mystics behind the apparently similar terminology; nor Prof Bombaci's studies on Ibn Khaldūn or Prof Moscati's investigations on the Abbasid caliphate and so on, which all contribute to give to modern Italian orientalism a not negligible place in the frame of European scholarship.

I hope, that I have succeeded in giving my readers an idea not only of the amount of the visible work of my colleagues past and present, but also of the spirit which inspired and I hope will continue to inspire our orientalistic work, a spirit, I mean, whose fundament is a harmonious fusion of scholarship and keen passionate humane sympathy And I finish expressing my hope that the juvenile enthusiasm of Della Valla combined with the critical scholarship of Marracci in former times, the passion and chivalrous broadmindedness of Amari and Caetani united with the painstaking erudition of Guide and Nallino, may melt together in the future in some higher personality who with an eagle's sight may be able to penetrate beyond every exoteric *mishkat* and *misbah* and *zujaja* deeper into the oneness of that single-beaming *nurus samawati wal ardi* which, as the Holy *Qur'an* says, is neither Eastern nor Western

ARABIC SCIENCE IN THE WEST

IV · Peter of Abano and the School of Padua

The great Renaissance scholar Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, who unlike most of the humanists addicted himself, at least in part, to the study of Arabic, has the following severe stricture to pass on Peter of Padua, or Peter of Abano, as he is usually called According to Pico,[1] ' That great dealer in the marvellous, Albumasar, writes that any man who prays to God at the conjunction of the moon with Jupiter in the head of the Dragon will obtain whatever he requests. Peter of Abano whose writings, as often as I read them, remind me of the saying of Heraclitus about much learning not conferring good sense, writes that he himself, at the hour mentioned, made a request for knowledge and from that time advanced greatly I have not the leisure to decide how far this new Solomon did advance, but I believe certainly that in any case he went no further than is attainable by human efforts ' The attitude of Pico della Mirandola to Arabism, in which he was genuinely interested, was not perhaps quite consistent, Here he gives what may be taken to represent the current Renaissance view, which is well expressed in another remark of his 'Leave us, in Heaven's name ! Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle, and keep your Umar, your Alchabitius, your Ibn Ezra, your Abenragel' [2] Not so Peter of Abano, for whom the Arabist authorities are even more indispensable than for Albertus Peter of Abano's greatest work, entitled *Conciliator of the Differences of the Philosophers and particularly the Medicals*,[3] was written in 1303 The pages of the black-letter Gothic prints in which the work is normally to be read, bristle with Latinized Arabic (and occasionally Hebrew) names Doubtless the author is to be regarded as one of the most typical of the Arabist school, when Arabism was still something of a novelty

The facts of his life are involved in some obscurity, but it is clear that he was born at Abano, the locality near Padua from which he takes his name, towards the middle of the 13th century[4] At this time

[1] *Astrol*, IV, 8, cf VII, 7.

[2] *Ibid*, I, 1

[3] *Conciliator Differentiarum Philosophorum et precipue Medicorum* I have used an impression of 1524, belonging to St Andrews University Library

[4] Perhaps as Thorndike says in 1250 (*History of Magic etc*, II, 876)

Padua was already the seat of a University (from 1222, when there was an influx of students from Bologna), but for the earlier part of his career Peter of Abano is associated particularly with Paris.[5] He appears to have travelled a great deal, as far afield as Constantinople. He evidently became something of a Greek scholar, and having obtained at the Byzantine capital a copy of the *Problems* of Aristotle, he is said to have translated it into Latin.[6] It is natural to think that in Constantinople he may have been in contact with such men as George Pacyhmeres, the commentator on Aristotle, and Maximus Planudes, the first Byzantine scholar who studied Latin literature, and who was responsible for a number of translations from Latin into Greek[7] Before the *Conciliator* was written (1303), its author had been in Germany,[8] and he is said to have visited also Sardinia and Spain[9]

More interesting perhaps from our point of view, he passed some time in Britain, though at what date and for what purpose remain quite obscure. Thorndike was somewhat sceptical as to references to England and Scotland in the *Conciliator*, but there is no doubt about them. Peter speaks in one place of having been troubled by a particular dream for more than two years, and mentions that while in England and Scotland, being replete with damp vapours and beer, for the space of almost a year he had relief[10] It is evidently a kind of joke about the British climate Elsewhere, commenting on the fact that the action of the poppy is not always the same, he adduces a curious argument. Wine in Egypt, a hot country, is, he alleges, cold, whereas in Scotland which is a cold country wine is hot This is so because the heat of the

5 Thorndike, op cit, II 877

6 For the first time, according to Thorndike, ibid, and Sarton, *History of Science* III 1 (Baltimore, 1947), 493. But we have already seen Albertus using the *Problems* as a source of his *De Animalibus* A translation of the *Problems* had in fact been made before Peter of Abano's time by Bartholomew of Messina (Sarton, op cit, II 2, 829, cf *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi*, *Aristoteles Latinus*, Pars Prior, Rome, 1939, 86), who flourished at the court of Manfred, King of Naples and Sicily (1258-1266) A. Jourdian (*Recherches*, 75 ff) cites a passage where Albertus appears to refer to this translation Peter of Abano wrote a commentary on the *Problems* of Aristotle, which is concluded in one MS *Explicit expositio succincta compilationis problematum Aristotelis quam Petrus edidit Padubanensis et a nullo prius interpretante* (Venetian MS S Marco XII, 84, cited by Thorndike, op, cit., II 921), and his alleged translation of the *Problems* for the first time is evidently due to confusion

7 Cf Basile Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine* (Paris, 1949), 239 ff.

8 *Conciliator*, 33a.

9 Cf. Thorndike, op cit, II 87.

10 *Conciliator*, 209c.

mainland ratifies the pores of the earth, and permits the earth's internal heat to escape, while on the other hand in Scotland the pores of the earth remain obstructed by cold, and the internal heat, being unable to escape, renders the vines, and hence the wine, hot and strong, as is to be found at 'Thorisium'.[11] Since this is presumably a place in Scotland, the town of Thurso is perhaps meant, [12] which in the Middle Ages is said to have been a considerable port for the North Sea trade. Some place far to the North must be intended Peter of Abano concludes the discussion by saying : ' And similarly for the poppy in Egypt and the like places, and in those places near the poles ' [13]

Some time after 1303 Peter of Abano left Paris and returned to Padua, where he is commonly said to have been the first professor of medicine in the University. That he here developed an important activity is plain from the pictorial representations which were made of him[14] and the references in later writers, especially during and after the Renaissance He was unfortunate engough to draw upon himself the attention of the Inquisition, yet is it perhaps partly owing to this circumstance that he owed his later celebrity Thorndike observes that the Italians and other, in the 16th and 17th centuries misunderstood Peter of Abano ' as a precursor of their own period rather than as a final representative and product of a rich earlier period of culture ' [15] It is in the latter sense that we have to regard him, and not exactly as ' a man most illustrious in genius, doctrine and merits in a rude and unhappy age ' [16] - a typical later judgement

Details of the Paduan professorship and the earlier part of his life, with a critical biography, are given by Thorndike Here we need only consider one point, the connection of Peter of Abano with the symbolical paintings in fresco in the great hall of the Palazzo della Ragione at Padua This hall, which is on the upper floor of the Palazzo, is reputed to have the largest roof unsupported by columns in Europe Originally there were three roofs, spanning the three chambers into which the hall was at first divided, but in 1306 Fra Giovanni, an Augustinian friar, covered the whole with a single roof [17] According to his

11 Ibid., 250d.

12 I have been unable to find any Latin form for Thurso

13 *Conciliator*, ibid.

14 Cf Jac Philippus Tomasinus, *Elogius* (1630), 21

15 Op cit, II 883.

16 Tomasinus, cited Thorndike, ibid

17 H. F Brown in *Enc. Brit*, 11th ed, art Padua

16th century biographer Scardeone [18] and Nicolas Comnenus,[19] Peter of Abano designed more than four hundred pictures representing natural objects and various arts and operations, arranged under the twelve signs of the zodiac, the seven planets and the twelve months, which he then caused to be painted in the Palazzo, rendering it equal in magnificence to anything in Italy These were afterwards destroyed in a fire and restored, according to this account, by the celebrated Giotto. The indication is that pictures of this kind had never been seen till Peter of Abano invented them Visitors to masonic temples at the present day are often struck by the astronomical or rather astrological designs on the roof or elsewhere in the buildings. It may be that these derive ultimately from the designs at Padua, which appear to be the earliest of the kind in Europe The impulse to depict such things as the signs of the zodiac and the planets is doubtless far older than the 14th century, but if this is their first appearance in the West, it seems evidently due to what Michael Scot had called the ' new astrology ', of which Peter of Abano remained throughout his life an ardent devotee and which was undoubtedly of Arabist origin

We now come to consider Peter of Abano's main work, the once-famous *Conciliator Differentiarum Philosophorum et precipue Medicorum* The purpose of the work was not, as has sometimes been thought, to reconcile the opinions of contemporary philosophers and doctors, for in the 13th and 14th conturies and even considerably later, as we shall have occasion to see, philosophy as an independent discipline scarcely existed, and there was no special class of professional philosophers, distinct from theologians, lawyers and doctors, to which special opinions might be attributed Rather Peter of Abano, as he says, is giving in the *Conciliator* the substance of the questions in which he and his circle were interested, and which had formed the basis of ' class-room lectures and discussions for ten years previously'[20] That is, the *Conciliator*, as its full name indicates, deals primarily with questions in dispute among the doctors themselves. It is a work of medical interest, in the first place, and also, in view of the wide field open to the medical man of this age, a work of general science.

The form of the Counciliator is rigidly scholastic. More than two hundred ' Differences ' are laid down. To quote Thorndike, ' Each

[18] Bernardino Scardeone, *De antiquitate urbis Patavii et claris civibus* (Basle, 1560), 201-202.

[19] *Historia Gymnasii Patavini*, I 279 (cited Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Lat. Mediae et Infimae Aetatis*, Florence, 1858, V 230)

[20] Thorndike's phrase (op. cit., II 889).

problem is stated and any doubtful terminology is explained ; the utterance of past authorities anent the question is reviewed ; the true solution is then reached, and the reasons for it given ; fourthly and finally, hostile objections are answered. '[21] The first ten Differences deal at length with such general questions as whether it is necessary for the medical man to know the other sciences ; whether he must at the same time be a logician , whether medicine is theoretical , whether medicine is the most excellent of the arts , whether the human body in the subject of medicine ; and whether the patient should be entrusted to one or more doctors The 9th Difference is as to whether human nature is now weaker than it was in antiquity . The view is put forward that the world is now in the last stage of its existence, and for human nature being weaker now than formerly Mesue Junior and Serapion on the plant hellebore are quoted At the present time, it is argued, white hellebore is intolerable and must be regarded as a deadly poison. Even black hellebore, which is less powerful in its effects, is now to be laid aside and a different remedy applied

A wide range of medical and scientific interest is indicated by some of the other Differences [22] Is the number of the elements four, or not ? (Diff 11) , is the brain of hot or moist complexion ? (Diff 23) , is the flesh or the heart the organ of touch ? (Diff 42), is life possible below the equator ? (Diff 67) , is there a mean between health and sickness (Diff 72) ; is a small head a better sign (sc of intelligence) than a large one ? (Diff 79) The last reminds us of the interest which men of this age had in the pseudoscience of physiognomy Michael Scot's book on the subject, forming the third part of his trilogy already referred to, was apparently the most popular of all his works Peter of Abano himself wrote a *Liber Compilationis Phisionomiae*, and dedicated it to the captain-general of Mantua Difference 80 debates whether the arteries are dilated and contracted when the heart is A supplement to Difference 103 enquires is death more likely to occur by day or night ? The later Differences are largely concerned with matters of medical practice and personal hygiene. Should one eat once, twice or several times a day ? (Diff 120), should one sleep on the right or left side ? (Diff 123) ; should treatment begin with strong or weak medicine ? (Diff. 154), can fever coincide with apoplexy ? (Diff 182, supplement), is a narcotic good for colic ? (Diff 204) ; is blood-letting from the left hand a proper treatment for gout in the right foot

[21] Thorndike, ibid.

[22] Cf. Thorndike, II 886 - 887.

(Diff. 206). These titles by themselves, with their antiquated preconceptions, scarcely do justice to the learning and experience amassed in the text.

We are here specially concerned, as before, with the sources from which Peter of Abano draws As already said, he makes use of Arabist translations to a very marked extent. He is of course perfectly conscious of what he is doing and the nature of the sources used More than once he speaks of the Arabic translation of the Greek, and sometimes he permits himself criticism of what he calls the mendosity or defectiveness of the Arabic translation [23] He knows about the new direction in medical studies which had by this time set in, for he speaks of the Greeks and the Arabs to whom the Latins now adhere,[24] and in another place of the 'modern school' Again, he contrasts the main groups of the new authorities, remarking that Galen and the Greeks seem to be fonder of phlebotomy than the Arabs It has probably to be allowed that for the most part even his Greek authorities come by way of Arabic The translation of Aristotle's *Problems* direct from Greek to Latin, which Peter himself is said to have made, is evidently a special case [27] The works of Hippocrates and Galen, on the other hand, of Nicolaus Peripateticus[28] (Nicolaus of Damascus) and other Greek authors, had been rendered into Latin by Constantine Africanus, Gerard of Cremona, etc, from Arabic Like other medicals of this age and later, indeed at all times, Peter of Abano was evidently content to use existing translations where he could.

Undoubtedly the extent to which Peter of Abano cites Arabist works is very impressive. Among Arabic philosophers he has references to al-Kindī,[29] al-Fārābī, Avicenna, al-Ghazālī [30] and Averroes Of works specially named he refers to the *De Ortu Scientiarum* of

23 *Conciliator*, 76b
24 Ibid, 148b
25 '*Moderni autem in hoc quaesito cum prolixitate distant etc.*'
26 *Conciliator*, 218b
27 See n. 6
28 E g *Conciliator*, 18d
29 Ibid, 192a et seqq.
30 Ibid., 16b, 21a, 21b.

al-Fārābī,[31] which had been translated by Dominicus Gundisalvi[32] and a *Compendium* or *Commentary* on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* also by al-Fārābī[33] which had been translated by Hermann Alemannus Of Avicenna a number of works are mentioned in the *Conciliator* by name the *Abbreviatio*,[34] translated by Michael Scot, the *De Anima*[35], translated by John Avendeath,[36] the *Metaphysics*,[37] translated by Gundisalvi;[38] and the *De Coelo et Mundo*,[39] translated by John Avendeath.[40] Of Averroes the *De Substantia Orbis*,[41] translated by Michael Scot, is mentioned by name Peter of Abano is in fact *au fait* with the range of Arabic philosophy. The only great name which he fails to quote is that of Avempace, for the reason doubtless that Avempace seems not to have passed into Latin

Of Arabic medical writers, beginning with Mesue Senior[42] (Yāḥyā ibn Māsawaih or John Mesue, and Joannitius,[43] *i e* Hunain ibn Isḥāq, whose medical Introduction under the title *Eisagoge* was very early translated into Latin, as we saw, Peter of Abano has practically all the authors of importance Isaac Israeli, *De Elementis*,[44]

[31] Ibid, 2a, 7a

[32] M Alonso, 'Las traducciones del arcediano Domingo Gundisalvo', *Al-Andalus*, XII (1947), 298 There the work is called *Liber de Scientiis*, which appears to have been Gerard of Gremona's title for his own translation (ibid, 300) The original title is *K ihsa'al-ᶜulum*, i e Enumeration of the Sciences The MS published by Gul. Camerarius (Paris, 1638) containing Gundisalvi's translation was entitled *Compendium Omnium Scientiarum* (A Gonzalez Palencias, *Al-Farabi, Catalogo de las cientias*, ed 2, Madrid-Granada, 1953, 85) Steinschneider *Europ Ubersetz* 44) mentions the title *De Ortu Scientiarum*, but, as the *incipit* shows, the work in question is not either of the translations of the *K ihsa' al-ᶜulum* It is the more or less original work of Gundisalvi, usually called *De Divisione Scientiarum* (see *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, IV, 2-3, 1903)

[33] '*Alpharabius in didascalicis sup Ari rhetorica*'

[34] *Conciliator*, 205a

[35] Ibid, 4a, 29b

[36] M 'Alonso, Traducciones del arabe al latin por Juan Hispano (Ibn Dawud), *Al-Andalus*, XVII (1952), 145.

[37] *Conciliator*, 6b, 8a.

[38] M. Alonso, *Al-Andalus*, XII (1947), 333

[39] *Conciliator*, 17c

[40] i. e the work called by the Latins the *De Coelo et Mundo* of Avicenna was translated by John Avendeath (M Alonso, XVII, 1952, 140 ff) Cf M Alonso, 'Traduciones de Juan Gonzaler de Burgos y Salomon', *Al-Andalus*, XIV (1949), 312ff.; the same, 'Hunayn traducido al latin', *Al-Andalus*, XVI (1951), 37ff.

[41] *Conciliator*, 13c

[42] Ibid., 8d, 9a, 195a ('*Damascenus in aph* ', cf. Brockelmann, *GAL.*, I 232.

[43] Ibid., 129c, 129d, 130d.

[44] Ibid, 17a.

translated by Gerard of Cremona, and *De Febribus*,[45] translated by Constantine Africanus ; Rhazes, repeatedly cited, by name for his *Liber Almansoris*,[46] dedicated originally to the Sāmānid al-Manṣūr and rendered into Latin by Gerard of Cremona, and for the *Liber Divisionum*,[47] translated twice in the earlier days of Arabism, by Constantine Africanus and again by Gerard of Cremona ; Serapion, *i. e.* Yaḥyā ibn Sarābiyūn, for the *Breviarium*, [48]Arabice *Kitab al-kunnāsh*, which had been translated by Gerard of Cremona ; Haly Abbas,[49] *i.e.* 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās, who was the personal physician of the Persian dynast 'Aḍud al-Daulah, and dedicated to him his celebrated *Kitāb al-Malaki* (Royal Book), known in Latin in the version of Stephen of Pisa (or Antioch) as *Liber Regius* or *Regalis* Peter of Abano also cites a work *De Definitionibus* of Ishāq ibn 'Imrān,[50] the translator of which was Constantine Africanus, and the *Exposition Galeni Tegni* (*i.e.* the *Ars Parva* of Galen) by 'Alī ibn Ridwān,[51] a well-known Egyptian physician of the 11th century, which had been translated by Gerard of Cremona Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine* (*Qānun fi'l-ṭibb*) was extensively used by Peter of Abano, as were also the medical works of Avenzoar and Averroes Avenzoar or, to give him his Arabic name, Abū Marwān ' Abd al-Malik ibn Zuhr, came of a celebrated medical family, was in the service of the Almoravid dynasty and died in Seville in 557/1162 [52] His best-known work, in Latin *Theisir*, corresponding to the first part of the Arabic title (*Taisir fi-l-mudāwāt wa'l-tadbir*, meaning something like 'Facilitation in Medical Cures and Treatment'[53] is cited by name in the *Conciliator* [54] Averroes, with characteristic mediaeval catholicity of interest, was physician as well as jurist and philosopher Peter of Abano refers a number of times to his most important medical work, the so-called *Colliget*,[55] i e *Kulliyāt*, ' Universal Principles', which had been rendered into Latin, actually at

45 Ibid, 214c

46 Ibid, 181a, 191b, 200a, 227b.

47 Ibid, 252b, cf 112a

48 Ibid, 13d

41 Ibid, 2a, 6d, 129a

50 Ibid, 4b

51 Ibid, 2a, 2c.

52 For him see G Colin, *Avenzoar, sa vie et ses oeuvres, Publications de la Faculte des Letters d'Alger*, Paris, 1911.

53 Or as Colin says (op cit, 47) therapeutics and dietetic

54 *Conciliator*, 75b, 115a, 220d.

55 Ibid, 9c, cf 6d Averroes is often referred to by name, or as ' Come ', i e Commentator (ibid, 13a, 14a, 129b)

Padua, in 1255 by the Jew Bonacosa.[56] Renan for some reason says that Peter of Abano does not cite the *Colliget*[57] but this is not the case.

Further, the *Conciliator* abounds with references to most of the principal Arabic astronomers and astrologers Mesahalach or Masahalach[58] is for Māshā'llāh of Basrah, whose *Epistola* is cited, probably the *Epistola de Rebus Eclipsis Lunae et Solis*, translated into Latin by John of Seville[59] Omar Tiberias in the text[60] is for 'Umar ibn Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī, i e from the district of Ṭabaristān, south of the Caspian, another early Arabic astronomer, who flourished under the Caliph Ma'mūn Alfraganus, repeatedly cited,[61] is for al-Farghānī, whose name points to a connection with distant Farghānah in Turkestan, though the circumstances of this scholar's life are not known. Several of his works had by this time been translated into Latin by various hands Albumasar is frequently cited,[62], sometimes as Geofar, for his full name was Abū Ma'shar Ja'far ibn Muhammad of Balkh, or rather perhaps from a family deriving from that place The *Introductorium* of Albumasar had been put into Latin by John of Seville [63]. I have not noted that Peter of Abano refers to Albategnius (al-Battānī, but he has Alchabitius[64] (al-Qabīṣī and Abenragal[65]('Alī ibn abī'l-Rijāl, whose full name is deformed in the text as ' Haly heben ragel ' Further he mentions al-Bitrūji[66] (whose work *On the Sphere* was translated by Michael Scot), though not perhaps al-Zarqālī 'Thabith' and 'Chorat '[67] are evidently intended to represent Thābit ibn Qurrah, here cited presumably as an astronomer Among Arabic alchemists Peter of Abano refers to Jābir [68]

All this implies an impact made on the scientific mind of the age, in the person of one of its leading men, by Arabism, which it would be

56 Steinschneider, *Europ Ubersetz*. 8
57 See *Averroes*, ed 4 (Paris, 1893), 217
58 *Conciliator*, 22b, 128b
59 M Alonso, ' Juan Sevillano, sus obras proprias y sus traducciones', *Al-Andalus*, XVIII (1953), 34
60 *Conciliator*, 69b
61 Ibid., 16a, 151c
62 Ibid., 2b, 5b, 14c, 129b
63 M. Alonso, *Al-Andalus*, XVIII (1953), 40
64 *Conciliator*, 129b
65 Ibid, 14d.
66 Ibid, 13b, 16a, 18c.
67 Ibid., 15c.
68 Ibid, 204.

difficult to exaggerate. In Peter of Abano mediaeval Arabism perhaps reaches its highest level. More systematic than Michael Scot, whom otherwise he resembles rather closely, more Arabist than Albertus, Peter of Abano creates not indeed a complete Arabist system, but at least an Arabist approach and method. The measure of his success is the length of time during which the same Arabist authorities continued to influence, indeed it is perhaps not too much to say, to dominate higher study in northern Italy and especially at Padua.

Before attempting to follow this later development, it seems worth while to say something of another author used by Peter of Abano and not mentioned among the names already given. In his pharmacology, entitled *De Venenis*, Peter of Abano refers to one Dorachius the astrologer[69] Dorachius is evidently a corruption, side by side with the commoner Doronius, also Dordonius, Doromus,[70] etc of the name of Dorotheus of Sidon, a classical author quoted by Manilius Dorotheus composed astrological poems (*Apotelesmata*),[71] identifiable with or including the *Pentateuchos*,[72] a work written originally in Greek verse According to al-Qifṭī,[73] the *Pentateuchos* in five books, with a sixth and seventh on astrological questions and nativities respectively,[74] was translated and commented on by 'Umar ibn Farrukhān A Latin translation of the *De Nativitatibus et Interrogationibus* of 'Umar ibn Farrukhān was made by John of Seville[75] The consonance of title with the sixth and seventh book just mentioned is noticeable, and it is perhaps to this translationt hat Peter of Abano refers On the other hand, he speaks, as we saw, of Omar Tiberias as well as Dorachius, and 'Umar ibn Farrukhān was known to others of the Latins, e g Pico della Mirandola, as Aomar.[76]

[69] Ibid, 257d

[70] Cf Steinschneider, 'Uber die Mondstationen (Naxatra) und das Buch Arcandam', *ZDMG*, XVIII (1864), 156, A 43

[71] See the Classical dictionaries s v Dorotheus

[72] Wenrich, *De Auctorum Graecorum Versionibus* etc, 292 There are more recent studies of Dorotheus and the *Pentateuchos* by V Stegemann in *Corpus Codicum Astrologicorum Graecorum*, VI, 91-113 and *Astrologie u Universal-Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1930, 12-17 (cited Francis J Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation*, University of California Press, 1956, 70)

[73] Ed Lippert, 184

[74] Together with what al-Qifti calls a sixteenth book(?) but this seems intended as the title of a separate work The same notice is already in the *Fihrist*, ed Flugel, 268

[75] M Alonso, *Al-Andalus*, XVIII (1953), 41ff

[76] So in the original of the passage referred to in n 2

It looks therefore as if other productions of 'Umar ibn Farrukhān were at one time available, as well as the *De Nat'vitatibus et Interrogationibus*. A translation of the '*Book of Dorotheus*' by 'Umar ibn Farrukhān is reported to exist in a Turkish library,[77] and if this should turn out to contain the *Pentateuchos*, it would be a welcome addition to our knowledge of a Greek author whose work in the original has practically disappeared

To return from this digression, it is no doubt right with Renan to regard Peter of Abano as the real founder of the Paduan school [78] This is certainly true of medicine, where Arabism remained standard, with Avicenna as the leading authority At Padua also philosophy came to be strongly Averroist, i e the teaching of philosophy was based on Aristotle, interpreted in the light of the commentaries of Averroes. The first exponent of this appears to have been Gaetano of Teano[79] (1387-1465), but doubtless the high prestige already gained by Arabist works in the University contributed to the adoption of Averroism as the system of philosophy normally taught

The question of magic at Padua has also to be considered It is repeatedly asserted that Padua was a school of magic and that such and such named individuals had studied there We have already noticed the legend of a school of magic at Salamanca in Spain It is possible that the origin of the stories is in both cases the same and due to the kind of of instruction given at the two centres We may readily enough conceive that reports of Arabic authors with strange-sounding names being commented upon in the schools of Padua and Salamanca should give rise, especially among the uneducated, to the belief that magic was taught there The actual contents of some of the works to which we have referred might well give colour to the view It is of course unthinkable that the arts of magic, or what passed as magic, were openly professed at any school in Europe in the Middle Ages or later To that extent the stories about Padua and Salamanca may safely be set aside But the matter is perhaps sufficiently remarkable to call for a little further investigation

The Salamancan school was founded in the 13th century, and rapidly became one of the leading Universities in Europe. It is said to have been named at the Council of Vienne in 1311 as one of the places where means for studying the Oriental languages were to be

77 Brockelmann, *GAL*, ed 2, I 249

78 Cf H Rashidall, *Universities of Europe*, I 265, n 2

79 Rashdall, loc, cit, R C Christie, *Selected Essays* (London, 1902), 130.

created [80] A reader in Hebrew is actually mentioned at Salamanca a hundred years later, who was also responsible for instruction in Chaldaean and Arabic [81] But this is quite a different thing from an Arabist tradition, in the sense in which we have been considering it, and in the sense in which there was an Arabist tradition elsewhere, e.g. at Padua. It has been as asserted indeed that the doctors at Salamanca translated the Arabic works of Avicenna and Averroes and the commentaries of Galen [82] But there is no evidence for the statement, and the present writer knows of no single fact which makes it in any way likely. There was no Muslim school in Salamanca before the Reconquest. This part of Spain was a battle-ground between the two sides till about 1055, when the Arabs were finally driven out[83]. That is to say, there was no continuous tradition of culture, as at Toledo In the later stages of the Reconquest we cannot expect to find much sympathy in Spain for Arabism It does not appear that Arabist texts were ever studied in the Universities By the 16th century the attitude in Spain to the Arabs and Arabic had so hardened that the scholar Clenardus, who came from the Low Countries specially for the purpose of studying Arabic, could scarcely find a teacher. At Salamanca Fernando Nunez, a distinguished man, said to Clenardus 'What concern have you with this barbarous language, Arabic ? It is quite sufficient to know Latin and Greek In my youth I was as foolish as you, and, not content with adding Hebrew to the other two languages, I also took up Arabic But I have long since given up these two last, and devote myself entirely to Greek Let me advise you to do the same [84] This was in the year 1532.

The case of Padua is quite different Here undoubtedly was a strongly rooted Arabist tradition in both medicine and philosophy. Not only so, but definite people are stated to have studied magic in Padua e g that Earl of Gowrie involved at the end of the 16th century in the mysterious Gowrie Conspiracy, and in the next century James Carnegie, the 'Black Earl' of Southesk,[85] who was one of Montrose's

80 In both the lists that are given - Rome, Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Salamanca (G von Grunebaum, *Mediaeval Islam*, Chicago, 1946, 51, cf H Rashdall, op. cit, 1 88) and Paris, Louvain and Salamanca (*Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1931, 65, and Philip K Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, ed 6, 663)

81 Rashdall, op cit, I 85, n 5.

82 By the author of the article Salamanque in Larousse, *Grand Dictionaire Universel*.

83 *Enc Brit*, 11th ed, art. Salamanca

84 See R C. Christie, op cit, 106

85 Sir J. Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, III 69.

captains. Can we speak of an association of ideas between magic and the attested Arabism of Padua ? Though this seems on the face of it plausible, as already indicated, in view of the available evidence it is not very likely An official statment about the Gowrie Conspiracy was published in September, 1600 The attempt on the King had been made in the house of the Earl of Gowrie at Perth. According to the official statement,[86] after his escape, 'His Majestie having, before his parting out of that towne, caused to search the sayde Earle of Gowrie's pockets, in case any letters that might further the discovery of that conspiracy might be found therein But nothing was founde in them, but a little close parchment bag, full of magical characters, and words of enchantment, etc. Gowrie's pedagogue or tutor, Mr William Rynd, deponed before the Privy Council in regard to these characters that he saw them first at Padua, on returning from a short visit to Venice, and that having asked where they came from, was told by Gowrie that he had copied them himself Thereafter, according to Rynd, the Earl 'would never be content to want the characters off himselfe from the first time that the deponer saw them in Padua', till the hour of his death [87] A deposition was also taken by the Privy Council from a certain James Weimys, which added further details about Gowrie's interest in magic while in Padua The Earl claimed to have acquired knowledge of the Qabbalah, by which he said that he could charm snakes and work other miracles [88] These particulars naturally got further publicity, and were mentioned in sermons of the time [89]

But the connexion of the black arts, knowledge of which has frequently been charged against the objects of popular detestation,[90] with Padua seems to be fortuitous Gowrie, according to Weimys, said that he had learned the *Hebrew* word with which to charm a snake from a 'cabbalist of the Jewes' and that he had spoken with another man who had the reputation of being a 'nigromancer'. Assuming that these encounters took place at Padua, which is nowhere stated explicitly, we certainly find nothing here to point to a connexion with Arabist studies at the University If the Earl of Gowrie gave attention to magical matters at Padua, the activity was strictly, it appears, extra-mural.

[86] Lord Hailes, *Annals of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1819), III 375.
[87] Ibid., III 383ff.
[88] Ibid., III 381
[89] Ibid., III 377, n.
[90] Cf. Sir Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy*, Part IV (note on John Leyden's poem 'Lord Soulis').

Yet about this time wizardry and Padua were associated in the public mind A little later, in the 17th century, the magical reputation of the 'Black Earl' of Southtesk was doubless due to personal unpopularity and some more or less chance association. To revert to the Earl of Gowrie, a contemporary account of the conspiracy claims to give the pretext used to separate the King from his attendants. 'The house of Gowrye were all of them much addicted to chemistry, and these more, to the practice, often publishing, as such professors usually do, more rare experiments than ever could be performed, wherein the King, a general scholar, had little faith. But to infuse more credit to the practice, Alexander Ruthven, the second brother, takes this occasion, and withall conspires with Gowrye to assassinate the King, and taking opportunity in his hunting not far from his house St Johnston, invites the King to be an eye-witness of his productions. In their way, Sir Thomas Erskine, after Lord Kelly, overtakes them and others, demanding the Duke of Lenox, then present, why Alexander had engrossed the King's ear, to carry him away from his sports ? peace, man, said the Duke weis (until) all be turned into gold And thus was the King brought to guest'[91]. There is no means of knowing if this is an approximately true account of what took place, but it would make sense of part of the mystery There is no report that Gowrie had studied alchemy while at Padua

It is time to speak of what actually was taught at Padua. The Arabist legacy appears to have been two-fold, as we saw, relating to medicine and philosophy To take philosophy first, it may be summed up in a single name—Averroes Averroism, which had become fashionable in Paris during the 13th century, had soon ceased to be influential there But in North Italy and especially at Padua a rather special type of scholasticism gradually developed, in which Averroes rather than Aristotle was the great authority.[92] In the latter half of the 15th century, at Padua, Averroism was practically absolute[93] It is remarkable also to find here philosophy associated with medicine rather than theology, and taught not by ecclesiastics but by laymen holding medical degrees The unusual arrangemnt perhaps illustrates the point already made, that philosophy had scarcely as yet a recognised place as an independent discipline.[94] It is in line with the attitude of Peter of Abano (whose

91 Hailes, op cit, III 346.
92 Cf. Rashdall, op. cit, I 262ff
93 Christie, op cit., 130.
94 Cf. J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, V 401

influence evidently continued strong at Padua), for whom philosophers and medicals were practically the same class. In some ways more nearly perhaps than other contemporary men of learning—these lay philosophers teaching at Padua are the prototypes of the modern professional philosopher

One such was Nicoleto Vernias, professor of philosophy at Padua from 1471 to 1499[95] In 1483 he published a Latin version of Aristotle's *Ethics*, with the commentary of Averroes, and other works of Aristotle in Latin (including the *Polities*), in which he styled himself 'Professor of the Liberal Arts and of Medicine, at present reading in the University of Padua [96] The version of the *Ethics* thus sponsored was that of Hermann Alemannus in the 13th century Nicoleto openly professed and taught the opinion of Averroes that the individual soul emanates from and is absorbed again into the soul of the universe This was perhaps held by him and presented as merely a philosophical theory[97]. Its heretical character, as practically denying the immortality of the soul is sufficiently obvious The doctrine is, however, respectable enough to have a technical name (panpsychism), and it has been supposed that Averroes derived it from his great predecessor Avempace '' Whether it was held by any earlier thinker seems uncertain, but it was now for a time to have great popularity at the school of Padua

Nicoleto's pupil Augustino Nifo (Niphus) put forward the same view in a work *De Intellectu et Damonibus*, which caused considerable controversy[99] Nifo lectured with success at Padua and elsewhere He taught a modified Averroism, in which the points at which Averroes differed from orthodox Aristotelian doctrine were smoothed over[100]

Alessandro Achillini represented the same modified Averroism[101] He is perhaps principally remembered for his debate with Pomponazzi, who like himself was for a time a teacher of philosophyat Padua Pomponazzi began his carreer by taking a medical degree[102] and eventually became 'Professor of Natural and Moral Philosophy' at Bologna [103]

95 Christie, op cit, 131

96 Panzer, *Annales Typographici*, III 191-192 Renan (Averroes, 86) mentions an edition of Aristotle and Averroes in 1483 and 1484 by Andrea of Asolo, who was no doubt the printer.

97 Christie, ibid

98 Lacy O'Leary, *Arabic Thought and is Place in History*, 257

99 Christie, ibid.

100 Ibid, 144.

101 Ibid., 134.

102 Ibid, 130

103 Symonds, op. cit, V 402

He was a man of more original stamp than others of the North Italian philosophers, and, breaking away from the regulation Averroism, claimed to adopt the interpretation of Aristotle represented by Alexander of Aphrodisias He rejected the unity of souls and collective immortality, maintaining that, according to Aristotle, the soul was mortal This precipitated a controversy,, in which Nifo and others took part against Pomponazzi Popular interest was roused to an extraordinary pitch A follower of Pomponazzi invited to lecture at Pisa, opened his course with Aristotle's *Meteora* But the whole assembly, consisting of students and people of the town, interrupted him with the cry, '*Quid de anima*?' 'Tell us about the soul!'[105] Both views of the soul's nature were condemned by the Lateran Council in 1512 [106]

Another representative of the school was Marco Antonio Zimara, whose name has already been mentioned He died in 1552 Zimara was a diligent student of Averroes, and attempted to mediate between his views and those of Aristotle [107] But like most if not indeed all of the later Averroists Zimara seems to have had little interest in the mere Arabic text of his author, preferring the Latin versions, sanctioned now by centuries of use[108] Here the Averroists and the scholastics in general present a marked contrast to their rivals, the humanists, who above all thing wanted to get at the Greek texts and read them. In the course of the 16th century Averroism declined in importance at Padua and elsewhere The characteristic philosophical teaching of the Paduan school seems, however, to have disappeared finally rather owing to the increasing orthodoxy of the Italians than to the competition of humanism

The above-mentioned philosophers were all influenced positively or negatively by Averroes The fate of Averroes is indeed singular Almost entirely disregarded until the most recent times by his fellow-countrymen and co-religionists, his writings became as it were naturalized during the 14th and 15th centuries of our era in what might have seemed the alien soil of Italy, and here Averroism flourished as nowhere else, before or since A new and more potent intellectua lmovement— the Renaissance—took place, which should at

104 Ibid, V 403
105 Ibid, V 419
106 Christie, op cit, 133
107 *Enc Brit*, 11th ed, art Arabian Philosophy (by William Wallace and G W Thatcher).
108 Cf an example in Part III.

once have outmoded the Averroism of Padua. Nothing of the kind happened. The school of Padua, supported by the Republic of Venice, continued to flourish It is a tribute no doubt to the merits of the philosophy of Averroes, but certainly also to the conservatism of the Venetians, who appear to have been determined that no mere matter of literary fashion, in this case the rediscovery of the classics of Greece and Rome, should be allowed to interfere with the educational system to which they were accustomed

In the medical schools of Padua Avicenna held the same high place as Averroes in philosophy, but the acolytes were perhaps less single-minded in their devotion By the end of the 15th century, if not earlier, foreigners were being attracted to the school The English humanist Linacre took the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Padua after 1484, and about the same time was studying Greek with Politian at Florence [109] At the close of the century a doctor (*i e* professor) of medicine at Padua received 1000 ducats (which was also the stipend of an eminent jurist), together with the right of private practice [110] The humanists seem to have been much less well paid In 1453 one Lauro Quirino, who professed rhetoric at Padua, was period only 40 ducats yearly[111] Dr. John Caius, who virtually refounded Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, was a student and perhaps also a professor at Padua He took his degree there in 1541 [112] Benefiting by her close association with Venice, Padua had become the leading scientific school in Italy She had outstripped Bologna, and Paduan charges for a degree were higher than at Bologna [113] The celebrated Vesalius lectured on anatomy in Padua from 1536 He of course worked with the text-books available at the time, and is said to have made a translation, presumably a paraphrase, of the ten books of Rhazes *Ad Almansorem* [114]

The works of Vesalius present numerous Arabisms, which by his time tend to appear in even stranger guise than they did earlier An alarming treatment for catarrh, prescribed by Mesue Junior, consisted in cauterization and the application of corrosives to a part of the forehead called in the Latin text *zubendech*.[115] This word already presents difficulties of interpretation It is supposed to be Persian,

[109] *Enc Brit*, art Thomas Linacre
[110] Symonds, op cit, II 88
[111] Ibid., II 89.
[112] *Enc Birt*, art., John Caius
[113] Rashdall, op cit, I 228, n 1
[114] Joseph Hyrtl, *Das Arabische und Hebraische in der Anatomie* (Vienna, 1879), xxix
[115] *Liber Medicinarum Particularium*, De Cura Catarrhi

acclimatized in Arabic, *zau bandaq* or rather *zau bandgāh*, 'the joining of the suture', in modern anatomy *Locus fonticuli frontalis*. But in Vesalius we find with reference to this passage the expression *zeudech Mesuae*,[116] where the word *zeudech* is completely corrupt. How the Arabist doctors of the Paduan school were able in practice to apply with success, as they apparently did, a theory containing such highly obscure and artificial expressions is not easy to see. It was only in comparatively rare cases that these men were in a position to confront their Arabist Latin texts with the original Arabic, and even if they knew Arabic, they might well continue in difficulties.

There is one group of Arabist doctors, of Transalpine origin, like Vesalius himself, and connected with Padua, whose Oriental acquirements were celebrated, [117] and with whom this account of Arabic science in the West may fittingly close.[118] These men were distinguished doctors in their day and competent Arabists The oldest of them, Plemp, or Plempius as he is often called, was born in 1601 in Amsterdam, studied at Ghent and Louvain, then passed to Leiden and finally Padua, where he worked under Spigelius He graduated Doctor of Medicine at Bologna Returning to Holland, he engaged in private practice in his native city Later he was called to Louvain as professor of medicine, and remained there, active and successful, till his death in 1677. Plempius as professor at Louvain published (1658) a Latin translation of Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine*, which is later than any of the numerous Juntine editions

Another of the group, Deusing, also a Dutchman (1612-1666), become rector of the University of Groningen, and published in 1649 a translation of the versified work, scarcely of poem, of Avicenna on medicine, the so-called *Canticum*, together with the *Medical Aphorisms* of John Mesue (Mesue Senior), which had been one of the first Arabic medical works to be translated (and one of the earliest productions in Arabic on medicine) It is not clear to what extent Deusing improved on the 11th century Latin version made by Constantine Africanus. Deusing also composed a book of *Dissertations*[119] on various subjects, including the unicorn, the bezoar-stone, mandrakes, barnacle

[116] Hyrtl, op cit, 243 Cf D M Dunlop, 'John Mesue and his Work', *Bulletin of the British Society for the History of Science*, I (1952), 213

[117] Cf D M Moir, *Outlines of the Ancient History of Medicine* (Edinburgh and London, 183)1, 244n

[118] Most of the details which follow are from A Hirsch, *Biographisches Lexicon der hervorragenden Aerzte* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1886)

[119] Groningen, 1659

geese, etc. The sources of this were evidently to some extent Arabist. He also produced an annotated edition of the *Arabic Grammar* of Erpenius and a dictionary of medical terms, not to mention a Persian-Latin and a Turkish-Latin Dictionary.

The third of this group was G H Welsch, a Bavarian from Augsburg, who studied at Tubingen and Padua, and practised at Augsburg, dying in 1677 With these names the study and practice of Arabist medicine, of the type approved at Padua somewhat earlier, still continued

Peter of Abano has been dealt with here because he well illustrates the Arabic influence on Europe before it begins to ebb, but also because the effect of his teaching appears to have been felt at Padua, in the departments of philosophy and medicine, indeed we may say in general science, for several centuries Reckoning the work of the Paduan school as part of the general movement, we have a period of as long as seven hundred years, from the 10th to the 17th century, during which Arabic science more or less directly influenced scientific development in Europe No one probably would be prepared to say that this influence was always a good thing, but the same is true of the other great intellectual movements during this long period of time, scholasticism and humanism. The central fact which I have attempted to illustrate is that there was this Arabic influence, this Arabist movement, extending, it may be said, from the Dark Ages of Europe down to the Renaissance By the time of the scholars last named, the medical men influenced by Padua, Arabism, in the sense in which we have been considering it, has worn rather thin, and they scarcely had successors Since that time there have been other learned Arabist doctors, such as W A Greenhill, in England and elsewhere But their interest has been not to interrogate nature with the guidance of Arabic sources, but rather to understand and evaluate what these sources contain relating to nature, guided by other criteria than the Arabic sources themselves provide This is clearly a different activity from that of the mediaeval or Renaissance Arabists This is history of science

Deusing in the 17th century, as has been mentioned, left behind him in Latin dictionaries of Arabic medical terms and of the Persian and Turkish languages These were never published, unlike his old-fashioned medical works They represent another development which was only beginning to be realized, the interest, that is, in the general culture, including the science, of the Eastern nations for its own sake, with which we are familiar today as Orientalism It was

in these directions and not along the traditional lines, as they were by then, that real progress was possible. This is now generally recognized. The historians of science and the Orientalists are in their way the successors of the mediaeval Arabists, whose once-famous names and half-forgotten achievements we have been trying to recall.

THE IDENTITY OF SHITAB KHAN OF WARANGAL

By

PROFESSOR HARUN KHAN SHERWANI, HYDERABAD

Shitāb Khān is one of the problem personalities on the history of Medieval Deccan, and there is such a mass of conflicting data about the name that one begins to wonder whether the name by itself is at all indicative of any connection between the persons who are said to have borne it. The first time we hear about Shitāb Khān is in the reign of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī who reigned from 1458 to 1461, but all that we know about him is that he was one of the noblemen of the knigdom. who incurred the wrath of the Sulṭān and had to flee for his life[1] Dr Hīrānanda Sāstrī, in his comprehensive monograph on Shitāb Khān[2] infers from various data before him that he was born probably in an ordinary Boya family in 1440, i e, during the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II[3] He is called Chittapa Khānu in inscription in the Sambhulinga temple which Dr Sāstrī edited in 1932[4], and is said to have created a principality for himself and conquered Warangal "from the Yāvanas" on January 21, 1504, and restored the temple of a god and a goddess there[5]

But this does not solve our difficulty As is well known, there are a number of Telugu documents relating to different villages which are known by the Arabo-Persian names of *kaifiyats*, and which are preserved in the valuable Mackenzie Collection in the Oriental Manuscript Library at Madras Now quite a number of these *kaifiyats* deal

1 I do not know the source of the information which is repeated by a number of eminent scholars such as Dr Yazdani (*Journal of the Hyderabad Archaelogical Society*, 1916, p 45 and *Report of the Hyderabad Archaelogical Department*, 1925-26, p 11) and Dr Hirananda Shastri (*Shitab Khan of Warangal*, p 30,) that Shitab Khan was appointed governor of Warangal by Humayun The reference given is to Major King's *History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, printed serially in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 28, pp 246-47, but there is no mention of the governorship in these pages The translation is copied out verbatim in the *History* published later in a book form There is no mention of the governorship in the *Burhan-i-Ma'athir* either, on which King's *History* is based for it only says on p 95 that Shitab Khan was "one of the Sultan's *umara* "

2 *Shitab Khan of Warangal*, Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No 9, 1932.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

4 *Ibid.*, p 23

5 *Ibid.*, p. 13 20 By "Yavanas" is meant Muslims

with the life of Shitāb Khān Dr Sāstrī has given the purport of such *kaifiyats* in his monograph Thus the Kimmuru *Kaifiyat* says that Chittapa Khānu's original name was Sitadū, that he belonged to the Chodaru Boya caste and tended the cattle of a villager named Peddirāju. He was trained in gymnastics and entered the services of Allāh-Qulī Khān the *sarlashkar* of Rajahmundri, and it was then that he was granted the title of Shitāb Khān. He seems to have raised his head against the *sarlashkar* but was defeated at a place called Tatapallī-Loddi and beheaded forthwith[6].

Another *Kaifiyat* also calls him Sitadū and his patron Peddirāju, but here, instead of going to Rājāhmundrī in the first instance, he joins service at Warangal, rises to a command of three or four thousand and is granted the title of Shitāb Khān This was the period of the expansion in the area under Orissan hegemony, so he flies to Cuttack and is made the commander of Rājāhmundrī on behalf of the Gajpati ruler This *Kaifiyat* manages to prolong Shitāb Khān's life to the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh who was the King of Tilangānā from 1551 to 1581[7] Following this clue Dr Sāstrī supplements this with a reference to the adaptation of *Tārikh Muhammad Qutb Shāh* by Briggs, where Shitāb Khān, alias Sītāpatī, is made to eat the humble pie at the hands of Malik Nā'ib Rif'at Khān Lārī at Pentāpūr and then at Rājahmundri in 979/1571, and allowed then to proceed to Vijayānagar under a passport of safe conduct[8]. This account agrees more or less with the Telugu poem *Tāpati Samavāram Opākhyanamu* of Addanki Gangadhara Kavī which is dedicated to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, in which Shitāb Khān is made to tremble before the Sulṭān and runs away " crossing the Godavari on the other side "

Dr Sāstrī also refers to the *Kaifiyat* of Ekāsilanagara which makes Shitāb Khān a hater of the Hindus and of the Kakatiyas He is said to have destroyed many temples, and with their stones completed the fort left unfinshed by Pratāpa Rudra He is also said to have built a lofty palace called the Khās Mahal within the Warangal fort[2]

So much for the *Kaifiyats* Coming to *Tārikh Muhammad Qutb Shāh*, popularly known as the *Qutbshāhi*, we find Shitāb Khān or Sītāpatī being introduced as the Rājā of Khammammet, fighting many a battle with Sultān Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk firstly of his own accord, then as

[6] *Ibid*, p 6

[7] *Ibid*, p 7 .

[8] Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, III, 421. For reference to the Telugu poem, see *Shitab Khan of Warangal*, p 12.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

an ally of the Gajapati Pratāpa Rudra and finally leading a big confederacy of the Andhras against the ruler of Tilangana. He is defeated by Sulṭān-Qulī at the great battle fought at Palankchipūr, but reappears during the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and is again worsted in 979/1571[10]

There is one other important data which might give a clue to the personality of at least one bearer of the name, and that is the so-called *Darbar Hall* of Shitāb Khān, popularly known as *Khurshid Mahal*, within the fort at Warangal[11] Dr Yazdānī calls it "the exact replica" of the *Hindola Mahal* of Shādiābād-Māndū, the beautiful capital of the medieval Sultanate of Malwa[12] He thinks that " it is not unlikely that both were built by the same architect or at least the architecture of the former (Shitāb Khān's Hall) was familiar with the latter (Hindolā Mahal . . Shitāb Khān's Hall seems to have been constructed shortly after its prototype at Mandu was built [13]" The similarly is most striking not merely in the form of the sloping walls with their broad bases and the form of the arches but also in the interiors[14].

Now we know from a number of sources that there was an *amir* by the name of Shitāb Khān in the reign of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī, which corresponds to the most glorious period in the history of Malwa and the construction of the city of Mandu, the vast ruins of which are still the wonder of the tourist and the archaelogist Is it not likely that the finely proportioned building named after Shitāb Khān was constructed by the Muslim *amir* of the time of Humāyūn after the fashion of *Hindola Mahal* As a matter of fact it was immediately after Humāyūn's death that the Sulṭān of Malwa, Maḥmūd Khaljī (1436-1479) began his inroads into the Deccan, and it is quite possible

10 *Briggs*, 421-23, Here it may be noted that 979 H does not correpond with 1567 as in Buggs III 423 but with 1571, *Tarikh Muhammad Qutb Shah*, MSS, *Asafiyah*, *Tariqh Farsi*, 401, pp 67 ff Chittapa Khan's adventures against Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-mulk also described in Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramnayya's valuable book, *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, III, 209 ff. It may be mentioned

11 " Darbar Hall " , Yazdani, *Antiquities of Warangal*, J of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1916, p 45 , " Audience Hall " , Yazdani, *Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1925-26, p 11

12 *Rep of the Hyd Arch. Dept*, 1925-26, p 11.

13 Yazdani, *Mandu, the City of Joy*, p 73, n 2

14 Photograph of the Warangal building, exterior, *Rep of the Hyd Arch. Dept*, *op. cit* Pl XV a & b , interior, pl XIV b *Hindola Mahal* , Exterior, *Mandu*, p 70 , interior, p 74 Even the dimensions of the two are similar, the interior of the Warangal Hall measuring 86×24' and the Hindola Mahal 88' 5"×24' 8".

that *Khurshid Mahal* of Warangal was built by the architects and masons who came with Maḥmūd's army and settled down in the Deccan[15].

Thus, if we trace the accounts before us in their chronological sequence, we have the following :

1. Shitāb Khān, *alias* Sitādū, born about 1440 ;
2. Sitādū at Warangal, in 1458 ;
3. Shitāb Khān, a destroyer of temples ;
4. Shitāb Khān, alias Chittapa Khān, a restrorer of temples and conquerer of Warangal in January, 1504 ,
5. Shitāb Khān, *alias* Sītāpatī, the opponent of Sulṭān-Quli Quṭbul-mulk about 1514-1516 ,
6. Shitāb Khān *alias* Sītāpatī, opponent of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shah in 1571

The story thus extends from 1440 to 1571, and if it is the story of the same adventurer, then he must have been about 29 in the time of Humāyūn, 64 when he occupied Warangal and 131 when he fought with Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shah ! And yet eminent historians have been so impressed with the glare of the name that they have attempted to connect all these spread out episodes under one head Dr Sāstrī, who has taken such pains to delve out " Shitāb Khān " from Telugu documents and Persian authorities, says that he was born about 1440, became governor of Warangal under Humāyūn, then asserting his independence, conquered Warangal in 1504 , and then he goes on to the episodes in Ibrāhīm's reign[16] But the leaned Doctor has some doubts lurking in his mind and he cannot wholeheartedly reconcile himself to the identification of the Shitāb Khān of the Warangal inscription with others of the same name He is not sure regarding his religion either ; for while he says in one place that " the suffix of *Khān* would indicate that he became a Mahomedan ", in another place he is definite that " it is not necessary that he who is called a *Khān* must of needs be a Muslim"[17] It seems that having so many contradictory statements before him the learred Doctor could not make his mind as to the identity of Shitāb Khān.

Then we have Bilgrami and Wilmott's statement that Shitāb Khān " was the first Mahomedan king of Warangal,[18]" although except for the title and the *Kaifiyat* of Ekisalanagara (which the learned authors

[15] For the Malwa wars in the time of Nizamu'd-din Ahmad III (1463-1482) see Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Dec.* , pp 280 ff

[16] *Shitab Khan of Warangal, op cit* , pp 7 & 8

[17] Statements on pp 10 & 14.

had not before them) there is no evidence of the person having changed his creed. Dr. Yazdānī took up the problem as far back as 1916 where he identifies "the Governor of Warangal under the Bahmanids" with the person who is described in the Telugu inscription placed "in the Hindu temple in the Fort[19]" He becomes more explicit later when he says that Shitāb Khān, is the same person as the one who was defeated by Sultān Qulī Qut-bu'l-Mulk[20] Dr Sreenivāsachari, in his note on the Warangal inscription of Ambira Deva, rather goes out of his way to identify Shitāb Khān with Sārang Khān and makes him change his religion in the time of Humāyūn's father 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad II[21] It is not apparent why he was led to this conclusion except perhaps the description of the punishment meted out to Shitāb Khān's family in King's *History of the Bahmani Dynasty* which is an epitomised version of certain portions of Syed 'Alī Tabātabāi's *Burhān-i-Mā'athir* But there is nothing in that book to show that Shitāb Khān and Sārang Khān were identical persons As a matter of fact the context demands that the two are distinct personages, for it is clear that Sārang Khān was the title granted to Malik Hasan Bahrī, the progenitor of the Nizām-shāhī Kings[22]

Taking all these facts into consideration we are forced to reach the following conclusions

(*i*) There was a certain *amir* of the Bahmani Kingdom named Shitāb Khān, who was involved in a conspiracy against Humāyūn Shāh and had to fly at least temporarily from the Kingdom His family sufferred dire punishment on 27-9-865/6-7-1461 It was this Shitāb Khān who built the " Darbar Hall " or *KhurshidMahal* at Warangal

(*ii*) There was a certain boy named Sitādū belonging to the Boya caste who served one Peddīrājū When he grew up he

18 Bilgrami and Wilmott, *Glimpses of the Nizam's Dominions*, quoted by Dr Sastri, p 10

19 *J. of the Hyd Arch Society*, 1916, pp 45, 46

20 *Rep of the Hyd Arch Dept*, 1925-26 It may be noted that Dr Yazdani quite rightly brings his conclusions down only to the reign of the founder of the dynasty.

21 *Report of the Hyd Arch Dept*, 1935-36, pp 33-34

22 King, *History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, p 88 , *Indian Antiquary*, vol 28, pp 246-47, *Burhan*, 95 Sr Sreenivasachar mixes up Briggs's translation of Firishata with his adaptation of *Tarikh Muhammad Qutb Shah*, which really forms an appendix to vol. III of his book, pp 339 to 484 , *Report of the Hyd Arch Dept*, 1934-35, p. 40 etc.

rose to high office under the later Bahmanis and was granted the title of Chittapa Khan or Shitāb Khān. He was either beheaded as a rebel (Krimmuru Kaifiyat) or left the kingdom seeking fortune under the Gajpati of Orissa.

(*iii*) There was one Shitāb Khān or Sītāpati who conquered Warangal in 1504 and restored certain Hindu temples and who opposed the might both of Sultān Quli and of Vijayangar.

(*iv*) There is again a Sitāpāti or Shitāb Khān who fought and lost at the hands of Malik Nā'ib in 979/1571.

We have therefore at least three persons of the name of Shitāb Khān, for Sitāpati of the time of Sultān-Qulī might well be the same as Sītāpatī of the reign of his son One thing is certain, that except for Shitāb Khān of Humāyūn's reign, who was a Muslim, the other two persons, *i e* Sitādū and Chittapa Khānu were Hindus, as the restoration of temples at their hands as well as the sides they took clearly shows Unless we remember this it is very difficult to understand the full significance of the parts they played in the history of the Deccan,

MUHAMMAD 'ADIL SHAH

By

DR. A. RAHIM, M.A. PH D (LOND), UNIVERSITY OF KARACHI

The death of energetic Islām Shāh and the minority of his son Fīrūz gave the Afghān chiefs an opportunity to reassert their position in the sultanate. The attempt of 'Ādil Shah to follow Islām Shāh, however, revived the conflict between the king and the chiefs culminating in the dissolution of the sultanate and the Afghān loss of sovereignty in Northern India

Murder of Firuz

On October, 30, 1553 , on the death of Islām Shāh, his son Fīrūz, a boy of twelve, was placed on the throne at Gwalior by the supporters of the late king. Tāj Khān Karranī, to whom the dying king had entrusted the guardianship of his minor son, became his wazīr[1] But the disaffection which Islām Shāh's strong monarchy and centralised government had created among the Afghān chiefs proved too strong for the boy king and his guardian minister and on the third day of his accession[2], Fīrūz was killed by his maternal uncle Mubariz Khān Sur, the son of Sher Shāh's younger brother Nizām Sūr, who had the support of Pahār Khān Sarwānī, Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, Shamshīr Khān, the younger borther of Khwās Khān, and other disaffected Afghān chiefs[3].

In his life time Islām Shāh had foreseen that such a calamity might befall his successor and he wanted to ensure his safety by executing Mubāriz, who formed the centre of the conspiracy of the Afghān chiefs against him His wife Bībī Baī, however, prevented him from executing her brother, saying that he was given to music and pleasures and was not interested in the throne Islām Shāh was disgusted and remarked that she would live to see the consequences of her folly Badāyūnī writes that the prophesy of Islām Shāh came true and, in spite of her entreaties, Mubārīz murdered her son in her very presence[4] With the consent

[1] *Shahi*, 272-74

[2] Badayuni, I, 416 , *Tabaqat*, II, 118 , Firishta I, 438
All the contemporary historians, except Ahmad Yadgar, say that Firuz was killed within a few days of his accession, the general statement being 3 days

[3] *Waq'iat-i-Mushtaqi*, 76b

[4] Badayuni, I, 416

of the chiefs, Mubāriz then asceneded the throne and assumed the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil[5]

'Adil's accession, a triumph for the Afghans :

The murder of Fīrūz and the accession of 'Ādil to the throne was a victory for the Afghān chiefs and a defeat for the idea of strong monarchy and centralised government. It was the reassertion of their former power and position in the sultanate Islām Shāh's strong monarchy and centralised administration had taken away from them their powers and privileges and had made them subservient to the throne. The self-willed Afghān chiefs could not submit themselves to such a humiliating position. They plotted and conspired against Islām Shāh, but they failed; the iron hand of the autocrat was too strong for them. In the death of Islām Shāh, however, they obtained an opportunity to recover their former power and position

Even though Fīrūz was a boy, the Afghān chiefs could not accept his accession, because they thought that, being the son of an autocratic ruler, he would carry on the idea and traditions of his father Bent on uprooting the idea of strong monarchy, they supported ' Ādil in murdering Fīrūz Thinking that, as he was given to music and pleasures, 'Ādil would not be inclined towards the establishment of a strong monarchy, the Afghān chiefs chose him for the throne Moreover, Fīrūz was nominated for the throne by his father The chiefs, who had always their choice in the affairs of succession, could not accept the enthronement of Fīrūz, as it meant their surrender of an important privilege to the king So, they supported 'Ādil in obtaining the throne.

Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil began his reign by conferring favours and important offices on his supporters He appointed Shamshīr Khān and Daulat Khān, a new Muslim and a protege of the Luhānīs, as *wazir* and *wakil* respectively. He also gave high position to Pahār Khān Sarwani and Ibrāhim Khān Sūr[6] He restored Shuja'at Khān, who had been in the bad grace of Islām Shah, to Malwa Hemu became his trusted confidant and supervisor of his important affairs, civil and military.[7]

'Ādil wanted to gain popularity by the lavish grant of money. Following the example of Muhammad bin Tughluq for whom he

[5] Badayuni, I, 417 , Firishta, I, 438, , Makhzan-i-Afaghianah 162a ; Wright *The coins and metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 366

[6] and [7] *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 76b , Badayuni, I, 418 ; *Tabaqat*, II, 119.

had a great admiration, he opened the royal treasure for the people and scattered money among them [8]

'Adil deceives the chiefs :

The Afghan chiefs had raised 'Ādil to the throne thinking that, being accustomed to a life of singing and dancing and of the pleasures of the harem, he would care very little for administration and that this would ensure their ascendancy in the sultanate Indeed ' Ādil was a musician and a great master of the art of music in that age. Miyān Tānsen, the great musician of Akbar's court, and Baz Bāhādur, the king of Malwa and a gifted musician, were his disciples [9] ' Ādil's musical performances took the musicians of the time by surprise He was such a master musician that he could play with *pakhwaz*, a kind of musical drum of the size of a man, both with hand and foot [10] Under his instruction, a *Bhagat* boy who was named Mujāhid Khān, became an excellent musician of the time [11] Indeed ' Ādil gave a great stimulus to the medieval Indian music

The musician king, however, soon deceived the Afghan chiefs As soon as he felt himself secure on the throne he adopted Islām Shāh's policy of strengthening the monarchy and ruining them He followed his autocrat predecessor in enlisting support of the Indian section of the people 'Ādil raised Hemu to the *wizarat* and made him his uncontrolled agent in all the affairs of administration [12] He also appointed the *Bhagat* boy Mujāhid Khān as a commander of 10,000 [13] 'Ādil's idea was to curb the power of the Afghan chiefs with the help of this new group of official supporters

' Adil followed Islām Shāh's policy of strengthening the monarchy, but he did not possess the competence of that monarch Bādayūnī rightly says that 'Ādil was by no means fitted for the conduct of important affairs of civil and military administration [14] Indeed there are instances which prove his incompetence His cowardly flight from his *darbar* at Gwalior to the harem for fear of an Afghan chief shows how incompetent he was for carrying through his idea of a strong monarchy.[15]

[8] *Tabaqat* II, 119 ; Badayuni, I, 418 , Firishta, I, 439 , *Shahi*, 272.

[9] *Badayuni*, I, 416.

[10] and [11] *Ibid*, 435 and Ranking, 1, 557 *Bhagat* is a religious mendicant, a worshipper of Vishnu (Wilson - *Glossary* 74)

[12] Badayuni, I, 427 ; *Waqi'at-i-Mustaqi*, 78a , *Makhzan*, 162b

[13] *Ibid*, 435.

Ibid, 418.

[14] & [15] *Ibid*, 420 , *Tabaqat*, II, 121 , Firishta, I, 493 , *Makhzan*, 163b

His pathetic appeal to Hemū for help in 1555 when Muḥammad Khān Sūr of Bengal faced him in the battle of Chapparghāta,[16] reveals his lack of energy and fighting qualities which were so essential for an Afghan king

On account of his incompetence, 'Ādil proved himself quite incapable of following the policy of energetic Islām Shāh By his policy he raised the forces of opposition and rebellion, but he failed to supress them This caused the dissolution of the Afghan sultanate and paved the way for the loss of Afghan sovereignty in Northern India.

Rebellion of the chiefs :

'Ādil had scarcely reigned a month when the Afghan chiefs rebelled in different parts of the sultanate and there arose a number of rival claimants for the throne [17] Most of the contemporary historians are of opinion that 'Ādil's murder of Fīrūz and usurpation of the throne, his elevation of low-born Hemū to the supreme position in the sultanate, the repugnance of the Afghan chiefs to obey a Hindu and Hemū's insolent behaviour towards the Afghans caused the rebellion of the chiefs against 'Ādil [18]

Indeed Fīrūz's murder enraged the partisans of the family of Islām Shāh The raising of Hemū to the supreme position could not have failed to cause dissatisfaction among the proud Afghān chiefs. But the evidence that Hemū behaved insolently towards the Afghāns is not borne out by facts Our historians seem to have expressed a a common idea of the Muslims of the time regarding the elevation of a Hindu to the supreme position in a Muslim sultanate. In fact, Hemū took much care of the Afghāns He would often invite the Afghān soldiers to dine at his table and ask them to eat to their satisfaction [19]

'Ādil's policy of establishing a strong monarachy and ruining the chiefs was the principal cause of the rebellions in the sultanate The rebellions were really the signs of the reappearance of the conflict of two opposing forces—the idea of strong monarchy and the idea of tribal independence of the Afghāns

Aiming at an extension of royal authority, 'Ādil wanted to redistribute the *jagirs* of the sultanate. In a *darbar* at Gwalior, he gave an

16 Badayuni, I, 430-31 ; *Makhzan* 165b
17 Badayuni, I, 418,; *Tabaqat* II, 119
18 , 418 *Ibid*; *Waqiat* 78a ; *Makhzan* 162a-b and Firishta I, 439
19 *Wqaiat-i-Mushtaqi*, 78a ; Badayni, I, 413-14 ; *Makhzan*, 116a.

order transferring the *sarkar* of Qanuauj, a *jagir* of Muḥammad Khān Farmūlī, to Sarmast Khān Sarwanī. Muḥammad's son Sikandar Khān Farmūlī, however protested against the interference of the king in their *jagir*. This led to a quarrel in the *darbar* and it ended in a bloody dispute in which several lives were lost and a few were wounded. The contemporary historians say that, in the midst of the bloody scene, " 'Ādil got up and ran to the harem. Sikandar rushed after him, but 'Ādil bolted the door from inside and with great difficulty escaped This affair went on for an hour or two "[20] The courage of Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr and the death of Sikandar Khān Farmūlī, however, saved 'Ādil's position at that time

The above incident reflects the nature of the Afghān monarchy and the idea of the Aghān chiefs regarding their *jagirs*. They considered the *jagirs* as theirs by right and disfavoured king's interference in their affairs In trying to interfere in their jurisdiction 'Ādil alienated them from his rule

Like Islām Shāh, 'Ādil wanted to destroy the Afghān chiefs He put to death Daulat Khān Niyāzī and Fīrūz Khān Kakar and imprisoned Naṣīb Khān Sarwānī, Isma'īl Khān, Allahdād Khān Miyānā and Nizām Khān Shahukhail [21] 'Ādil's designs on Tāj Khān Karrānī failed as that clever chief escaped from Gwalior on the eve of the Gwalior *darbar*[22] He also intended to ruin his sister's husband Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, who, however, managed to flee to his father Ghāzī Khān Sūr, governor of Biyānā and Hindauan [23]

Dissolution of the Afghan sultanate and civil war

Dissatisfied with 'Ādil's activities, the self-willed Afghān chiefs rose aginst his authority Ni'matullāh and 'Abdullāh give us an idea of the state of affairs saying, "From country to country, from town to town, all was in a state of rebellion "[24] Tāj Khān Karrānī rebelled and established himself in south Bihar Muhammad Khān Sūr, governor of Bengal, declared independence and prepared to make a bid for sovereignty in Northern India Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr and Ahmad Khān Sūr, a nephew of Sher Shāh, rebelled and stood forth as rival claimants for the Afghān throne The Afghān chefs joined those sides

20 Badayuni, I, 419-20 ; *Tabaqat*, II, 120-21 , *Makhzan*, 163a-b.
21 *Shahi*, 291.
22 Badayuni, I, 419-20 , *Makhzan*, 163b-4a , Firishta, I, 440
23 *Ibid*, 419-20 , *Makhzan*, 163b-4a , *Shahi*, 291.
24 *Makhzan*, 162b , *Da'udi*, BM , 120b

چنا نکه ملک ملک شهر شهر فتنه قائم شد

which suited their interests best. In 1555 when 'Ādil was fighting the rebels and pretenders, Bāz Bahādur, son of Shujā'at Khān Sur, succeeded his father and installed himself as sovereign in Malwa.[25]

By nature and temperament, 'Ādil was incapable of dealing with the sultanate-wide rebellions He, however, found in Hemū a competent general. Even Abū'l Faḍl has highly appreciated the courage and capability of Hemu. On account of bodily deformity, Hemū could not ride a horse and he was always carried about in a *haudah* (*sanduq-i-fil*) [26] His valour and daring, however, won great victories and he performed great things.[27] De Laet also says that Hemū was an energetic soldier [28] Indeed it was Hemū's generalship that saved the sūltanate of 'Ādil from a collapse, 'Ādil's cause against rebels and rivals and even against the Mughuls prospered as long as this competent general lived

At first, 'Ādil defeated Tāj Khān Karrānī at Chappārmau, 40 *kos* from Agra and 30 *kos* from Qannauj The defeated Karrānī chief joined by his brothers, however, established himself in south Bihār [29] 'Ādil and Hemu confronted them on the bank of the Ganges One day Hemu proposed to his master that if he could give him a *halqa* of elephants (one hundred elephants), he would cross the river and defeat the Karrānī rebels 'Ādil complied with his request Crossing the river, Hemū fought a desperate battle and dispersed the Karrānīs [30] As Ādil required his services in dealing with troubles in northern part of the sultanate Hemu could not crush the power of the Karrānīs in south Bihār

About this time, the pretender Ibrāhim Khān Sūr had defeated 'Ādil's general 'Isā Khān Niyāzī in a battle near Kalpi [31] He also occupied Delhi, Agra and the neighbouring territores Leaving the Karrānīs, 'Ādil and Hemū hastened to the Jumna Finding a vast army with 'Adil, Ibrāhīm played a trick on him. He sent an envoy to 'Ādil proposing that if he could send to him Rai Husayn Jilwāni, Bihār Khān Sarwānī and some other Afghān chiefs upon whose assurances of protection he could depend, he would come personally to make his submission to him. 'Ādil sent his great nobles to him.

25 *Ibid*, 167a-b , *Tabqat*, III, 421-22
26 *Akbarnamah*, I, 340
27 *Akbarnamah*, I, 338
28 De Laet, 140-41
29 *Tabaqat*, II, 121-22 , *Makhzan*, 163b-64a, Firishta, I, 440.
30 and 5 Ibid
31 *Ibid*, Wright, *The coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 378.

Ibrāhīm however, won them all over to his side and prepared to fight. This defection of the chiefs greatly weakened 'Ādil and he returned in a helpless state to Chunār, which he had made his capital. Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr assumed the title of Ibrāhīm Shāh and entered his name in the *khutbah* and coins.[32]

Another pretender Ahmad Khān Sūr had declared himself as an independent ruler in the Panjab He assumed the title of Sikandar Shāh and, entertaining hopes of still further increase of power, he advanced towards Delhi and Agra [33]

The rival pretenders competed with one another in winning over the Afghān chiefs Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr gave velvet tents, standards and kettle-drums to 200 Afghān chiefs [34] He gave everyone who came with ten or fifteen horsemen a banner and a *jagir*. Badāyūnī says that Ibrāhīm showed great favour to Haji Khān Sultanī, the powerful chief of Alwar He bestowed on him a lofty spacious tent covered on the outside with *siqlat* (silken stuff brocaded with gold) of Portugal and on the inside with a Frankish velvet Besides, he lavished upon Hajī Khān magnificent carpets and vessels of gold and silver and all other requirements [35] In this way Ibrāhīm raised an army of 80,000 men He then advanced to meet the forces of Sikandar Khān Sūr

The two armies met at Farrah, 10 *kos* from Agra [36] Sikandar army numbered only 10,000 Frightened at the great superiority of the enemy, he made overtures for peace in the following terms "The country from Delhi to the east should belong to Ibrāhīm, the Panjab, Multan and other north-western territores were to be under Sikandar" It was also stipulated that if Ibrāhīm took possession of 'Ādil's treasury, he should give a share of the same to Sikandar and his chefs [35]

Proud of his great army, Ibrāhīm turned down Sikandar's peace proposals and arranged his froces in battle array A fierce battle took place at Farrah (1554) and, in spite of numerical inferiorty, Sikandar obtained a decisive victory over his rival He occupied Agra and and Delhi and pursued Ibrāhīm from Samhal to Etawa About this time, he received the news of Humāyūn's occupation of Lahore [37]

32 *Ibid* also Wright, 379, coins dated 962H

33 *Badayuni*, I, 423, *Tabaqat*, II, 123

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid*, 422 ; *Tabaqat*, II, 123

36 *Ibid*, 423-24

37 Badayuni, I, 427, *Tabaqat*, II, 124

Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr collected a fresh army and advanced towards Kālpī. About this time 'Ādil sent his *wazir* and commander-in-chief Hemū from Chunār. With a large army and 500 elephants to recover Delhi and Agra. When Hemū reached Kālpī he resolved first to dispose of Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr. In a battle he defeated Ibrāhīm and pursued him to Biyānā. Again in a battle in the outkirts of Biyana, Hemū defeated him As Ibrāhīm took shelter in the fort of Biyānā, he besieged it and the siege continued for three months [38]

When Hemū was in Biyānā, Muḥammad Khān Sūr of Bengal captured Jaunpur and made for Kālpī and Agra. Frightened at the sight of a vast enemy force, 'Ādil sent an urgent summons to Hemū, "At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy"[39] Hemu abandoned the siege of Biyana. As he proceeded towards Kālpī, Ibrāhīm followed him and at Mandāgar, 6 *kos* from Agra, attacked his rear Hemū, however, defeated him and drove him away Ibrāhīm fled to the shelter of Hājī Khān of Alwar. but being refused protection by him, he took the road to Patna [40]

After his victory over Ibrāhīm, Hemū resumed his march and and joined 'Ādil at Chapparghāta, 15, *kos* from Kālpī and 15 from Agra [41] Here 'Ādil and Muhammad Khān Sūr were facing one another with the Jumna between them Hemū's arrival, however, turned the scale, In a battle in December, 1555, Hemū defeated and killed Muhammad Khān Sur [42]

Humayun's restoration

When 'Ādil was dealing with Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr and Muhammad Khān Sūr, Humayūn occupied Delhi and Agra [43] After his attempt in 1552, Humayun dared not invade India as long as Islām Shāh lived [44] The news of the death of that energetic Afghān king, the feeble rule of 'Ādil and the internal discord among the Afghāns encouraged him to make an attempt for the recovery of his throne Abu'l-Fadl, Firishta and De Laet write that Humāyūn recieved from some persons of Delhi and Agra letters informing him of the death of Islām Shāh and the civil wars of the Afghāns [45]

38 *Ibid* 430 , *Tabaqat*, II, 123 , Firishta, I, 441-42
39 *Ibid*, 430-31 , *Tabaqat*, II, 124 , *Makhzan*, 165b
40 *Ibid*
41 Badayuni, I, 423 , *Firishta*, I, 442
42 *Ibid*
43 Firishta, I, 443-44
44 Badayuni, I, 412-13 , *Tabaqat* II, 79 and 129 , *Da'udi*, BM , 113b-114a
45 *Akbarnamah* I, 336 ; Firishta, I, 456 ; De Laet, 139

On November 12, 1554, Humāyūn marched from Kabul to invade India. Engrossed in civil wars, the Afghans had neglected the defence of the north-west frontier So, Humāyūn crossed the Indus unopposed and made a swift attack on the fort of Rohtas. Tātār Khān Kāsī, Sikandar Khān Sūr's governor of the Panjab, fled without resistance On February 24, 1555 after a little fighting, the Afghāns left Lahore to the Mughuls [46] From Dipālpur also the Afghān generals, Shahbāz Khān and Naṣir Khan, took to fight in great panic and confusion.[47]

When Sikandar Khān Sūr was pursuing Ibrāhīm Khān in Etawah, he heard of Humūyūn's occupation of the Panjab [48] He sent 30,000 cavalry under Tatār Khān Kāsi, Haibat Khān and Nāṣir Khān against the Mughuls. On May 12, 1555, they fought at Machiwara a battle against Humāyūns' general Bairām Khān [49] Badāyūnī says that being harassed by the Mughul fire, the Afghāns took shelter at night in a neighbouring village. A fire broke out in the village and the Afghāns were clearly seen by the Mughul soldiers,whereas they could not see the Mughuls Ni'matullah writes, "In the glare of the fire, the enemy presented a fine target for Mughul shafts and being unable to endure them any longer, they took to flight "[50]

At the news of the Machiwara disaster, Sikandar Khān Sūr advanced to the Panjab with a force of 80,000 cavalry and a strong contingent of artillery and elephants On June 22, 1555 he fought a fierce battle with the Mughuls near Sarhind [51] Although the Afghāns were four times as numerous as the Mughuls, yet they were completely defeated Badāyūnī says that they behaved with due bravery and valour, but they could not contend against their fate Sikandar fled to the Siwalik hills [52] On July 20, 1555 (Ramadan 1, 962), after fifteen years of exile, Humāyān re-entered his capital Delhi [53] He then occupied Agra and the adjoining

[46] & [47] Badayuni I, 460 , *Tabaqat*, II, 81

[48] Stewart's Jauhar, 114 , Firishta, I, 457 , Banerjee, 235

[49] Badayuni, I, 460 . *Tabaqat*, II 82 , Firishta I, 457 Firishta says that it was a winter night and Afghans kindled fire But being the month of May, it cannot be a winter season

[50] *Tabaqat*, II, 88 and 32 , Badayuni, I 460 , Banerjee, *Humayun*, II, 233-34

[51] *Ibid*, 82 , Badayuni, 461

[52] *Ibid*, 83

[53] Badayuni I, 462-63,

territories His general Ḥaydār Muḥammad Khān Atka invested Biyānā Being in a straitened condition, Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr's father Ghāzī Khān Sūr surrendered. He was, however, executed by the Mughul general [54]

Humayun did not long survive his restoration. He died on January 28, 1556 (15 *Rabi'* I, 963) On February 14, 1556 (2 *Rabi* II, 963), Akbar, who was in the Panjab with his guardian Bairām Khān was crowned at Kalānur [55]

Hemu recovers Agra and Delhi

After his victory over Muhammad Khān Sūr at Chaparghāta in December 1555, 'Ādil intended to send Hemū to repel the Mughuls [56] He came to Chunār to raise a strong force capable of fighting the formidable enemy He was soon informed of the death of Humāyūn. The news of Humāyūn's death and the accession of a boy to the throne induced 'Ādil to send Hemū with a force of 50,000 horses and 500 elephants towards Agra and Delhi But he himself could not leave Chunar on account of the factions which prevailed among his people.[57]

It seems that 'Adil could not send Hemū against the Mughuls immediately after the death of Humāyūn The flight of the Mughul generals and governor from Agra and other places at the approach of Hemū and his consequent speedy conquest of Mughul possessions suggest that Hemu's march from Chunār to Delhi could at most have taken two months According to Abu'l-Fazl Hemū fought and defeated Tardi Beg and also occupied Delhi on the same day i e , October 7, 1556 (*Dhilhijjah* 2, 963) [58] Had Hemū advance immediately after the death of Humāyūn, he would have occupied Delhi six to seven months earlier than he actually did

Moreover, at his accession Akbar inherited all the territories recovered by his father, for even after his coronation at Kalānūr, he stayed several months in the Panjab fighting against Sikandar Khān Sūr Had Hemū occupied any Mughul territory Akbar and Bairām Khān would not have neglected to come to Delhi

Furthermore, in veiw of his greatly reduced forces on account of constant warfare against the rebels and also of the strength of the enemy, who had defeated Sikandar in several battles, 'Adil could not have sent his army immediately after Hemū's death The raising and equipping of an army must have taken him some months.

[54] *Tabaqat*, II, 83 and 85 , Banerjee, 256 and 259.
[55] Badayuni, I, 433
[56] *Shahi*, 348-50 ; *Makhzan*, 165b , Firishta, I, 442-3 , De Laet, 140-41.
[57] *Akbarnamah*, II, 29.
[58] *Tabaqat*, II, 129 and Badayuni, II, 13.

Badāyūnī and Niẓāmuddīn's writings also reveal the rapid march of Hemū to Delhi. These Mughul historians say that when Hemū appoached Agra, Sikandar Khān Uzbeg, the governor of Agra, and Kālpi, fled towards Delhi.[59] 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg, Haidar Khān Muḥammad and others left Etawah, Biyānā and other places and hastened to Delhi.[60] Alī Qulī Khān Zamān, who had been in Sambhal, received letters from Agra, Etawah and other places informing him of the approach of Hemu and asking him to proceed to Delhi [61]

As Hemū drew near to Delhi, Tardī Beg, 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg, Sikandar Khān Uzbeg and other Mughul generals arranged their forces outside Delhi On October 7, 1556 (*Dhilhijj* 2, 963), Hemū engaged them near Tughluqābād in the environs of Delhi The sight of the large force under the distinguished general Hemū seems to have damped down the fighting spirit of the Mughuls So, Abu'l-Faḍl writes, "Many of the brave men from motives of prudence and some out of cowardice were not willing to fight Some brave men were, however, determined to fight and die "[61]

In the first phase of the battle, Hemū's left fell back before the fierce attack of the Mughul right Hemū, however, made a violent attack with his elephants on the Mughul centre whose commander Tardī Beg, being unable to stand, took to flight Niẓāmuddīn says that by his artifice and tactics Hemū prevailed over Tardi Beg and made him flee [62] Victorious Hemū obtained enormous booty, 10,000 horses and 160 elephants and occupied Delhi [63]

Some modern historians think that, after his occupation of Delhi, Hemū made no pretence of restoring his master He took upon himself sovereign power by asuming the title of Rājā Bikramjit (Persian form of Bikramāditya) and strucking coins bearing his title [64] These historians have based their view on the evidence of the contemporary Persian historians The Mughul historians say that, vaunting too much of his achievements, Hemū assumed the title of Raja Bikramjīt and asked the Afghāns to salute him as Hemū Shāh [65] Ahmad Yadgār writes, "Having obtained possession of so many things appertaining to royalty, Hemū began to

59 *Ibid*
60 Badayuni II, 13
61 *Akbarnamah* II, 129-30
62 *Tabaqat*, II, 129-31.
63 *Shahi*, 151-53
64 *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 72 , *An Advanced History of India*, 446.
65 Badayuni, II, 15 , *Firishta*, I, 464 , Dorn, *Makhzan*, 176.

entertain ambitious ideas. He distributed all the spoils, with the exception of elephants, among the Afghāns and won them over to himself With their concurrence, he raised the imperial canopy over himself and ordered coins to be struck in his name."[66]

We cannot accept the evidence of the contemporary Persian historians, because we have not found any numismatic evidence showing Hemū's assumption of the insignia of sovereign power. Besides, the title *Bikramjit*, which is stated to have been assumed by Hemu, was in fact conferred on him by 'Ādil in 1553 We know from the evidence of the Afghan historian Abdulla that 'Ādil gave Hemū this title after the latter had obtained a brilliant victory over the Karrānī rebels.[67]

Moreover, we cannot believe that the proud and self-willed Afghān chiefs would have consented to Hemū's assumption of sovereignty and to saluting him as Hemū Shāh Had Hemū assume sovereign-power, he would not have been able to command a large army of the Afghāns in the battle of Panipat. Even Ahmad Yādgār's statement shows that Hemū remained loyal to 'Ādil This Afghān historian has quoted Hemū's letter to 'Adil after his occupation of Delhi to illustrate the deceitfulness of the former to the latter But in fact, this letter expresses Hemū's loyalty and subservience to 'Ādil. Ahmad Yādgar says that, in order to console Ādil, Hemū wrote to him, "Your slave by the royal fortune routed the Mughul army, which was as firm as the iron wall I hear that Humāyūn's son commands a numerous force and is advancing against Delhi For this reason, I have kept the horses and elephants to fight the formidable enemy "Ādil was comforted by these deceitful assertions "[68]

Battle of Panipat

On the news of Hemū's occupation of Delhi, Akbar and Bairām Khān left Gulbadan's husband Khawājah Khiḍr Khān to deal with Sikandar Khān Sūr and they hurried from Jullundur towards Delhi. At Sarhind the defeated Tardī Beg and other Mughul nobles presented themselves before Akbar Here Bāirām Khān, who had the general direction of affairs, executed Tardī Beg Ostensibly Tardī beg was executed for what Bairām Khān considered as his flight in a cowardly fashion from Delhi This step was taken as a warning to cowardly generals Firishta is of opinion that such an action was a necessity He writes, "I understood from the best informed men of the times that had Tardī Beg not been executed by

66 *Shahi*, 352-53
67 *Da'udi*, BM, 121b
68 *Shahi*, 352-53.

way of example, such was the conditon of the Mughul army and the general feeling of those foreigners that the old scene of Sher Shāh would have been acted again "[69]

But the real cause of the execution of Tardī Beg by Bairām Khān was the power and influence of the former, who became almost a rival to the latter There was also a long-standing quarrel between the two. This was aggravated by the sectarian bitterness between the Sunnī Tardī Beg and Shi'ah Bairam. The flight of Tardī Beg from Delhi gave Bairām Khān simply a pretext to remove his rival in the name of imperial necessity

After the execution of Tardī Beg, Bairām Khān made preparations for the recovery of Delhi and Agra He sent in advance 'Ālī Qulī Khān Zamān with a force of 10,000 and himself and his royal ward with the rest of the army followed them

Hemū prepared to meet the Mughuls To check the advance of the enemy he sent in advance his park of artillery In an engagement with the Mughul advance guard, it was defeated and dispersed [70] The news of this disaster distressed Hemū and disheartened his men Hemū, however, encouraged them by giving an elephant to every chief and promising increased pay as well as rewards to the officers and soldiers [71] With 30,000 cavalry and more than 1500 elephants, he came to Panipat and met the Mughul advance guard,[72] which according to Abu'l-Faḍl, numbered 10000 souls of whom only 5000 were men of battle [73] On Thusrday, November 5, 1556 (*Muharram* 2, 964), the contending forces advanced to fight in the following battle array [74]

Ramya	Hemū	Shādī Khān
'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg	'Adil Quli Khān	Sikander Uzbeg

A Mughul assault shook Hemū's wings and his commander of the right, Shadi Khān Kakar, fell in the field. With his fierce war

[69] Firishta, I, 464
[70] and [71] *Akbarnamah* II, 35-6 ; *Tabaqat*, II, 131
[72] *Akbarnamah* II, 50 , Badayuni, II, 16 , *Firishta*, I, 465.
[73] and [74] Ibid, 37 , Badayuni, 16 , Firishta, 465

elephants, Hemū, however, made a desperate charge and shook the Mughul left. He then fell on the centre under 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān. The Mughuls, however, received Hemū with showers of arrows. An arrow pierced his eye and came out at the back of his head. Seeing Hemū thus wounded, his men dipersed in panic.

As Hemū's elephant was making off towards the jungle, a Mughul officer Shāh Qulī Khān fell in with the elephant and discovered Hemū lying wounded in the *haudah*[75] He then drove the elephant to Akbar and Bairām Khān who had just arrived at Panipat and recived the news of victory.[76] Abu'l-Faḍl says that Bairām asked Akbar to slay Hemū and earn the merit of a Ghāzī (religious warrior). As Akbar did not care to kill a fallen enemy, Bairam Khān himself slew Hemū[77]

Abu'l-Faḍl greatly appreciates the genius of Hemū and regrets that Bairām Khān had unwisely killed him He says that Hemū was a most excellent servant possessed of a lofty spirit and if he could be induced to serve Emperor Akbar, he would have performed great things[78]

The death of Hemū was a great calamity to 'Ādil It was Hemū's energy and generalship which had so long preserved his positon against his enemies In Hemū's death, the musician king lost his strength and spirit and became as helpless as a boy without a guardian

[75] *Akbarnamah*, II, 49 , *Tabaqat*, II, 132 , *Firishat*, I, 465 Abu'-l-Fadal and *Firishta* says that Hemu's own driver, for fear of his life, betrayed his master to Shah Quli Khan.

[76] *Akbarnamah*, II, 39.

[77] Ibid, 41-42 , *Tabaqat*, II, 132 Jahangir writes (Rogers, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 40) that Akbar said that, in his boyhood, he had drawn and killed the picture of Hemu and hence he declined to kill a killed man.

[78] *Akbarnamah*, II, 42

KHWAJAH 'UTHMAN

An Afghan hero of Bengal

by

CAPTAIN KARIMUDDIN AHMED, M.A.

The historians at the court of the Turco-Mughul emperors of Delhi called Bengal "a land of rebels" [1] But the story of the heroic resistance that the Muslim chiefs of Bengal had put up against the Mughul invasion is not widely known An average student of Indian history knows the stroy of Ranā Partāp of Mewār, but how many of them have even heard the names of Khwājah 'Uthmān and Īsā Khān whose deeds of valour and self sacrifice for the sake of their independence were no less striking? Even in Bengal Pratapaditya of Jessore has a better reputation as a hero than these Muslim chiefs, though in actual fact he never fought aganist the Mughuls Prapaditya submitted to the Mughul viceroy, Rajā Mān Singh, and later sent presents to Islām Khān, the new *subahdar* of Bengal, on the latter's arrival at Rajmahal Then while Islām Khān was on his way to Dacca [2] he came and personally submitted to him at

[1] Shortly after the establishment of Muslim rule in India, Bengal became a trouble spot The strong sultans like Iltumish, Balban and 'Ala-ud-din were successful in keeping the province under their control During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq Bengal became an independent sultanate Sher Shah once again united Bengal with Delhi, but in the confusion that followed his death it regained its independent status In the last quarter of the sixteenth century Akbar sent Khan Khanan Mun'im Khan against Bengal He defeated Da'ud, the last Sultan of Bengal and captured Gaur, his capital But eastern Bengal remained independent for half a century more Later, when a revolt occurred in the Mughul court, some of Akbar's own generals took shelter in Bengal and joined the Afghans there Abu-'l-Fadl narrates how viceroy after viceroy was changed in Bengal and how some of the Mughul officers even declined to take up appointments in the province During the reign of Jahangir eastern Bengal finally submitted Later the Mughuls conquered Tripura and Chittagong and gave Bengal her eastern boundry of modern times

[2] Islam Khan transferred the capital to Dacca from Rajmahal The capitals of the independent sultans of Bengal were Gaur and Pindua Gaur, a city of twelve lakhs was destroyed by a pestilence after Mun'im Khan, the Mughul general, captured it A small place called Tada then became the capital After the death of Mun'im Khan there, the capital was shifted to Rajmahal, which was named Akmahal by Raja Man Singh Cf all the Muslim Capitals of Bengal including Murshadabad which became the Capital towards the close of the Mughul rule. Only Dacca remains in East Pakistan

Shahpur.[3] He promised on this occasion to help the Mughuls in their fight against the Bengal rebels.[4] This, however, he could not do on account of his fear of 'Īsā Khān, whom he had earlier acknowledged as his leader. Islām Khān did not forgive him for this treachery. In spite of the submission and *peshkash* of Pratap, which he had once again offered after the defeat of the Bengal chiefs, he annexed the state of Jessore and brought it under direct Mughul rule.

Such is the story of Pratapaditya and many other Hindu Bhuiyas (chiefs), who acquiesied in Mughul rule without amy real fight. Historians, therefore, agree that it were the Muslim chiefs who really resisted the Mughul invasion in Bengal for half a century With them a few Hindus and Muslims of Bihar and other parts of India, who had taken shelter in Bengal after their defeat at the hands of the Mughuls, had joined hands One of these chiefs was Khwājah 'Uthmān, who ceaselessly fought against the Mughuls and died a glorious death on the battlefield.

For a long time the historians were not definite about the parentage of Khwājah 'Uthmān They differed widely with one another in their interpretation of conflicting statements like "son of Sulaiman", "Brother of Sulaiman" and "Brother of Da'ud" etc, given by the contemporary historians [5] It was also generally believed that Khwājah Uthmān died in his fight against the Mughuls during the reign of Akbar The main authority on this period is Abu'l-Faḍl, but he had died bfore 'Uthmān fought his last battles against the Mughuls in the districts of Mymensing and Sylhet Other contemporary writers only made casual mention of him, as for example, Jahangir in his Tuzuk only mentioned him as 'Uthmān, the Afghan. Apart from such brief references to 'Uthmān in the contemporary histories,

[3] Modern Shahzadpur in the Pabna district Dr N K Bhattasali identifies Thana Shahpur with a small village of the same name near Naogaon, a sub-divisional town of the Rajshahi district In *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* the location of the place is given on the river Atrai Shahzadpur is not on this river, but on the basis of other considerations Shahzadpur seems to be correct

[4] In the light of Akbar's imperialistic policy, the independence loving Afghan chiefs of Bengal were called rebels by the historians of the Mughal court

[5] In *A'in-i-Akbari* (p-147, Vol II, translated by Blochman published by Asiatic Society of Bengal) Abu-'l Fadl mentions 'Uthman as son of of Sulaiman, meaning thereby Sulaiman Karrani, the father of Da'ud Ni'amatullah (*History of the Afghans* by Dorne, p 183), calls him brother of Da'ud In *Ma'athir-ul-Umara* he is described as Sulaiman's brother Blochman mistook him for a son of 'Isa Khan, the chief of the twelve Bhuiyas.

there were many stories current in Sylhet and Mymensingh about him. In 1850 the inhabitants of Bokainagar[6] gave the story of Khwājah 'Uthmān in evidence before a magistrate and mentioned two *farmans* of Jahāngīr in favour of the son and descendants of 'Uthmān But no body could then indentify Khwajah 'Uthmān with 'Uthmān of *Akbarnamah*. Then the discovery of a book called *Baharistan-i-Ghayabi*[7] in the Bibliothique Nationale at Paris by Sir Jadunath Sarkar ultimately cleared all the inexplicable matters about 'Uthmān In an article, [8] in the *Prabasi*, a Bengali perodical, published in the Bengali era 1328, Jadunath conclusively proved that Khawājāh 'Uthman was neither the son of 'Isā Khān, the chief of the twelve Bhuiyas of Bengal, nor he was the brother of Daud,the last independent Afghān King of Bengal He was, in fact, the second son of 'Isā Khān Miān Khel, the wazir of Katlu Khān, a famous general of Da'ud After the defeat of Da'ud, Katlu retreated to Orissa and continued the struggle from there After his death 'Isā Khan Miān Khel played a cautious role and prevented the forces of Katlu Khan from fighting with the Mughuls But unfortunately for the Mughuls he died only after five years As soon as he was dead his eldest son Sulaiman, along with his brothers including Khwājāh 'Uthmān resumed fighting with the Mughuls once again

Thus Khwājāh 'Uthmān started his career under the leadership of his brother, Khwājāh Sulaimān After the death of their father they led their forces against Raja Hamīr of Orissa, a Hindu vassal of the Mughuls The Raja was in sad plight and the Mughul cause in Orissa became so precarious that Rajā Mānsingh, had to hurry to the field Many of the Mughul generals came to his assistance The Afghāns occupied a startegic position near a river [9]

[6] Bokainagar is in the Mymensingh district

[7] This book has been translated into English by late Dr M I Borah, Head of the Department of Persian of Dacca University Sir Jadunath Sarkar read the name of the author as Mirza Shahan, but Dr Borah corrected the reading as Mirza Nathan

[8] Sir Jadunath Sarkar in this article also refuted the story given by the Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra, author of Bande Mataram, who, in his novel " *Durgesh - nandini*", depicted Uthman as an unsuccessful rival in love and war of Jagatsingh In the words of Jadunath, — " It is far from historical truth Jagatsingh, the unworthy son of Mansingh was a wretch and died young as a result of excessive drinking He was never an equal of 'Uthman, the last Afghan hero of Bengal, who died a glorious death on the battlefield"

[9] *Akbarnamah* (Translated by Beveridge, published by Asiatic Society of Bengal) vol III p-955) Mr. Beams in (1823) indentifies the river with Suvarnarekha.

in the forest of Malnapur in Central Orissa. For many days the Aghāns waited for an attack from the Mughuls and finally themselves took the offensive. The Mughuls resisted gallantly[10] and with the coming of re-inforcements, under 'Abdul Ḥalīm the Mughuls won the battle But the Afgāns refused to surrender. Soon after this Raja Mānsingh went to Ajmer for rest The Afghans under the Khwājāh brothers took the opportunity and began to plunder the Bengāl territories of the Mughuls They also attacked the territories of Raja Chand Ray and Kedār Ray Raja Chand Ray was killed and the fort of Bhusna and some other parts of the *zamindari* of the Ray brothers [11] were captured by the Afghāns It seems, however, that later through the mediation of 'Īsā Khān, the chief of the Bengal Bhuiyas (*zamindars*), these territories were returned to Kedār Ray

In 1593 Sulaiman died, but the Afghāns under the leadership of Khwājāh 'Uthmān went on attacking the Mughuls wherever they got an opportunity The Mughuls suffered heavy losses and at Bhadrak their *bakhshi* was captured by the Afghāns Circumstances, therefore, forced Mansingh to return from Ajmer and command the Mughul forces After much diffiulty the Mughuls won a decisive battle at Sherpur Atai [12]

Having thus lost his position in this part of Bengal, Khwājāh 'Uthmān turned to 'Īsā Khān, who gave him a seat at Jangalbri and a portion from his own territory [13] Before the close of the century 'Īsā Khān died and the Bhuiyas acknowledged his son Musa Khān, as their chief The Mughuls, however, kept a strict watch over 'Uthmān and afforded him no opportunity to unite with the sons of 'Īsā Khān and their subordinate Bhuiyas At this time Akbar fell ill and Raja Mānsingh had to leave Bengal Jahāngīr the next emperor of Delhi, after having secured his postion on to throne, felt that the affairs in Bengal must be settled without amy further delay The Hindu chiefs of Bengal like Amar Manikaya and Satrajit of Bhusna[14]

[10] Pahar Khan, a Mughul general, fell thrice on the ground On the last occasion a young soldier offered him his own horse, which he refused and said "I am old and do not expect to live for many days more "

[11] *Akbarnamah*, p-969 Abu-'l-Fadl says that Chand Ray was the father of Kedar Ray But sources in Bengal go to prove that they were brothers

[12] Ibid p-1174 Sherpur Atai is near Kandi in Murshidabad district

[13] 'Isa Khan did not do so in the case of 'Uthman alone Earlier he had given shelter to Ma'sum Kabuli, a rebel Mughul general. Jangalbari is in the Mymensingh district

[14] Bhusna is in the Faridpur district

had already joined the Mughuls, but the Afghan and other Muslim chiefs still remained unconquerred. He, therefore, sent Islām Khān,[15] one of his best generals, as the *subahdār* of Bengal in 1608.

Islām Khān realised that it was not easy to suppress the Bengal rebels from a distant place like Rajmahal. He selected Dacca and shifted his capital there But hardly had he made his position secure in his new capital when news reached him that Khwājāh 'Uthmān had crossed the Brahmaputra and after killing the Mughul officer at Thana Alapsingh,[16] who had been posted there to keep a watch over 'Uthmān so that he could not cross the Brahamputra, captured the adjacent territories A strong force under his brother Ghiyāth-ud-din was sent against Khwajah 'Uthman whch forced him to retreat Ghiyāth-ud-din was honoured with the title of 'Ināyat Khān for his success in this expeditoin

Islām Khān, however, could not give his whole hearted attention to Khwājah 'Uthmān on account ofthe presence of Mūsā Khān and his brothers nearer home After much difficulty and considerable loss he succeeded in surrounding Mūsā Khān from all directions Mūsā had now only two courses before him, to surrender or face total annihilation of his tribe After much hesitation he with all his subordinate Bhuiyas surrendered

The Mughuls now began to prepare and equip themselves for a decisive fight sgainst Khwājāh 'Uthmān They excavated a canal from the Brahaputra to Bokainagar where 'Uthmān had built a fort for his defence. Thier plan was to inundate the whole territory so that their war boats could be brought to the east of 'Uthmān's capital The river was then in flood, but suddenly there was a fall in the rise of water and the Mughuls failed in their plan. They now began to construct forts around Bokainagar in order to blockade Khwajah 'Uthmān The fighting, however was suspended soon due to the month of *Ramadān* On the last day of the month, after the fasting was over, the Mughuls began to storm Bokainagar.

Khwajah 'Uthmān could no longer stand against the attack and he retreated to Sylhet[17] Jahāngīr now sent letter after letter to

[15] Son of Salim Chishti of Fatehpur Sikri Jahangir in his *Tuzuk* speaks of him with affection, they were born in the same house, the house of Salim Chishti, Akbar's spiritual leader, they were playmates in their childhood

[16] Thana Alapsingh is in the Mymensingh district

[17] It is difficult to know definitely whether 'Uthman had already a part of Sylhet under him or not According to a local tradition he conquered a part of Sylhet from a Hindu raja, after he had left Bokainagar.

the *subahdar* urging him to crush 'Uthmān. He also sent an able general in the person of Shujā'at Khān to assist Islām Khān agaisnt the rebel. After the arrival of Shujā'at at Dacca a conference was held at the camp of the *subahdar*. It was decided to send a letter of advice to 'Uthmān asking him in mild language to surrender. 'Uthmān replied that he would rather die with all members of his tribe than surrender to the Mughuls.

The Mughuls, therefore resumed their attack against him. All the Mughul generals then present in the province were asked to join the expedition Some of them were punished as they came late. Shujā'at Khān became the commander-in-chief of this expedition and he was appointed *subahdar* of Orissa by way of encouragement The advancing army did not encounter any resistance and they safely crossed the Tupia Pass [18] They encamped themselves at the place snd celebrated the *'Id-al-adha* [19] On the night after the *'Id* re-inforcements arrived at Dacca 'Uthman also did not waste time and advanced from Uhar, [20] his hew capital He encamped on the side of a jala (marshy land) at Daulambapur Before Shujā'at Khān gave his final order for advance, Iftikhar Khān, a Mughul officer, pleaded for the despatch of another letter to 'Uthmān 'Uthmān was a Muslim and he should not be destroyed without another warning A letter was, thus,sent to 'Uthmān again, and he was told that he would be granted a *mansab* of 5000 and all his lost territores would be returned if he only acknowledged the overlordship of the Mughul emperor

On the reciept of the letter Khwājah 'Uthmān wreathed like a snake and the Mughul envoy returned unsuccessful He, however, discovered a secret path across the jala while coming back from interview with 'Uthmān The Mughuls now advanced Some of 'Uthmān's forces crossed the Jala and engaged the Mughuls in a hand to hand fight

[18] Perhaps modern Putijuri near Habibganj in the Sylhet district

[19] *Baharistan-i-Ghayabi* does not clearly state when the Mughuls resumed their attack But considering all the circumstances and facts we can safely conclude that the attack could not have been resumed about the time of the *'Id-al-adha* of the same year Bokainagar fell after *Ramadan* The next battle took place after *'Id-al-adha* Only two and half months' time was hardly sufficient for so many events for Jahangir to write letters repeatedly, the arrival of Shuja'at Khan, the holding of a conference, and the despatch of a letter to 'Uthman and the receipt of its reply by the Mughuls

[20] The place has not been definitely identified According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Pattan Ushar, now a small village near Habibganj was the last capital of 'Uthman There is another village called 'Uthmanpur, but that is situated further north.

Iftikhar Khān followed by his men went to the other side of the jala through the secret path discovered by his envoy In a hand to hand fight he lost the palm of his left hand His life was saved by one of his attendants, who gave his own life in saving that of his master. One of the Mughul soldiers now recognised 'Uthmān and shot an arrow which piereced through 'Uthmān's left eye and reached his brain 'Uthmān in order to conceal his wound drew out the arrow, and in doing so he pulled out the arteries of his two eyes with the arrow. He then covered his eyes with a handkerchief in his left hand and asked his mahout, "where is Shuja'at" army? The mahout did not know anytihing about the plight of 'Uthmān and he drove the elephant against the Mughuls 'Uthmān, thus, died, on the battlefield fighting to the last moment of his life in 1612.

A fierce hand to hand fighting then ensued and the lives of more than one Mughul general were threatened Mirzā Nathan and some others had very narrow escape Even Shujā'at Khān himself was lucky to evade a sure death from the attack of the elephants The Mughuls at last came out victorious, no doubt, but they did not forget for a long time the heroic resistance of Khwajah 'Uthmān They showed every respect to Khwajah 'Uthmān's brothers and sons,[21] to whom were returned Khwajah 'Uthmān's possessions by a special *farman* from Jahāngīr

[21] After 'Uthman was killed on the battlefield, the women of his family were killed by his sons and brothers according to the custom of those days The dead bodies including that of 'Uthman were carried to a distant place and buried in secrecy so that even these could not fall into the hands of the Mughuls To make the discovery of Uthman's grave difficult, it was surrounded by those of others

AURANGZIB AND HINDU TEMPLES

by

JNAN CHANDRA, BOMBAY

Our historians have written volumes after vloumes about Aurangzib and his activities as prince and politician, but it is a pity that they have always assessed him with the bias of a partisan as an antagonist to Hindus and an iconoclast, who took pleasure in destroying their temples To achieve this end, historians have distorted the material that was available to them, in such a way that his virtues have become his vices.

In the course of my studies on the subject, I have come across more than two dozen documents that were never seen by the historians who have worked on the subject, and they show that in his real life Aurangzib was different from what he is supposed to be

While accusing Aurangzib as an anti-Hindu monarch, much has been said by the historians on the strength of a *farman*, which is very popular by the name of *Banaras Farman* This *farman* belongs to a Brahmin family of Vanarasi (Banaras), resident of Mohalla Mangala Gauri. In 1905 it was produced before the City Magistrate by one Mangal Pandey, son of Gopi Upadhyaya's daughter It drew attention of the scholars and it was published for the first time in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1911 And since then it has been often quoted by the historians, but without realizing the real import of the *farman*, they accuse Aurangzib of banning the construction of Hindu temples[1]

This *farman* was issued by Aurangzib on 15 *Jamadi* I, 1069 A H (10 March 1659) to the local officer of Banaras in disposal of a complaint made by some Brahmin, who was the custodian of a temple and was being harrassed by some persons It runs as follows

"Let Abul Hasan worthy of favour and countenance trust to our royal bounty, and let him know that since in accordance with our

History of Aurangzib by Judunath Sarkar

innate kindness of disposition and natural benevolence, the whole of our untiring energy and all our upright intentions are engaged in promoting the public welfare and bettering the conditions of all classes, high and low In accordance with our holy law, we have decided that *the ancient temples shall not be destroyed*, but new ones shall not be built."

"In these days of our justice, information has reached our noble and most holy court that certain persons interfere and harass the Hindu residents of the town of Banaras and its neighbourhood, and the Brahmin keepers of the temples, in whose charge these ancient temples are; and that they further desire to remove these Brahmins from their ancient offices, and this intimidation of theirs causes distress to that community"

"Therefore our royal command is that, after arrival of this lustruous order, you should direct that, in future, no person shall in unlawful way interfere or disturb the Brahmins and other Hindu residents at these places, so that they may as before, remain in their occupation and continue with peace of mind to offer prayers for the continuance of our God-gifted empire, so that it may last for ever Treat this order as urgent "

This *farman* is explicitly clear on the point that Aurangzib did not issue any new order against the building of the new temples. He only referred to the practice that was already in continuance and he simply affirms to adhere to that practice As regards the already existing temples, he is explicitly against their destruction The *farman* further shows that he was keen on his Hindu subjects being able to live in peace

It is not the only *farman* of its type Banaras has one more *farman* to show that he was really very keen the Hindus that should be able to live in peaec It runs "At this auspicious time an august *farman* was issued whereas Maharajdhiraj Raja Ram Singh has represented to the most holy and exalted court that a mansion was built by his father in Mohalla Madho Rai, on the bank of Ganges at Benaras for the residence of Bhagawant Gosain who is also his religious preceptor, and as certain persons harrass the Gosain, therefore our Royal Command is that, after the arrival of this lustrous order, the present and future officers should direct that in future, no person shall in any way interfere or disturb the Gosain, so that he may continue with peace of mind to offer up prayers for the continuance of our God-given Empire, that

is destined to last for all time. Consider this as an urgent matter. Dated 17th Rabi' II, 1091A H"[2]

We have some other *farmans*, now with the Mahant of the *Jangambari Math*, which show that Aurangzeb never tolerated any enocrachment on the rights of his subjects whether they were Hindus or Muslims. He dealt severely with the culprits One of these *farmans*, refers to a complaint filed in the court of Aurangzib by the Jangams (*i e.* the followers of Jangam sect - a Saivite sect) against a Muslim resident of Banaras named Nazir Beg and the imperial order there on says "The officials of *Haveli* Muhammadabad—Known as Banaras- *Subah* Allahabad, are to be informed that these days Arjunmal and the Jangams, residents of *pargana* Banaras, have appeared before (the emperor) and have made complaint that Nazir Beg, a resident of Benaras, has by foree taken possession of five *Havelis*, which they had in *Qasba* Benaras It is therefore, ordered that if their case is found true and the title of the complainants proved, Nazir Beg should not be allowed to enter the said *Havelis*, so that in future the Jangams may not appear as complainants before me to seek their redress"

This *farman* is dated 11th *Sha'ban san* 13 Julus (1672 A D)[3]

The other *farman* in the possession of the same *Math*, dated 1 *Rabi'-al-awal*, 1078 A H, relates to the restoration of the possession of the land that was granted to the Jangams It runs, "All the present and future *Jagirdars* and *karoris* in *pargana Haveli* Benaras *subah* Allahabad are informed that according to the order of the Emperor dated 9 Amardad Ilahi, 178 *bighas* of land has been granted to the Jangams to help them in their maintenance The old officials have also verified this fact, before this also On the present occasion also they have produced evidence bearing the seal of the *Malik* of the said *pargana* to the effect that they are, as before, in possession of the land and their title is clear ly proved The refore,according to the order of emperor, the same has been left to them as the sacrifice (*Nisar*) for the head of the emperor The said land should be returned to them from the beginning of the *Kharif* crop of san 10 as it was before and they should not in any way be interfered with, so that these Jangams may utilise the income of every

[2] For this *farman* I am indebited to S M Jaffar Esqr Director of Archives, West Pakistan who brought it to my knowledge.

[3] High Court Papers regarding the appeal filed in Allahbad High Court by Krishna Gari and others against Jagatguru Shri Mahant Malik Arjun Swami in 1934 Exhibit 20.

crop and ear in their maintenance and pray for the existence of the kingdom of the emperor Herein they shall fail not and act otherwise."

This *farman* does not only show that justice was inherent in him, but also he had no distinction in distributing the *Nisar* to Hindu mendicants. The said land of 178 *bighas* was in all probability donated to the *Jangams* by Aurangzib himself, as we have another *farman* dated 5th *Ramadan* 1071 A H, which refers to this land in following terms "The present and future officials of *Pargana haveli*, Benaras, subordinate to *subah* Allahabad, are to be informed that under the order of the emperor to the effect that 178 *bighas* of land in *pargana* Banaras is alloted to Jangams to help them in their maintnenace The Jangams have appeared at his time also in the *Darbar* of the emperor. Their rights are proved and that the same persons are alive and in possession of the land Therefore the said land has again been given to them as before as a sacrifice for the head of the Emperor The said land should be treated as a *mufti* land as detailed below, so that they may utilise it and may pray for the existence of the kingdom of the emperor "[5]

Another land-grant to a Hindu religious preceptor in the town of Banaras was given by Aurangzeb in 1098 A H, which is as follows "At this auspicious time an august *firman* was issued that as two plots of land measuring 588 *dira'*, situated on the bank of the Ganges at the Benimadho *ghat*, in Benaras (one plot is in front of the house of Ramjivan Goshain and on the bank of the central mosque, and the other is higher up) are lying vacant without any building and belong to *Bait-ul-mal*, we have, therefore granted the same to Ramjivan Goshain and his son as *in'am*, so that after building dwelling houses for the pious Brahmins and holy *faqirs* on the above mentioned plots, he should remain engaged in the contemplation of God and continue to offer prayres for the continuance of our god-gifted empire that is destined to last for all time It is, therefore, incumbent on our illustrious sons, exalted ministers, noble *umra*, high officials, *daroghas* and present and future *kotwals*, to exert themselves for the continual and permanent observance of this hallowed ordinance, and to permit the above-mentioned plots to remain in the possession of the aforesaid person and his descendents from generation to generation, and to consider him exempt from all dues and taxes, and not to demand from him a new *sanad* every year "[6]

[4] *Ibid.*, Exibit No 11.
[5] *Ibid*, Exibit No 16
[6] For this *farman* I am indibted to S M. Jaffar Esqr

Aurangzib seems to be very careful to respect the religious sentiments of his subjects [7] We have a *farman* of the Emperor issued on 2 *Safar* of the ninth year of his reign, in favour of Sudaman Brahman, the *Pujari* of Umanand temple of Guhatie in Assam. This temple and its *Pujari* were granted a piece of land and the income of some forest-land for the *bhoga* (offering to God) and the maintenance *of the pujari* by the Hindu rulers of Assam When Aurangzib occupied the province, he immediately issued the said *farman* confirming the earlier Hindu grant of the land and income in favour of the said temple and its *Pujari*

The text of the *Gauhati Farman* runs as follows --

"Be it known to the present and future administrators of important affairs, *chaudharis*, *qanoongos*, *muqaddams* and peasant of patta Bangesar in *the Pargana* of Pandu in the *Saikai* of Dakhinkul that 2½ Bishwa of land out of village Sakara, the *Jam'* (total revenue) of which was thirty rupees, was settled on Sudaman and his son the *Pujari* of Umanand, according to the orders of the previous rulers At this time the truth of the title (claim) out of the aforesaid maintenance rupees twenty cash out of the *Mahsul* (collections) of the said village and the rest of it the jungle-land exclusive of the *Jam'* from Intakhali village being settled as the maintenance of the aforesaid grantee it is incumbent upon them (officers) to leave the cash and the land in possession of the above-mentioned perpetually, permanently and for life-time after seperating from both the *Mahals* so that they (grantees may utilize them for their maintenance and *bhog* and engage themselves in prayers for the continuance of the kingdom to eternity They should not allow any let or hindrance on account of revenue taxes and other cesses or demand a fresh *Sanad* and if there be they should not rely upon it Considering this as binding upon them, they should not swerve from it Written on the 2nd of Safar in the 9th year of the Accession of His Majesty "[8]

That Aurangzeb had the attitude of tolerance towards Hindus and their religion, is further supported by the priests of the Mahakaleshwar temple at Ujjain. This is one of the chief temples of Siva, where *deep* light is burnt day and night continuously without any break. This *deep* is known as *Nandadeep* Four seers of ghee used for this

[7] Consideration to the sentiments of his subject is clear by his issuing of coins with legend in Bengali script in Assam

[8] For getting this, I am indebited to Shri Vishnu Ram Medhi, Cheif Minister, Assam The *farman* is published in the *Journal of Assam Research Society* Jan.-April 1942, pages 1-12

Nandadeep, was provided by the state from the remote past And the priests of the temple say that it continued in the Mughul period also, and even Aurangzib honoured this ancient tradition Unfortunately they have no royal order to support their claim. But they have a copy of an order issued by Murad Bakhsh, during the reign of his father dated 5th *Shawwal* 1061 A H This order was issued by him on behalf of the Emperor on the petition of one Devanarain, who was the then priest of the Mahakaleswara temple Hakim Muhammad Mehdi, the *waqai'-nawis* looked into the old records and testified the claim of the petitioner Thereupon, it was ordered that four seers (Akbari) ghee be provided by the *tahwildar* of *Chabutra Kotawali* for the said *deep* of the temple

The copy of this order was issued by Muhammad Sa'dullah in the year 1153 A H i e 93 years after the original was issued The present priests infer from the issue of the copy after such a long interval that the original order continued to be carried on during all this intervening period which covers the reign of Aurangzib also. Had this order no worth at this late period, no one would have cared to obtain the copy of a dead letter Some other royal papers deposited in the archives of the said temple have recently come to our knowledge and they have a few papers of the time of Aurangzib

Generally historians talk of the demolition of the Chintaman temple constructed by the *Nagar seth* of Ahmadabad, but they remain dumb on the fact that the same Aurangzib gave lands for the Shatrunjaya and Abu temples to the same *Nagar-seth*

The *sanad* granting land to the Shatrunjaya temple runs, "(and) the end of which will be happy, Satidas, the jeweller has represented to the noble, most holy, exalted and elevated presence through persons who constitute the holy assembly of the court, that whereas according to a *Firman* of His Majesty, the exalted (and) as dignified as Solomon, the protector of the office of the successor (of Muhammad) the shadow of God, dated the nineteenth of the holy month of Ramadan, in the year, thirty-one, the district of Palitana, which is called Satranja in the jurisdiction of the Sorath Sarkar, a dependency of the *Suba* of Ahmedabad (and the revenue of which is two lacs of *Dams* has been settled as a perpetual *In'am* on the slave (the petitioner) (and) that he (the petitioner) therefore hopes that a glorious edict may also be granted by our Court Therefore in the same manner as before we have granted (to the petitioner) the above mentioned district as a perpetual

In'am. It is therefore incumbent in the present and the future managers of the *Subah* and the above mentioned Sarkar, to exert themselves for the continual and permanent observance of this hallowed ordinance (and) to permit the above mentioned district to remain in possession of the above mentioned person and of his descendants in the lineal succession from generation to generation and to consider him exempted from all demands and taxes and all other dues (and not to demand from him in respect hereof a new *sanad* every year and they shall not swerve from this order Written on the 9th of the month of Telkkand in the Hijra year 1068 (1658) "[9]

The *Nagarseth* helped Aurangzib in some war, and being pleased with his services he gave some land-gift to Girnar and Abu to the temples therein. It runs as such "In the name of Allah, the compassionate and merciful

"(Tughra) O ye Faithful, obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority among you

"(Seal) Abul Muzaffar Muhy-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Alamgir Badhsah Ghazi

"At this time, the exalted *Farman* is issued that since Shantidas Jawahari, son of Sahasbhai, of the *Shrawak* community has solicited and been hopeful of special favours, and has greatly helped the army during its march with provisions, and expects to be honoured with special rewards, therefore, the village (*deh*) of Palitana, which is under the jurisdiction of Ahmadabad, and the hill of Palitana famous as *Satrunja*, and the temple on it, all those we give to the said Satidas Jawahari of the *Shrawak* community, and the timber and fuel which is to be found on the hill of Satrunja should belong to the *Shrawak* community, so that they may utilize these for whatever purpose they like Whoever guards the hill of Satrurja and its temple should be entitled to the income of Palitana, and they should continue in prayer for the maintenance of the eternal government It is necessary that the administration and officers and the *jagirdars* and the *karoris* of the present and future should absolutely not allow any deviation or alteration in this

"Besides this there is a mountain in Junagarh famous as Girnal (Girnar), and there is another hill at Abuji under the jurisdiction of Sirohi We give these two hills also to Satidas Jawahari of *Shrawak* community as a special favour, so that he may be entirely satisfied It is necessary for the officers that they should not allow anyone to interfere

[9] Memorial submitted to Chief Secretary for India by Jains in 1923.

with these, and no one among the Rajas should obstruct him and they should always help him as such action will bring to them royal pleasure. And they should not demand a new *sanad* every year, and if any body makes any claim about that tillage and the three hills, which we have given to him, he will be liable to the censure and curses of the people as well as of God. Another seperate *sanad* has also been given to him.

"Written on the tenth of great Rajab, the Hijri year 1070 (March 12, 1660)."[10]

Though these are only a few instances of Aurangzib's generous attitude towards Hindus and their temples, they are more than enough to show that what the historians have written about him was not correct. India is a vast land with thousands and thousands of temples scattered all over If proper search is made we are confident that many more instances would come to light, which will show Aurangzib's benevolent treatment of non-Muslims

[10] *Journal of Bombay University*, Vol. IX, Pages 54.

REVIEW

Discovery of Pakistan by A Aziz, Published by Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, 800, Paper and Boards, pp. 369 x maps and illustrations, Price Rs 12/8/-

There are various aspects of Indo-Muslim history which were neglected by non-Muslim historians It is, therefore, natural that Pakistani writers should be anxious to remove these gaps Many Muslim movements either did not interest British writers or they thought the dissemination of information about them against imperial interests. Then, there is bound to be a marked difference not only in emotional reactions to the same events among the British, the Hindus and the Muslims but also in the assessment of the work of the personalities involved. A reviewer in the educational supplement of the London Times criticised the writer of this review for referring in one of his books to Saiyid Ahmad of Rae Bareli as a martyr and his movement as *Jihad* Such differences are likely to persist , they may even grow deeper After all it is difficult to eliminate subjectivity completely in historical writings; there are British, French and German versious of the same events in European history and Catholic and Protestant points of view in English history itself, there are bound to emerge different points of view of Indian history as well

Mr Aziz is a Pakistani Muslim and has put forward his views with enthusiasm and spirit His indignation, mostly righteous, is aroused by the memory of past injuries He has collected a good deal of material and has arranged his facts with the acumen of a lawyer. He has succeeded in writing a readable book, which has the making of becoming popular. This, one hopes, will inspire him to continue his interest in Indo-Muslim History

This is, so far as the writer of this review is aware, Mr Aziz's first book on a historical topic It bears many marks of being a maiden work. The material could have been integrated more skillfully ; quotations from well known books, however interesting and relevant, could have been shorter and less frequent ; there should have been less dependenee on single books, (mostly secondary) in the discussion of a topic. At places the sequence and even the relevance of a topic is obscure. Some opinions have been hastily accepted, for instance

modern anthropology does not classify the Dravidians as Turanians or, for that matter, in any way Mongloid When an author reaches conclusions which go counter to the prevailing opinions, more heavy documentation is necessary than what Mr. Aziz has provided in many essential places.

Mr. Aziz should be particularly careful in the choice of the language he uses. The best of arguments loses its force if it is expressed in immoderate language ; an indignant author cannot create confidence in the mind of the discerning reader Urbanity is as great a virtue in writing as in life. The book would have been more effective if the author had been less emotional in expressing his views ; many, though not all, of his conclusions are sound, but they suffer in his presentation

I H QURESHI

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume VI **Pa**

JANUARY 1958

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

CONTENTS

HAKIM AHSANULLAH KHAN'S MEMOIRS

Prefatory Note

The memoirs of Hakim Ahsanullah Khan, minister and chief confidant of Emperor Bahadur Shah II are being published for the first time. The original text is not available, but their 'rough translation' by a British officer is preserved in the India Office Library in Sir John Kaye's papers. According to the translator the memoirs were written at his request. The writer was in complete sympathy or, to quote the words of the officers of the revolutionary forces, " in league " with the English and played a vital role in the latter's ultimate victory at Delhi.

It was therefore impossible for him to sympathize with the cause of the revolutionaries , nor could he take a detached view of the progress of events during the hectic twenty weeks of war in Delhi Even a cursory glance over the document will show that it is by no means an impartial account and the reader has to be very careful when studying it. But perhaps this is the case with almost all contemporary or nearly contemporary accounts of the War of Independence, 1857-58 Never-the-less Ahsanullah Khan's account is a useful source of information for several reasons. He was a participator in most of the events which he relates ; about those which did not occur before his own eyes he learnt from persons who had first hand information One of the common weaknesses of the writers of autobiographies and memoirs is that they supperss or try to cover up their own faults Ahsanullah Khan is no exception to this In spite of this drawback, however, he gives us some very useful information which throws light on various aspects of the great Revolution. The attitude of the Emperor towards the Revolution which he was called upon to lead, the conduct and behaviour of the Princes after their appointment as commanders, the role played by the Maulawis and the *Jehadis*, the problems and difficulties of the Revolutionary Government and the obstacles it had to face in maintaining peace and order on the one hand and providing supplies and ammunitions for war on the other are among the aspects of the Movement on which we find useful material in the Memoirs

The Memoirs begin with the narration of occurences under the date 11 May 1857, but later on no dates are mentioned although the writer is often particular about giving the time and the hour of the incidents which he relates. In some cases he begins his story with " Next day "

or " after some days " ; the translator has on this basis tried to give the dates on the margin. Even these are scanty, and not of much help. It is beyond doubt that the Hakim had forgotton the dates and has therefore confused the sequence of events.

The language of the translation is very unsatisfactory , as the translator has himself admitted it is only a " rough translation." But what makes it difficult reading is his carelessness in reporting coversations He is not consistent in the mode of narration. He would report a few sentences in the direct words of the speaker and then without completing the report start using indirect method of narration In spelling proper names he is not uniform, as for istance 'Mirza Moghul ' has been spelt in different ways at different places. Some words and phrases could not be read correctly , this has been indicated by putting 'illegible' within brackets in place of those words.

On Monday 16th Ramazan (1273 Hijri) corresponding to 11th May, 1857, about 8 a m Muhammad Bakhsh darwan Darwazah 'Diwan Khas' came to me, and stated that a sepoy was knocking at the Lahori Gate of the Fort saying that the native army Horse and Foot had mutinied against the English at Meerut[1] and were close at hand, and that he would join them On hearing this I said to him, "Bring the sepoy to me that I may enquire into his story " Before he could return with an answer or the sepoy His Mejesty sent for me When I arrived at the Diwan Khas then the people there pointed out 20 sawars coming towards the Fort from the Bridge and at a distance the Salimpur Toll[2] was seen burning The King was then outside Sharf-ud-daula the King's wakeel was with him The King sent him to Captain Douglas Commander Palace Guard to ask why the sawars were coming A sepoy (illegible). His Majesty went into the Palace and I also went to my own house, outside the Diwan Khas, when a messenger came up and said " the Commander, Palace Guard, is coming " I returned quietly to the Diwan Khas I saw 9 or 10 sawars wearing the uniforms of the Irregular Cavalry (Turk sawar) were near the Burj Musamman (Octagonal Bastion) where Saunders[3] lives With his Majesty's leave I closed the door under the lattice (*jharoka*). After this the Commander of the Palace Guard came with S(h)arf-ud-daulah and having heard of the sawars arrival at the Lower Bastion intended to go outside the door Under the lattice (illegible) the door to be opened I prevented this and said, " You have no armed soldiers with you. They have firearms. You oughtn't to go near them." Captain Douglas remained in the oratory (where Saunder's office now sits) standing by the marble parapet told the sawars that they were troubling His Majesty by their voice and call for justice, that these were His Majesty's private apartments and that they must be off The sawars (who must have been standing under the Diwan Khas outside the Fort by the river) went off towards the Rajghat Darwaza[4] The King then came out Captain Douglas re-assured him and begged him not to be alarmed that they were mutinous sawars and that that matter would soon be settled. He took his leave and the King retired inside. I went home. After a little while Pooran, the Commandant's Jamadar, came to me and said that his master had been

wounded in the foot, and was lying down in the lower storey, and has (had ?) sent for me to come quickly. On this I went off with him and took with me S(h)arf-ud-daulah who was by me at the time. On arriving at the spot I found that they had taken Captain Douglas upstairs. I was going up too, when I found that the Company of the sepoys had mutinied When I mounted the steps I found the guard there still more excited (*ziyadah barham*). In short when I went inside I found the Commandant lying on a couch. A lady was giving him some soup or tea On seeing me the Sahib said, "Get me quickly two *palkees* (*bahlis*)[5] and some men from the King, that the lady may be carried away to the Queen who will protect her. A gentleman is lying inside wounded [6] Send for a tengeon"[7]. I went into the other room to see him. Mr Simon Fraser was coming out at the time. On seeing me and S(h)arf-ud-daulah he said "Get two guns at once from the King " I said to S(h)arfuddaullah 'go quickly and get permission for the despatch of the guns I am coming He went down with Mr Fraser I after seeing the gentleman who was wounded, a young man, bearded, and wounded, I think, in the right arm, went off quickly to the Diwan Khas and informed the King of these occurences. The King and Queen (Zinat Mahal) came into the bed room and gave permission for the despatch of two *palkees* and two guns. The *palkees* were at once sent off, and an order was sent to the artillery for the guns, and also for a tengeon After a little while Kahar came and said that a sawar had killed [8] the Bara Sahib (Mr S. Fraser) on the stairs of the Commandant's Quarters, and that several men with drawn swords had gone upstairs Again after a little while the news came that they had killed the Commandant and all (*sabko*) and that the Sepoy Company at the gates and the murderous sawars were plundering their property. His Majesty gave orders for closing of all the gates of the Palace and the Diwan Khas The Darwan returned and said that the sepoys belonging to the Companies stationed at the gates of the Fort were at the gates and wouldn't allow them to be closed Soon after this 50 sepoys and a large number of sawars came suddently into the Diwan Khas and said, "We have come to fight for our religion and to pay our respect to His Majesty." Before the King came out a regiment came in from cantonment and said the same [9] The eunuch of the household (*khwaja-sara*) took the messages unto the King who came out. They made themselves (?) and said as before. His Majesty said " I have neither troops, magazine or treasury. I am not in a condition to join any one " They said, " Only give us your countenance (*hamare sar par hath rakhuji*),[10] we will provide every

thing." The King went inside The sawars remained in the Bagh and the sepoys in the Diwan Khas After a little while more sepoys and sawars came By evening 300 irregular cavalry (*Turk-sawars*) and three regiments from cantonments and two from Meerut had taken up their quarters in the Fort, the Malpert Regiment in Salimgarh, and the rest in the Diwan Khas, Diwan-Am, the Stables and Naqqar Khanah. In the evening I presented myself to His Majesty The Queen was with him I said, " It is necessary to write an account of these occurrences to the Lieutenant Governor at Agra,[11] for there is no government here " The King told the Munshi quickly to write " *suk-rosa*" (*shuqqah* ?) and send off a camel sawar privately The Queen also approved. I told the Munshi at once who having come between 9 and 10 wrote a letter and sent it to the Queen Having examined and signed (lit. sealed) she gave it over to be carried by *asalat* (camel sawar) to Agra It was sent off then and there But the eunuch into whose hands the Munshi gave it told eunuchs Basant Ali and Nasir of its despatch They gave information to Gulab Shah and few of the Turk-sawars who used to frequent their company , an officer of the Volunteer Regiment was present at the time He said " This Hakeem is in league with the English First the Commandant called for him It was he who sent the *palkee* and gave orders for despatch of guns Now he has sent off the letter to Agra He must be settled " They answered," He is Mahbub Ali Khan's Mukhtar Muhbub will bring all the Princes over to us, and the Hakeem's influence with the King will be destroyed." They listened, and then these two eunuchs continued a secret meeting before the Princes and Gulab Shah, and the officers of the volunteer, and other regiments and determined that the Hakeem should have nothing to say to the troops, nor communicate with the King or Queen, or Mahboob Ali Khan To carry this out, on the third day (Wednesday) the Princes came to the King in the morning and stated that the officers of the troops were willing to serve under them The eunuchs also seconded them The officers of the troops expressed their wish to have the Princes for their commanders The King then consented and made over a regiment by name to each Prince He ordered that they should put in writing their agreement to serve the King All of them consented About two 2 p m (*tisra-pahr*) I and the Queen again represented to the King that it was not advisable to appoint the Princes to the command of the troops, and that it would be better to reappoint the old thanahdars and the kotwals, and to make over the administration of the city to the muftis and (illegible) Sudder Ameen [12] and that

all should remain under the King's immediate order, and that to the officers of the Regiments it should be explained that the King's sons were young and unexperienced in military science and the art of war and incompetent to command, and on this excuse he should allow none of them to hold an appointment in the army. The King concurred, and expressed his concurrence saying that when the English rule was established those people would disclose all this and the English Government would be pleased. The Munshi was ordered to make enquiries and write parwanahs to all the muftis and thandahdars and to bring them forward.

In the morning of that day the Princes again presented themselves and applied for parwanahs of appointment [13] The King replied, "You don't know the work What will you do as officers?" All departed, disappointed. The eunuchs disclosed the particulars of the conversation, me (I?) and Queen held with the King The Princes were convinced that I had prevented their appointment to the military commands

After 12 o'clock when I was absent from the Darbar all the officers of the troops were introduced by the eunuchs and influenced the King to appoint Princes. The King remained silent and then said, "Mirza Moghul wants to be the commander-in-chief, what do you wish ?" They answered, " Agreeable " Two days after (Friday) the Princes asked the King to ride through the city, in order that the people might be re-assured and that plunder might be put an end to [14] They recommended that Muinuddin Hussain Khan[15] son of Kudratullah Beg Khan who had offered to take kotwaliship should be appointed kotwal The King ordered that the former kotwal[16] should be searched for If he could be found he was to be appointed The Princes answered that he had run off and that Muinuddin ought to be appointed This was agreed to

About 2 p m. the King set out on an elephant and stopped beyond the door of the Chandni Chowk garden and their gave the *khillut* of appointment to Muinuddin agreeable to Mirza Moghul's recomendation.[17]

Khizr Sultan applied to be invested with the Command of Mapert Regiment which he had brought with him. He alighted from his horse and came before the elephant I then said aloud that such an appointment was not befitting a prince of high degree and (illegible), that it was contrary to etiquette to take a *khillut* in the face of the whole bazaar. The King concurred and wouldn't grant him *khillut* This very much displeased him and all the officers of the army too,

and the eunuchs. When the party returned in the evening all the officers especially those of the Turk-sawars represented that parwanahs should be issued to all rajahs and chiefs, far and near. They declared that His Majesty's officers were in league with the English and in the habit of writing to them and not to those to whom they ought to write.

The Munshi was told to write parwanahs to all the rajahs and chiefs and to bring them for signature

In the morning Mahbub Ali Khan came into the Fort He and I were seated together when the officers of the cavalry and infantry came up and said, " You are both in league with the English and send them information of all that goes on A guard of our men will remain in the *Daftar* so that we may know what you write." Mahbub Ali Khan swore he had written nothing If they wished to make sure of his innocence "he would swear on the Kuran He then called for the Kuran and placed his hands on it and mine also I also said, " I'll never write anything" Then Gulab Shah put his hands on the Kuran and said, " I have now no suspcion " He then went off to the King and obtained permission to post a guard of his own soldiers and a Musalman able to read in the *Daftar* to keep watch He posted a duffadar with several sawars over Mahbub Ali Khan He told the King that the troops should receive daily allowance for their food The King replied that he had no money He answered, " The Queen and Mahbub Ali Khan are your agents They will make temporary arrangements and some money will be coming in from all quarters From that they can take whatever you give To bring in supplies, to provide guards, and to remain with the Princes, as orderlies, new troops must be raised so that there may (might ?) be no suspicion that any one is (was) in league with the English. The King answered, " Where is the pay to come to (from ?)? The allowance of one lakh a month to the House and descendants of Taimur —— even that will be stopped. Under these circumstances, whence will additional servants be paid ?" They replied, " Let Mahbub Ali Khan get a loan from the merchants in the city and distribute the pay." The Princes who were present at the time seconded them A parwanah was written to Mahbub Ali Khan to procure money, another to Mriza Moghul to entertain (?) new troops to be placed under Mahbub Ali Khan's order that he might procure a loan and pay them.

In the afternoon of the same day they again came with Mriza Moghul, Mirza Khizr Sultan and rMiza Abu Bakr and represented that "many men in the city especially the pensioners and English Government officials send information of what is going on, and that all of them

should be summoned to the *darbar*." The Darwan (illegible) to attend.

In the evening Khwajah Wahiduddin Khan [18] came and importuned the King to appoint the Princes to the command of the troops saying that " the army will be reasured as soon as you grant *khilluts* of appointment to the Princes, otherwise the troops, who have killed their officers will misbehave to you , if he did'nt (you wouldn't ?) respect their wishes." On hearing this the King directed the *khilluts* to be prepared and enjoined on Mahbub Ali Khan to bestow the (illegible) *khilluts* on Mirza Moghul, Mirza Khizr Sultan, Mriza Abu Bakr, Mirza Sohrab-i-Hindi, Mirza Bakhtawar Shah and Mirza Abdullah [19]

At night the Queen remonstrated that the King paid no attention to her, and (he?) replied, " Let what God wills happen "

Two days after some of the Royal Family were collected and the conversation turned on the grant of *khilluts* to the Princes " Will Jawan Bakht get no appointment " The King answered that " his mother is my agent He will be appoitned Wazeer " Then the King ordered that a *khilluts* should be prepared for Jawan Bakht as Wazeer, that he might exercise the functions of royalty, and not interfere with the army * Mahbub Ali Khan was also enjoined to grant a daily allowance in money to the troops (illegible) to Mirza Moghul's arrangements. All were then dismissed

About noon several officers with several women, ladies and children were brought prisoners to the door It was requested (not said, by whom) that they should be imprisoned. The King ordered them to be taken off to jail, and well supplied with food One lady wife of an English merchant who before this was living with the Queen in the Palace was taken away with the rest At the close of the day Mirza Moghul sent the rough draft of several parwanahs to the King that he might issue such and such orders for the entertainment of the fresh troops, and begged that Muinuddin Hasan Khan Kotwal, an intelligent man might serve under thim in the army [20]

The petition after signature (*i e* to the order thereon recorded) was made over to his servant and the parwanahs to the Munshi to be made out agreeably (?) to Mirza Moghul's petition

*On the margin the following words of the original taxt are reproduced. *Chunanche usi wakt Huzur se hukam hua kih aek Khillat waste Mirza Jawan Bakht ke banain keh Wazarat ke aur khas sirkar shahi ka kam se dur rahenge aur kuch fauj se nahin unka.*

In the evening the sawars brought the prisoners, English ladies an children. They were ordered off to the jail.

Mahbub Ali Khan represented that agreeably to Mirza Moghul's sug gestions he had distributed 4 annas to each sepoy and 1 rupee to each sawar, but that the officers of the cavalry and infantry refused to giv nominal roll, etc. saying that the army would be (illegible) and becom dispirited ; that they told the truth Mirza Moghul was ordered t appoint a writer to each regiment to make out a correct nominal roll In the evening all the officers came forward and begged that the Pince might be (illegible) with the *khilluts*. All of them were called at (?) an *khilluts* given to them, and Mirza Moghul proclaimed Commander-in Chief of the whole army. Khizr Sultan, Commandant of the Mapert 54 Regiment, Mirza Abdullah Commandant of the 20th (Bailee Regiment, Mirza Sohrab-i-Hindi Commandant of the 11th Regimen (illegible), Mirza Bakhtawar Shah Commandant of the 7th Regimen and Mirza Abu Bakr Commandant of the whole cavalry. After thi Jawan Bakht was invested with the *khillut* of the Prime Minister.[21]

The officials all begged that all orders regarding the army migh be issued through the General of the army, and that no officer of th Government (*Ahlkar-i-Badshahi*) should be allowed to interfere. Th King agreed.

Several officers then begged that hukumnamahs should be despatch ed to the officers of the Regiments at Jullundur, Firozpur etc. Th Munshi was told to write them at once. In the afternoon several othe English prisoners were brought to the door They were ordered t be confined with the other prisoners.

At night the Turk-sawars sent word to the King, through Basan Ali Khan and Sidi Nasir eunuchs that the English prisoners must b killed. The King replied (*hukum hua*) that there was no risk in keepin the women and children in confinement, and that there was no advan tage in killing them. In the morning when I presented myself to th King, His Majesty said that the Turk-sawars wanted permission to kil the prisoners. I represented that it was forbidden by the Muhammada Law (*Shara'*) [22] to kill children and women Besides this it wa contrary to the dictates of worldly wisdom to perpetrate such atrocitie (*aisi buri harkat*), that if the King took care of these people they woul give evidence of their good treatment to his favour when the Englis were victorious and would remove all suspicions from the minds o the English of having been in league with the mutineers. As he ha heard Muhammad Akbar Khan, son of Dost Muhammad Khan, Chie

of Kabul did, who pleased (released ?) the captives, so that they all wrote in favour of Dost Muhammad Khan and caused him to be freed from confinement and reseated on the throne[23]

The King assented saying, " I myself said at night that their murder cannot never * be allowed. The Queen too seconded me earnestly " The eunuchs reported all this conversation to the officers of the sawars. They all began to cry out that the murder of the prisoners is (was ?) forbidden owing to the intrigues of the Hakeem, the Queen and Mahbub Ali Khan, and that they (meaning this Hakeem and Mahbub Ali Khan) have had ? purjured themselves All the army was convinced by these representations of my intriguing with the English They plotted to forge a paper in my name and to send a Company to the fort to take me prisoner on the pretence of having found a correspondance between us, the Queen, Mahbub Ali Khan and the English.

When I heard of these people having arrived at Delhi Gate of the Fort, I went to the King and represented this matter to him. He ordered Mirza Moghul to prevent the Company entering the Fort and to demand the letter and papers which had been intercepted and said that the persons by whom they were written should without fail be punished. The King said to me (to) get my seal quickly and he also sent for Mahbub Ali Khan with his seal, and sent for the Queen's seal from inside the Palace The seals were soon brought and their impressions made on blank paper. He then sent for the letter and papers in the possession of the sepoys Mirza Moghul and Khizr Sultan came and said that no paper with a seal attached to it had been seized, but that there was a paper in which the Hakeem's name was mentioned, which some person had brought from somewhere or other, and begged that the officer might be sent away The King forbade such unfounded accusations in future. Mirza Moghul than recommended Mir Haidar Hussain Khan for the daroghaship of the artillery and the Khan presented his service offerings Mirza Moghul ordered all attached to the artillery to obey his orders. The nobles of the city, the jagirdars and pensioners presented themselves and their offerings (to the King) and complained of plundering of the troops Mirza Moghul was ordered to see to it and to prohibit the army from oppressing the people. The sepoys brought petitions from several officers and begged that they might be summoned to appear soon. The Munshi was directed to write the order.

*Evidently the translator forgot to strike off the word "not," which he had in mind to do.

The Rao of Dadree[24], being introduced by Basant Ali, eunuch, presented a nazar and petitioned for the privilege of a drum to be sounded and standard (?) armourial bearing. He stated that he would allow no supplies to be furnished to the English at Meerut and that he would so plunder and pound them that they would be bothered (?) out of their lives. The officers of the Turk-sawars were loud in his praise. The order was passed that he should be allowed at once the privilege of using a drum and standard He also begged that an allowance might be made him. The officers of the sawars recommended that he should get Rs. 5 a day from that day The order was issued to take him to Mahbub Ali Khan who would disburse

In the evening again the officers of the army and Turk-sawars represented through the eunuchs of the household (that) H.M officials were in league with the English and that it was they who prevented the killing of the English prisoners and that the King should give us (them?) free permission to kill them, else they would do it themselves tomorrow (next day?) They were told that they would get a reply next morning.

When I went to the King in the morning he narrated this (illegible) to me I represented that it would be advisable both for the present and the future to preserve the lives of those innocent people If they were killed the result would be disastrous When I went away I found that 30 sawars armed with guns and pistols were rushing forward (illegible) the Diwan Khas and crying out that they would kill me as I came out I therefore remained in the Diwan Khas. I said to Kale Khan, Basant Ali Khan and Sidi Nasir that it was against the Muhammadan Law to kill the prisoners (illegible) and the sawars have the power to do so. The three went to His Majesty who afterwards sent permission by Sidi Nasir Those sawars with Sidi Nasir went to the Jail and I heard that all the prisoners were killed by the sword and murdered—all those innocent persons—on the Nakkar Khanah tank and the Stables.[25] After this Mirza Moghul came to the door (of the King's apartments) with Khizr Sultan, Mir Nawab son of Mir Tafazul Hussain, was with them He was left outside. They went in to the King After a while they came out and said to Mir Nawab, "You are permitted to go off to Garh Har Saran (4 *kos* from Gurgaon) with some Turk-sawars and a company of sepoys It is certain that there is some treasure there. Bring it back with you." He said, " very well. Be pleased to give order for the troops." On this Mirza Moghul sent the order.

Several officers of the Force came to the door and said, " We won't take our daily pay from Mahbub Ali Khan. He bothers unnecessarily.

Let the money be sent to Mirza Moghul who will distribute it Mahbub Ali Khan was ordered to send the money to Mirza Moghul, who would himself have it paid out Those officers then represented that "H M's officials were (are?) in league with the English Consequently no answers have been received from the Chiefs to whom parwanahs had been sent, from this it was evident that no parwanahs had been despatched Otherwise it is impossible that not a single Rais had sent a reply or made his appearance" The Munshi was ordered to write other parwanahs which the officers of the Army might despatch in which mode they liked that their suspicions might be removed, and that inquiry should be made in (?) the parwanahs that no answer had been sent to the parwanahs despatched on such and such date that the truth might be ascertained regarding the despatch of parwanahs, (illegible) Mahbub Ali Khan was ordered to distribute half the pay getting loan on the faith of the Government from the merchants as soon as possible.

He immediately issued orders to several merchants and enjoined Lala Mukand Lal to bring all the merchants to him, that he might take a loan from them and then distribute pay

Petitions began to pour in from the officers of the army All were directed to go to Mirza Moghul who was ordered to ascertain the usual custom, and act accordingly Several of the officers were dissatisfied at this and declraed that they would look for orders to their own officers, *e g* Khizr Sultan Commander of the Mapert paltan They were told to send their petitions through him to the King, that Mirza Moghul was Commander-in-Chief, that it was necessary that Khizr Sultan (illegible) general and (illegible) to submit to him, that his age was greater

On that same day my servant who was in charge of my house at the *Qutab* (*Qutb* ?) came in and said, (illegible) Gujars came to Mr Theophilus Metcalfe's (Thomas Sabib's) house to plunder it It was told that the chaprasis and keepers (*muhafiz*) saved it, that the chaprasis put the property into the *Tahkhanah* and closed up the opening with great care Two sepoys came yesterday and looked both at the (illegible) house It is probable that a large number of sepoys will come to plunder the property and open the *Tahkhanah* In the evening I told both the King and Queen that the house and property must be looked after that His Majesty had regarded the deceased "Moazam-ud-daulah that is, Sir T Metcalfe" as his son, that he should take care that the house was neither plundered nor brunt H M replied, "Send two guards there tomorrow" I sent orders to the thanahdar that he shoud take care of the house and Tahkhanah

Accordingly I sent off instructions next morning (24th or 25th May) and sent for the keeper and reassured telling him to take care of the property, and that he should (would ?)receive pay I also told the Princes their troops sent off to looting In the morning the King was informed to forbid that Mir Nawab had brought the treasure from Gurhi Saran. Mirza Moghul and Khizr Sultan brought men with a khazaneh of rupees and a Company of infantry There were, I believe, 17000 odd hundred rupees with eight anna or four anna pieces Agreeably to the representation of the officer it was ordered that 200 rupees be given to the soldiers and the rest lodged in the treasury Basant Ali begged that communication between the King and the army should be made through him He was ordered always to be in attendance and to ascertain the wishes of any one who presented himself at the door and to communicate them

In the evening (24th May) Kaley Khan eunuch of the household stated that Mir Nawab had brought back from Gurgaon a young woman who lived with some gentleman there and had kept her and her property in her own house that she had a large amount of jewels Mir Haider Hussain was told to investigagte the matter and to take care that the jewels were not made away with A petition came from Mahbub Ali Khan that he was sick and could not appear, begging that orders should be sent him in writing. He was ordered to take immediate measures for the distribution of the pay, and pay in the daily allowance day by day to Mriza Moghul After a day or two the King was informed that the troops at Ruhtak had taken possession of the treasure and that if help was sent it might be broungt over The matter was reported to Mirza Moghul

Mirza Moghul came about 2 p.m and said "Mir Nawab son of Tafazzul Hussain Wakeel undertakes to bring it over but requires some irregular Cavalry, and horse artillery guns and requests that Mir Fath Ali may accompany him " Mirza Moghul was ordered to make the arrangements and to see that the King's subjects were not oppressed by the troops

After some days when this caravan returned with somewhat above a lakh of rupees it was ascertained that the people of the country had been plundered and beaten, and that their women had killed themselves to save themselves from being dishonoured The King was very much displeased on hearing this but Mirza Fath Ali and Mir Nawab denied it in toto and (illegible) them all (illegible) into believing it was all a malicious report but some days after several men came from Ruhtak

who confirmed the truth of the story In short the money was lodged in the Treasury and the order was passed that ' from today the daily allowance should be made to Mirza Moghul from the Treasury, without application to Mahbub Ali ' Day by day Mahbub Ali became weaker

Some time after this the King was informed that Mirza Abu Bakr with Irregular Cavalry had invaded Nawab Hamid Ali Khan's premises and beseeched (besieged ?) him bringing up guns against the house to blow him away on the pretext that he was in league with the English and that an European was concealed in his house After this a petition came in from the Nawab "that a Sayyad was being unjustly done to death that the eunuchs and female servants of the King's household be sent to search through out my house If any gentlemen be produced out of my house do to me what you think fit, if he is not produced let my traducers be punished"

The King forthwith ordered the darwans and chobdars to take the eunuchs of the household to Abu Bakr that he might make the search through their means and that he should commit no violence after this as Mir Nawab was bringing the Nawab as his prisoner The darwans and chobdars returned When they arrived at the door the King was enraged and at once released Hamid Ali Khan and censured Mir Nawab Ali Khan severely Hamid Ali Khan was ordered to attend the King and to give in a list of his plundered property The Turk sawars were told not to obey such orders of Abu Bakr They answered, "He is our officer Why should we not go when there is any suspicion (of some one being hid) but we will commit no violence"[26] About noon the officers of the Infantry Regiment came and requested that the Jhujjur Nawab should be called upon to furnish money stating that the King's officials were in league with the English otherwise he would have been present ere this A parwanah to this effect was directed to be written and to be made over to Ghulam Nabi Khan his confidential agent They also requested that a parwanah should be sent to Luchmi Chand Seth to direct his gumashtah to accept the office of the Treasurer, or without such an office business could not proceed The Munshi was directed to write a parwanah to this effect[27]

The King was informed that Muinuddin Hussain Khan kotwal had been plundering the people of the city extensively Mirza Moghul was directed to dismiss him from kotwalship and to select some other person for the post It was further ordered that his property after investigation should be restored to any of the citizens who had been plundered and that the kotwal should be punished In the evening

Khwajah Waheed-ud-din Khan came and praised the seventh Regiment (Alexander ki Palatan) and said, " they were encamped at the Delhi Gate and that they were ready to fight but were troubled for want of supplies If Khwajah Ahmad Ali Khan my near relative and a good man of business be directed to furnish supplies regularly he will do the work efficiently, and also act as General Mirza Bakhtwar Shah's deputy " It was ordered that a parwanah to this effect be addressed to him

In the morning agreeably to the same Waheed-ud-din's recommendations a prawanah of appointment to the kotwali was addressed to Qazi Faizullah[28] who was called to swear that he would not take bribes or commit oppression **28th May**

Treasure was brought by the sepoys from across the river, either from Bulandshahar or Aligarh [29] It was said that the Gujars meddled with the treasury (treasure?) near the Bridge, and that the sepoys had appropriated a part The balance was brought to Delhi It was ordered that it should be lodged in the Treasury After this treasure came from Muttra[30] brought by a Company of sepoys The customs people (*adm*) and Saiduddin's Jehadis (fanatics)[31] were with them

Some days after this Prince Muhammad Azim with a Company of Lukhya Paltan and the Hansi Risala and the customs people and some Jehadis brought forth rupees which were placed in the Treasury Some of the royal family represented that they were badly off having received no pay for two months Mahbub Ali Khan was enjoined to distribute one month's pay among them from the funds collected from the *sahukars* He answered that " upwards of 60000 Rs have been collected The *sahukars* have promised to give the rest soon As soon as 120000 Rs are collected pay will be given to all, new and old servants " He was directed to realize the amount as soon as possible **13th June**

In the evening information was brought that Mahbub Ali Khan had fainted and is (was?) very weak The Darwan was directed to go and (illegible) news of him At night it was reported that he was insensible and in the morning his death * was proclaimed It was ordered that his funeral should take place and that his tomb should be erected near Kalimullah's in the Khanum Bazar,[32] all at Government expenses

In the afternoon the Queen was ordered to distribute the pay quickly the best way she could. She said, " By tomorrow I will procure what money is wanted "

Next day having sent for the balance from her own house, and having got some from the Treasury she distributed pay to all, and **15th June**

*14th June Kedarnath Journal

begged the King to endorse the papers containing the amounts of daily expenditure distributed to the army by Mahbub Ali Khan and to pay the amount back from the Treasury Orders to this effect were passed and at the Queen's request all the servants of the King and officials were informed that in place of Mahbub Ali Khan, Shamsuddaulah Ahmad Kuli Khan was appointed mukhtar, that all should present their offerings to him, and obey his orders [33]

The officers of the Regiment and sawars presented petitions from General Bakht Muhammad Khan, and other officials praying for permission to wait on the King The required instructions were made over to the messenger who brought the petitions The officers of the army represented that " supplies are not properly furnished to the troops who go out to fight and also that many of them won't take water from the Bheeshtis and eat (illegible) nothing but things made with milk, such as *barfi*, *pera*, etc This is why they returned driven back by hunger before the battle is over No help is sent out to the fighting party This must be seen to Y M officials who are leagued with the English, and also Y M Queen and Hakeem wish to annoy the army and to drive them away and to admit the English whom they have called hither " It was explained to them that "none are in league with the English, but parties who were at enmity make such (illegible) against each other, that as the officials had nothing to say to the army Mirza Moghul will arrange all they wished and furnish assistance to the troops, that all the officials should make arrangements in concert, that in this matter no orders were required from the King, that they called this a religious war, why then did they not assist their brethern in arms Such complaints were improper " They requested, besides the Princes, officers might be appointed, both from old royal troops and the new levees who should lead them to the attack and see that all the sepoys did their duty The King answered that he had no old or new servants acquainted with the military art, that if any one was appointed it would be of no use

In the Hansi Irregular Cavalry or the Lukhia Paltan there was a Rangar Harun Bakhsh Khan who one evening came to the door of the King's apartments and said, "There is certain information that a large quantity of magazine stores laden on hundreds of carts are coming to some place. The chaudri of the *gariwans* is with me If he can get from the Government the price of the carts and cattle he will (illegible) them all on fire." This news was communicated through Basant Ali. The King answered, " Where can so (much) money be procured (from) and what proof is there that these are so many carts of magazines

stores, and that this man is their owner?" The Rangar answered, "I'll be responsible. Give nothing now except a signed paper agreeing to pay 50,000 Rs in the event of my account being true and the magazine being fired" He was told that no Munshi was then present, but that he should receive the papers next day. The Risalahdar above mentioned was importunate saying, "the time is passing by, and then nothing can be done Let this paper be at once made out I'll make it" His Majesty said," Very well" After a while he brought it ready written and when seal was affixed took it away with him But no result appeared, nor did we hear of magazine carts being fired. But this Risalahdar was always ill disposed and was always accusing the King's officials plotting with the English He was most particular to abuse me and Mahbub Ali Khan and even extorted an agreement from Mahbub Ali Khan to the effect that if he joined himself to the English, and it was proved, he might inflict on him, whatever punishment he thought proper Afterwards this Risalahdar went with Prince Muhammad Azim to administer Hansi and Hissar.

The Princes, and especially Mirza Moghul complained of Kazi Fazlullah (Faizullah?) that he had taken and then let loose several *Krames*[35] and that he, with his colleagues took bribes in many cases. A parwanah was addressed to him calling for an explanation He answered that according to Khizr Sultan's orders and the orders signed by the King he had released them and had taken nothing from nobody (anybody?) and that Muhammad Hussain Khan acting under Mirza Khizr Sultan's orders had taken them away With this explanation he sent in his resignation Mirza Moghul accepted and appointed Mubarak Shah in his place.[36]

The King was informed that the sepoys were plundering the house of Kanhiya Lal servant in the Post Office The man sent by (illegible) cried out for redress with great importunity at the door of the King's apartments Mirza Moghul was directed to go at once himself or send one of the Princes to put a stop to plundering

In the afternoon it was reported that the bazaar of the Braziers (*kasera*) was being plundered Mirza Moghul was ordered to go off himself and to tell the officers of the army that such oppressive treatment of the people was improper [37]

The King was informed that Khizr Sultan for the last two days was in the house of Gungu the Kulavati, and releasing and imprisoning whom he wished.

The King ordered that Maulavi Faiz Ahmad who had come from Agra should be brought forward When he came all the office work was made over to him, and the Munshi was directed to write to all the thanahdars and kotwal that they would send their applications to the Maulavi, and obey his orders, that the Princes had no jurisdiction in the matter, and that the Maulavi should bring important cases before the King, that he should write daily an abstract of the thanah reports, and bring it before the King [38]

A petition came from Bakht Muhammad Khan General of the Bareilly army stating that he was approaching with artillery and troops and requesting a place for encamping A parwanah was written directing him to come next day into the city by way of the Bridge and encamp outside the Delhi Gate Next day in the morning the King ordered that Ahmad Kuli Khan should bring him with him When the Khan (Bakht) reached the Bridge it was found that the Bridge was broken and that the artillery could not be brought across Then Mirza Khizr Sultan *came with Ahmad Kuli Khan to the King* and represented the matter, saying that Bakht Khan was enraged at the breaking of the Bridge Orders were given for its immediate repairs, the money for same to be disbursed by Mirza Moghul [39]

The next day Bakht Khan presented himself before the King with the Risalahdars and officers of his Regiment and the jehadis who were with him. But contrary to etiquette he did not make his obeisance at the *Red Purdah*, nor did his companions, and though many people remonstrated with him he paid no attention When he came near the King's Chair in the Diwan Khas, he salaamed as though to an equal, and merely taking his sword from his side, presented it to the King The King was chafed (?) at this want of courtesy, but praised the bravery of his troops. The Risalahdar Muhammad Shafi[40] and Maulavi Imdad Ali said, "Your Majesty should bestow a sword and buckler on Bakht Khan, for he deserves them, and such a favour is but proper for such a chief" At first the King excused himslef, saying they are not ready, but being importuned called for them from the armoury, and bestowed them on Bakht Khan But even then he offered no *nazr* to the King He said "I hear that you have given the Princes jurisdiction on the army. That is bad Give the power to me, and I will make proper arrangements, What do these people know of the customs, etc, of the English army?" The King answered, " The Princes were appointed at the request of the officers of the army " He was then dismissed [41]

The King was informed that the quarter inhabited by the Dasas (a caste of *Banya*) was being plundered, and that many of them had been shot down by the sepoys Mirza Abdullah was ordered to set off at once and to tell Mirza Moghul to ride off and save these poor people. Several sepoys seized and brought a man in the afternoon and said, "This is the Patiala Raja's *vakil* This paper, written by him has been seized " It was read In truth it contained an account of the cruelties licensed (?) by the troops on the people of the city. The sepoys asked permission to kill him The man complained saying, "I have written nothing but the truth I am a Sayyad, I shall be wrongfully killed if you don't interfere," and then represented that the Sayyad was a Mussalman and a truthful man, that to kill him was contrary to Muhammadan Law If he were to be imprisoned for a short time it would not matter The King so ordered The sepoys were very much dissatisfied and said, " This Hakeem is in league with the Patiala Raja and moreover sends information through news-writers In the evening the officers of the army came and represented the same matter The King said, " You are mistaken He has no connection with the Patiala Raja but merely stated what is enjoined by the Muhammadan Law "

Orders were sent to keep the *vakil* carefully in the Kotwali, and to let no one take him there until the King ordered

A petition came from Jhansi sawars stating that they were in the neighbourhood of the city and would make their apparance as soon as permitted and encamp where they were ordered Mirza Moghul was ordered to write a parwanah, calling them in, and to tell them to emcamp at the Ajmer Gate, as there was no room inside the city [42]

The next day a proclamation was issued through Maulana Sarfaraz Ali[43] and Abdul Ghafur who were with Bakht Khan calling on all the inhabitants of the city, Hindus and Mussalmans, to obey his orders [44]

In the afternoon the kotwal reported that Bakht Khan had ordered **3rd July**
all the inhabitants of the city to go about armed, that any one going about unarmed would be liable to punishment Orders were given to thanahdars to publish the order in all the quarters of the city and to obey all his orders

Two servants of Raja Ajeet Singh, son of the Patiala Raja's paternal uncle, came to me and said, that the sepoys had attacked his house and were plundering his property and had imprisoned the Raja I informed the King of this and orders were sent to Mirza Moghul, and several darwans were sent to the Kotwali to being Ajeet Singh behind Mirza Moghul His Majesty came out and Raja narrated the story of being

plundered imprisoned and brought barefoot The King ordered Mirza Moghul to enquire into the matter and punish the sepoy who had plundered the Raja and give the Raja a guard of Hindustanis and sepoys [45]

After this a petition was delivered through Bakht Muhammad Khan from general Ghaus Muhammad Khan of Neemuch[46] Brigade and the officers of the Regiment Sudar Singh, etc brought draft of an answer was with its * The contents (were) as follows "His Majesty is delighted at our appearing here Come here quickly and with the consent of Lord Governor General Bakht Khan attack this Pahari" A clean copy was made and signed

Next day Maulavi Sarfaraz Ali and Munshi Khairat Ali appeared and begged that the title of Gr should be conferred on Bakht Khan, for the whole army would not obey him till this title was conferred and evils existing in the army would be best remedied The Munshi gave a paper in which was written that Muhammad Khan was appointed Governor General and CinC (Commander-in-Chief) of all the forces The King signed it, and the rough draft of several parwanahs to the effect that the Khan alone was to command and that the Princes had nothing to say to the army These orders were issued by the evening At night Bakht Khan came His title as Gr were (was?) proclaimed before him and having borrowed 5 or 6 gold Mohars from the Queen presented them to the King as his offering

Next day in the afternoon (illegible) Qanbar (?) and Tale Yar Khan, with other officers of the regiment gave in a very long petition to the King saying, "Bakht Khan was an officer of artillery You have conferred on him the title of Governor General and proposed to place us all under his order It is contrary to the rules of Government He is not fit for such a trust You have dismissed your sons and appointed him This does not please us Some few of us have brought treasure He has distributed what he obtained among his sepoys and not given you a farthing Besides this, since he has been here, he has not once attended the Darbar What claims has he? If your Majesty wishes to keep (help?) you then allow us to select in concert, with the Princes, from the several regiments, such men as are fit to be general, and bring them up to you for confirmation of their appointment Let the sepoys fight under their own officers so that there be no new complaints that no help is sent out to them" His Majesty taking the petition said that they would get an answer next day The Munshi was ordered to send a copy of this petition to Bakht Khan that he might suggest an answer This

*It appears that the translator forgot to add or strike off some words here, because in its present form the sentence is not complete

was done, and the other petitions were given as the King was riding out[47] All were sent to Mirza Moghul to arrange as he thought fit Another petition came from Ghaus Muhammad through Bakht Khan saying that he was approaching, that Bakht Khan had written that he must first assault the Pahari of Alipur, but that he couldn't do so until* he had presented himself and procured the munitions of war[48]

After it was read it was returned to Bakht Khan's servants

In the evening the King was informed that Mirza Abu Bakr with his cavalry had attacked the Teraha Bairam Khan Quarter, and in a state of intoxication had wounded 2 or 3 men, had seized the Naib-Kotwal's horse and plundered the house of Munshi Ikramuddin and Farkhundah Zamani Begum His Majesty was very much displeased and wrote a parwanah to Bakht Khan to go at once with sawars, take Abu Bakr prisoner and bring him to the King After this it was ascertained that Mirza Abu Bakr was at Mirza Moghul's house Mirza Khizr Sultan was sent to take him prisoner and the sawars with him, and to proclaim that he was dismissed from the command of the Cavalry July 6th.

A cavalry officer probably of Gwalior contigent came and said that Mir Nawab had taken the jewels belonging to Musammat Piari Begum who was kept by the Gurgain Sahib, that (illegible) of her property and vessels were with a zamindar at Gurgaon, that if some sawars and camels were sent with them they would bring the property and a small gun He was sent to Mirza Moghul that he might arrange as he suggested July 6th

Next day that officer brought the property and vessels and a small gun and (illegible) them July 7th.

The khazanchi represented that very little money was left in the Treasury, not even 10,000 rupees and that the expenses of the powder magazine etc, etc, were great Some arrangement must be made A parwanah was addressed to Mirza Moghul in the evening He stated that " I informed all the officers of the low state of the Treasury, that a parwanah should be written to the officers of the Neemuch army either to bring 5 lakhs from Muttra from Luchmi Chand or his gumashta who should accept the post of Fotehdar,[49] and also to the Jhajjar Nawab, to send a loan at once of 5 or 6 lakhs and that money should be secured from all *sahukars* and men of ranks and the officials of the late English Government who were all men of wealth, that business could go on, that until the batteries in the Pahari are taken the country could

*In the document the word 'until' has been misspelt Necessary corrections have been made.

not be settled, that unless this was done the money could not be procured "

At this time Mirza Khizr Sultan came and said that if he were not interfered with he would levy 3 lakhs from the *sahukars* of the city The King agreed and the Munshi was directed to write orders to the officers of the Neemuch army and to the Jhajjar Nawab

Bakht Khan sent an unsigned petition from Raja Gulab Sing to the effect that he was about to march with a force to Delhi, that he would polish off the Patiala Raja on the road for he had behaved very badly in assisting the English , that he had also abused him, so he had heard , that Dost Muhammad Khan ruler of Kabul was his friend, that he would join with his troops when told to do so A parwanah was written (illegible) Bakht Khan which Maulavi Sarfaraz Ali signed [50]

After this Bakht Khan sent a petition to the King stating that "Maulavi Sarfaraz Ali is Head of the Jehadis All the Musalmans and the people of the city have been told to go to him, that His Majesty should enjoin on Hakeem Ahsanullah Khan and Maulavi Mahbub Ali[51] and Maulavi Sadruddin[52] to go out on a Jehad with the Maulavis and nobles of the city "

The order was passed that whoever wished he might accompany them, that the Hakeem and nobles were not acquainted with the art of the war, what use would there be ? If they had to fight with swords they might do something, but what against firearms ?

A petition came in from Neemuch army that Luchmi Chand Seth had gone on a pilgrimage, that his gumashtah had not so much money, that they were near at hand and would encamp where they were ordered They were told to encamp on the unoccupied maidan between the Turkman and Delhi Gate 2 or 3 days after some sawars (probably of Jhansi) came They were ordered to encamp with the Neemuch troops

Mirza Moghul sent a petition on the part of all the officers of the Regiments that the affairs of the army could not be administered until the Court was established , that the following individuals were eligible Many names were written A parwanah was sent in reply

They Royal family petitioned saying 'the second month is going on, and we have received no pay, and are hard up ' The servants gave in a similar petition through the eunuchs of the household The Queen was ordered to make the best arrangements she could for the distribution of the pay She said, " I can arrange at once for the payment of 60,000 Rupees " The King ordered that " the balance should be paid

from the Treasury. The advance shall be paid when the remittance comes from Jhajjar and *sahukars* have paid in what they have promised " Then the Queen went to her house She returned with 60,000 Rupees, laden in *raths*, getting the balance from the Treasury She distributed the pay.

Mirza Khizr Sultan represented that he had levied 25,000 Rupees, from the Panjabi merchants and remitted to Mirza Moghul for expenses of the army and that he would levy more from the mahajans and it in *

Between 5 or (and?) 6 p m the King rode off to Salimgarh when all at once a great smoke was seen in the direction of the south quarter of the city As there was a great smoke, it was thought that the magazine contained in the house of Begum Sumroo[53] in the Churigars Quarter was on fire Enquiry was directed to be made and water conveyed thither. A man came running from my house and stated that as soon as the fire broke out, a thousand sepoys attacked my house and commenced burning it, carrying off all my property and that they had beaten and kicked out all my servants [54] On hearing this I immediately went to the Diwan Khas and on the King's return from his airing told my story The King's servants were ordered to go and stop the sepoys and then return Mirza Moghul was to be despatched thither, when the cavalcade reached the gate of the Nakkar Khana then people said that Mirza Moghul was coming himself and that a large body of sepoys were coming along, making a great row and exclaiming that the Hakeem had fired the powder magazine, that they were coming to seize him and that the cavalcade ought not to go in that direction Then it returned to the Diwan Khas and Mirza Moghul came When he reached the door the Telingas[55] also came up Several of them ran forward with drawn swords Mirza Moghul and the others with him seized their *hands and the cavalcade came inside the oratory The King seized* my hand, and took me aside The row went on outside I heard that nearly 1000 sepoys remained collected there till the evening They sent word by the eunuchs, and Mirza Moghul and Khizr Sultan that the Hakeem was in league with the English, that he should be given up to them and imprisoned till the Pahari was taken His Majesty refused and said that no confidence was to be placed in their assertions that he would never give me up In short this dispute continued for two hours At last Basant Ali Khan eunuch of the household and Kale Khan came and said to the King, ' If you don't give the Hakeem they will come

* The last three words should have been struck off

in (illegible) and seize him" I then begged that the King should no longer keep me with him, that I would take my chance God forbid that I should bring His Majesty to shame and disgrace Then the King sent Mirza Moghul and Mirza Hussain Bakhsh to extract the promise that the Hakeem's life should be saved and that he should remain in his usual residence in the Fort, and that a guard should be placed at his door to prevent his going elsewhere, and that one of his sons, both these brothers and two other gentlemen should remain with the Hakeem who should be put to no inconvenience and that if they should consent to this he would send the Hakeem out If not let them do what they liked In short after a while all came and agreed I went out with the Princes Gauri Shankar was quieting the sepoys Apparently they showed great friendship for me, and then Mirza Khizr Sultan, Kaisar, Hussain Bakhsh brought me with a guard to my house In short I remained in confinement from that time Next day the King ordered that the Government sepoys should take charge and protect me When they reached my house they found such a crowd of sepoys that they could not remain Many of them said that the sepoys would not let them enter the house The King on hearing this was enraged and calling Mirza Moghul declared that they all were plundering in concert and that he had put up the army to confine the Hakeem He denied the charge and said that he would see all put right In short they plundered the house day and night [(a)] At last on the 3rd day General Tale Yar Khan went with guns and stopped the plundering. Then they broke open a built up room in which my niece's dowery was deposited and a house in which her father resided and plundered them of all the valuable property they contained and the rest Tale Yar Khan pacing (packing?) put up on the *salitas* with many bundles brought to the Diwan Khas They ordered that they should be put into a room which should be locked up and a guard put over it Tale Yar Khan begged that the Bheeshtees be ordered to put out the fire as the house was still burning The King ordered that the Kotwal should take a large number of Bheeshtees and put out the fire [(b)] Anwar Mahal's eunuch told the King that his house and Mir Nawab's who was Haidar Ali's son-in-law and Raja Mohan Lal's brother's houses had been plundered owing to their vicinity to the powder magazine, and that the doors and window frames had been taken away The King ordered that Mirza Moghul should at once see to it Their petitions too were referred to him that he might at once take charge of their property.

(a) See Kedar Nath

(b) Kedarnath's Journal, date 7th & 8th August.

Mirza Moghul was told to send the Hakeem to the King that H M. might enquire into his circumstances

He said that the members of the Court were not present, that without their permission the guards would not obey his orders His Majesty was displeased and remained silent In the morning he called him again. He sent word that the officers who assaulted the pahari at night had not yet returned, that when they returned the members of the Court would wait on His Majesty and arrange the matter [56]

The King was informed through the eunuchs of the household that yesterday when the Hakeem's house was plundered all the houses in that ward, both of rich and poor, had been plundered, and that the sepoys had carried off money and property of great value from the house of Tan(?) Kishore Vakeel and also from Ahmad Khan Risalahdar's house The King ordered all the sufferers to give in a list of their property with their petitions and sent word to Mirza Moghul to enjoin on all to give up the plundered property of his subjects, that the sepoys had plundered the Hakeem's house on the pretext that as a friend to the English he had fired the powder magazine On what pretext had they plundered the rest? What was their fault? From this it was clear that thier only object was plunder

Next day Maulavi Fazl Hakk came, and presented a *nazr* and was loud in the praise of the bravery of the rebel army He added that 'now was the time for giving them assistance, both in the way of money and supplies that they obtain some repose (from their hardships)' The King answered, 'where's the money?' Besides supplies come in but scanty owing to their illtreatment of the people of the city and country [57] The Maulavi answered, "All His Majesty's servants are incompetent Let money be demanded from all the gentry far and near and let an intelligent individual be appointed to procure supplies My sons and relatives will do work of Tehseeldars and also procure supplies" The King answered, "You are on the spot Do you make arrangements" He begged that a parwanah of appointment to the Tehseeldari and collectorship of Gurgaon should be granted to my (his?) nephew and others (?)[58] , that they would arrange everything, that parwanahs should be addressed to the Raja of Alwar[59] and the chiefs of Jhajjar, Balabhgarh and Patiala, that although the last was apparently leagued with the English, yet if a friendly correspondence were opened with him he would come over

The King said that a parwanah had been despatched by Bakht Khân to Patiala Raja agreeably to the request of Pirzadah Abu Islam,

that no answer had yet been received The Maulavi said that he was to write to his borther, who was a servant of the Raja's to send an answer quickly Whenever the Maulavi used to come and see the King, he used to advise him to encourage his subjcets to fight, and to go out with them, and to pay the troops as best he could, otherwise if the English were victorious not only would the House of Taimur but all the Musalmans also be exterminated

The King ordered that parwanahs should be written, as the Maulavi suggested and quickly despatched [60]

Khadir Bakhsh officer of the Sappers and Miners, who was present, said to the Maulavi, " Do you yourself write out the rough draft, and get them (it ?) copied before you The people here are in league with the English The King gives one order and they write another "

On the third day the King sent a parwanah blaming Mirza Moghul for not allowing Hakeem Ahsanullah Khan to come to him when he was ill, although he had made him over at the Mirza's entreaty, and for imprisoning him wrongfully, that it was all very fine (?), and that he would release the Hakeem himself, and depart with him to Khwajah Sahib's shrine (*i e* the *Kutb*) and he'd like to see any one stop him In short when this parwanah was issued, all the officers of the regiment infantry and cavalry and the Princes met at the balcony of the Lahori Gate and determined that the Hakeem should be allowed to visit the King twice a day to feel his pulse and prescribe for him and then return home, and that interfere in no business whatever A petition to this effect was written At night the Princes and officers came and took the Hakeem with them to the door of the King's apartments The King called the Hakeem and the Princes inside and spoke of his own health He then said, " These Princes have been the ruin of my old age. No good will come of this traitor army The end of it will be that we shall all of us be killed and the army after plundering us will run off " Ahsanullah Khan* said, " I have no wish to serve, since this army came I have done nothing I had better give in my resignation I am no longer fit to doctor the King " The King answered," This will never do " In short we were then dismissed

In the morning a parwanah was issued that all the officers should publish that all the Hakeem's property had been plundered and his house burnt to the ground, that if any one belonging to the army went to his house and illtreated him blood would be shed and that no redress would be got out of the King Mirza Moghul was told that all the

* The author has used "I' for himself, except on this occasion, Probably the translator has put his name here.

Shahzadas' signatures should be affixed after that of the King and also the signatures or " his marks " of the officers, and that the proclamation should be posted on the gate of the Hakeem's house. General Tale * Yar Khan was ordered to search for a native officer, I believe of the 9th N I, restore the Hakeem's plundered property

An officer of the cavalry came with Mirza Nadir Bakht and Kalandar Bakhsh *Budmaash* and represented that the Nawab of Jhajjar had not yet sent any money to the King, that if he were ordered to do so he would take those two individuals with him and bring the money quickly, that Bakht Khan had written him an order, which he showed Permission was granted him to do, as he proposed

According to Maulavi Sarfaraz Ali's request a parwanah was sent to Tula Ram who had been appointed to Rewari to remit 5000 Rs in return for his sanad of appointment and 10,000 Rs in account of balance of the Kharif List (?)

Maulavi Liakat Ali[61] chief of the Jehadi's of Allahabad came with Bakht Muhammad Khan He was appointed Soubah of those parts (Allahabad) and a parwanah was addressed to Khan Bahadur Khan,[62] calling for money

Next day all the officers assembled first at Mirza Moghul's house, then at the King's and represented that money would never be collected until the King impressed on the chief men of the city the necessity of so doing The King said, ' very well ' Let Mirza Moghul issue orders to all Consequently all Hindus and Musalmans were called on, and Mirza Moghul was told that he should tell all to unite and make such arrangement that the people should not be disturbed and get the army be provided for

One day after this the King was informed that the sepoys had confined and brought Munshi Agha Jan and Munshi Saadat Ali both of whom had filled the office of Head Munshi at Ajmer, and were now, I believe, pensioners, that they had confined them at Lahori Gate of the Fort and said that they would not release them until they paid a lakh of rupees

After this Kadir Bakhsh officer of the Sappers and Miners came and said that, "Khwajah Wahiduddin, eldest son of Dabiruddaulah Khwajah Farid Khan is one of the ancient nobility You ought to have such a man about you He undertakes to collect a lakh of rupees from the nobles of the city The two Munshis who are confined are among those nobles "

*This mark * is given in the manuscript.

The King ordered the members of the Court to release these two Munshis. The order was sent to Mirza Moghul to release them at once. In the afternoon Maulavi Sadrud-Din Khan Principal Sadr Amin came, and said, " Munshi Agha Jan is my brother in-law and has been wrongfully confined A lakh of rupees is demanded from him He is a helpless pensioner True he has some few thousand rupees worth of property If His Majesty wishes he may take it, but where has he that amount in cash ?" He was told that " the order for his release has been issued at Kadir Bakhsh's request, but he must pay up the quota at which Khwajah Wahiduddin has assessed him "

After this the King was informed that the members of the court had confined the merchants of the city and were treating them cruelly Mirza Moghul was ordered to forbid them and not allow such illtreatment of the King's subjects, that the people were done to death, that it was better to take what each agreed to give and to realize it by gentle means He replied, " Maulavi Sadrud-Din Khan[a] Aminuddin Khan[b] Ziadud-Din Khan[c] and Hukeem Abdul Nakki[d] (?) have promised each to give 500 rupees We have not meddled with them These are the recusants who won't contribute The members of the Court will not therefore listen to me "

After this the sepoys having collected came and represented that " the officers composing the Court embezzle the money they get , let the Court be abolished and two sepoys of each regiment sit together and constitute a Court, that the money as it was collected daily should be lodged in the Treasury and be expended after the receipt of His Majesty's authority " Their request was granted and premission given to Mirza Moghul to carry out this arrangement

Two or three days after a petition was given in complaining that Bakht Muhammad Khan was confining the *sahukars* and people of the city and extorting money from them and would listen to no excuse or promises to bring the coin money, for instance, he has extorted from Maharaja Raj Debe Singh and Raja Salig Ram, having first put them into confinement and had confined several other citizens

Maulavi Sarfaraz Ali who always remained in attendance told them to explaim to Bakht Khan that such oppressiveness was wrong The members of the Court came and said, " The gumashta of Seth Luchmi

(a) The Government Principal Sadar Amin

(b) Nawab of Loharu

(c) Brother of No. 2

(d) Mukhtar of Raja of Bulumgarh: Hanged

Chand has been taken in the camp of the Bareilly troops Release him quickly else there will be a row "

The Maulavi was ordered to go at once and release him as he had already given his contributions of money.

I believe that the next day but one the members of the Court assembled and sent an order to Mirza Moghul, and also to all the thanahdars and to the kotwal to call on all shopkeepers in the bazaar for 3 months rent, that if they refused to pay it, the shops should be at once plundered and themselves imprisoned The rent of the several of the bazaar was realized by evening 7th Sep. See Kedar Nath

Two days after this I believe that the members of the Court summoned to the Lahori Gate of the Fort Wahidud-Din Khan, Hakeem Abdul Nakki, Nawab Ahmad Kuli Khan, Nawab Hamid Ali Khan and Lala Mukand Lal and demanded a lakh of rupees from them and told them to get the money as best they could, as it was wanted for the pay of the army or else they'd be imprisoned They said, " We can pay 2 (2000?) or 4000 rupees Take that Take our property Where is there so much cash amount (with) us? In short we can each pay 500 Rs " They gave no heed and confined them all, and would'nt obey the King's order for their release 9th Sep.

The Queen was informed that Lala Ramjee Mull Sahu Gurwala had been seized and that a large amount of money was demanded from him The Queen got the King to seek a special permission stating that he had already given large loans, and that his first loan, negotiated by Mahbub Ali Khan had not yet been paid, that he was to be released at once Particular injunctions were sent to Mirza Moghul He was accordingly released at once

Next day the King called up Tale Yar Khan and Gori Shankar and gave them strict orders for the release of the nobles, and to bring them at once to him, else he would go himself to release them 10th Sep.

In the evening Ahmad Kuli Khan and the rest were brought to the King Soubah Bakht Muhammad Khan also came and represented that the wakeel of the present king (*Wali*) of Lucknow[62] had brought a petition and a *nazr*, the same from Yusuf Ali Khan, chief of Rampur,[63] and Khan Bahadur Khan,[64] that the wakeels would take up their quarters where His Majesty should direct

He was told to lodge them where he thought proper, and to bring them the next day but one in the afternoon and to bring for His Majesty's inspection next morning the horses he had brought from Babugarh, and also the elephants He answered, " Very well " And what did he

next morning but bring indifferent horses and colts and left the good horses in his own camp! Some one told Mirza Moghul of this Mirza Moghul told the King privately On hearing this and seeing such indifferent horses the King was much disappointed and put out He said, "Put some of the horses into the Artillery, keep the rest As you have got the good horses you may as well have the bad ones too." He answered, "The horses have been given to horse sawars with me whose horses have been killed in battle I have taken none for myself. He then represented that if the King would ride out to attack the pahari the whole city would accompany him, and they would gain a complete victory The King answered, "I haven't the strength to do so, as for the people of the city they neither have firearms nor know how to use them. This is the condition too of the royal troops who have rusty old swords and haven't handled any weapons for years What good will their accompanying you do ?" Bakht Khan replied, "Quite true! but Your Majesty's good fortune (*ikbal*) will do the business"

At midnight Mirza Khizr Sultan, at Bakht Khan's orders and the instigation of Kudratullah Khan published a proclamation in the city, calling on all the people to go to the Fort, as His Majesty's suite would move to the attack of the pahari I heard that many men armed with sticks only, some few with swords and four or five with muskets assembled at the Fort and found that the King was in bed, and the Princes all asleep all night (?), in the early morning they returned home

Next day Maulavi Sarfaraz Ali and Maulavi Abdul Ghafur and many Maulavis from outside came to the King after 12 o clock and importuned him to ride forth, and take his troops with him otherwise the sepoys would make a disturbance asking, "Why does not the King send out his servants to attack the pahari if he is in truth the enemy of the English ? Although the order has been given (*i e* to attack the pahari) yet the King's servants never advance beyond the Lahori Gate. True some boys went one day with the sepoys and their officer was wounded and died. The Kamona (?) youth, *i e* Sirdar went out daily to the attack. He too, 4 days ago, was severely wounded." In short they continued to talk thus until the King, unable to help himself, set out [65]

At this moment some officers of the army came up Having gone out of the Fort by the Delhi Gate they stopped at the Ellenborough Tank (Lal Diggi) As soon as I heard the news I went too At that time people about the King said, "Advance and place the guns on the further side of the magazine The cavalcade was about to move on when I remonstrated and said, "Pray don't advance but return to the

" Fort for balls are flying about here even " After much discussion about the time of afternoon prayers (i e. 4 p m) the cavalcade returned the Fort. I said, " These people bring disgrace on Your Majesty for nothing You never ought to have ridden forth " The King replied, " Those Maulavis rendered me powerless " I said " God forbid that the sepoys should take Your Majesty out to the front of the battle, and then run off and you be taken prisoner Never. You had better mused what they say

Next day Muhammad Khan came and said, "It is all false what people say about the Europeans having entered the city and taken two of the Gates On the day of the assault nearly 100 men entered the city most of whom have been killed The army will soon dispose of the survivors But there is a great scarcity of gun powder and the troops can't get even parched gram (?) If Your Majesty give the money the matter will soon be arranged " The King replied, " See, what there is in the Treasury, and take " Mirza Khizr Sultan stated that there was about 2000 rupees cash in the Treasury Bakht Khan asked, "What can be done with that ? Let Your Majesty disburse some of the gold mohurs and *nazrs* which the chiefs of Lucknow, Rampur and Bareilly have presented " I heard that a portion of them were made over but did not hear who gave them as I was absent at that time

After this Kadir Bakhsh, officer of the Sappers and Miners, came and complimented the King on the assistance rendered by the Sappers and Miners to the fanatics by means of which the Europeans who had advanced to the bastions had been repulsed and the bastions left in their possession The sepoys who were present testified to the truth of his story [66]

There was a Brahman with Kadir Bakhsh, who told the King that if he were placed in a well protected house for three days and allowed whatever materials he required for creating odorous fumes he would contrive that the King should be victorious within 3 days. His Majesty replied, " Kadir Bakhsh may place you where he pleases." Kadir Bakhsh took him away saying he would arrange everything.[67]

The King was told that the gun powder was expended and that the officers of the several regiments wouldn't give up the barrels they had. The King ordered a list to be made out, showing what quantity each had. Mirza Moghul made out and gave in this list There were (illegible) 2000 barrels with the Maperts (54), Balumteer (38th N I) Baillee (20th N.I.) Ranseel (11th N.I) and Alexendar (74th) Regiments, all of them were told to give up the powder at once. None of them obeyed. Bakht Khan

presented to the King 40,000 Rs. sent by Tula Ram of Rewaree through Maulavi Sarfaraz Ali Bakht Khan was ordered to call in Tula Ram for the balance still due, Rs. 15,000, and to pay it into the Treasury.

On hearing the receipt of this sum the officers of the regiments with several officers of the cavalry came, and complained of being hard up. The artillery officers did the same The people of the magazine also asked for payment of their arrears The King grew angry and said, " Can you all be paid out of this sum ? Have patience and wait a little. Money will come in from other quarters, when all will be paid."

In the morning Mirza Moghul, and Mirza Khizr Sultan with several officers came, and demanded money and brought a written paper with them. The King ordered in the afternoon that each should receive some thing according to this paper Those who got nothing dunned violently, on which His Majesty took up his cushion from the throne and threw it down and said, " Send the horse harness, and the silver howdas and chairs to Mirza Moghul, that he may sell them and pay all with the proceeds I have nothing else left The matter was put off But in the morning particular orders were issued to send the chairs [68]

Next day in the evening Bakht Khan and Kadir Bakhsh of the Sappers and Miners, came and said that the King must go by stealth to the *Kutb* and send his womankind too for their lives were in danger if they remained They advised him to go by boat to Humayun's tomb and thence to the *Kutb* by palanqueen and that they would follow, that they would not have another such opportunity [69]

At first His Majesty made excuses but afterwards consented Mir Fath Ali was then directed to get ready one boat, and 2 palanqueens and bearers I heard that at midnight they got out by the door under the lattices and embarked When the Queen and the Royal family heard of the King's departure they set out without any luggage. When the cavalcade reached Humayun's tomb (the Madrassah, *Marif*) they said that it would be difficult to reach the *Kutb*, that all had lost heart, and never could reach the place The party therefore alighted at the tomb. All the household furniture was placed and left in the Diwan Khas and the doors were closed, the jewels excepted Such was the case with the inner apartments and the Nau Mahal

All the residents of the Palace went off, leaving their property behind them.

I was in my own house that evening and was unable to get out of the Fort owing to the vast crowd of sepoys in the Bazaar and at the principal gate. On the morning of Friday I sent a man who returned saying the

door of the Diwan Khas was closed. I heard nothing more. But in the afternoon of the same day one of the residents of the Fort ascertained the fact, I have recorded above. Being astounded I wrote a petition to the King asking the reason of his departure without informing me of it. In the evening a reply came summoning me and saying that a verabl explanation of the King's bad case would be given me.

In reply to the above I sent another petition in the morning stating that my bearers and syce had run off, and that I had no means of travelling, that if His Majesty would furnish me with a conveyance I would go off at once to him.

In the afternoon of Saturday two elephants came, on one of which I placed my things and on the other my brother Hakeem Ghulam Najjaf Khan[70] and myself. We started for the tomb towards the close of the afternoon. On the road the mutineer army abused me and called me a Christian. In short I reached the King in the evening and at night the conversation turned at the conduct of the army to the King.

(Foot-notes will be published in a subsequent issue)

THE ARMY OF THE GREAT MUGHULS

by

I. H. QURESHI

(A discussion of the mansabdari system has been excluded from this article).

The Mughuls looked upon the cavalry as the main arm of their forces. In the beginning it was organized in a haphazard manner. Bābur and Humāyūn depend upon the warrior leaders who had their own troops, every one of those leaders was paid in accordance with his importance, which was determined by the effectiveness of his contingent in war. During the first two reigns, the territories under the direct and effective control of the monarchs were not too far flung for the emperors to have reliable information regarding the condition of these contingents; in any case, almost continuous warfare provided an infallible test of their quality. These conditions began to change after the first few years of Akbar's reign, and some of the inherent defects of the system began to come to the surface. The officers failed to maintain the strength of their contingents; therefore, in the eleventh year of the reign all the officers were required to maintain the number of the troops prescribed in each instance[1]. The salaries which were to be paid to the troops were also prescribed. These steps, however, proved ineffectual. The officers drew the salaries of the prescribed number of the troops without maintaining the full strength of their contingent. They would hire extra men at the time of the muster and dismiss them as soon as the inspection was over.

Akbar had been conscious of the existence of these malpractices for some time when he decided to impose further measures to eradicate the abuses in the nineteenth year of his reign.[2] The first of these was the establishment of the *mansabdari* system, which fixed the pattern for the higher officers. It gave them a well-defined rank and laid down well-understood obligations. Besides, Akbar ordered that the descriptive rolls of the troopers should be registered to prevent fraud; similarly the horses brought by the troopers should be branded to prevent their transfer to other troopers still awaiting registration. These measures

1 *Akbarnamah*, ii, p. 270.
2 *Idem*, iii, pp. 116, 117.

were opposed by some of the officers, specially by Akbar's foster brother, Mirzā, 'Azīz Kokah. Akbar punished the Mirzā by depriving him of his *manṣab* for some time and putting him under house arrest. Other officials as well who had opposed the reform were left in no doubt of imperial displeasure ; they were forbidden attendance at court for some time and were transferred to Bengal.[3] Thus by showing determination and strength, the Emperor succeeded in enforcing these important measures. It is obvious that Akbar not only demonstrated in this way that he could not be thwarted in important matters, but also broke the power of the nobles by making them entirely dependent upon the throne. So long as the emperors were able to enforce these measures, the servants of the Empire were not able to defy its mandates. This reform had also its counterpart in the field of revenue administration, because the system could not be expected to work satisfactorily unless the real income from the assignments given in lieu of cash payments for the salaries of the *manṣabdārs* and their soldiers was correctly defined For this purpose, all assignments were temporarily taken over by the State and salaries were paid in cash [4] Assignments were given again after a series of measures brought consistency and method in the calculation of the yield from every area. These reforms were of a basic nature and contributed in no small measure to the strength of the Empire and the power of the monarch

The *Ā'īn* has an important passage regarding the different categories of officers and soldiers, a proper understanding of which depends upon a correct interpretation of the text ; hence it is necessary to insert a faithful translation here ·

" As this group was large in numbers, (the Emperor) divided it into several categories.

" The branding of horses was prescribed for some, and the recognition of status and the registration of descriptive rolls came into great vogue ;

" Some were assigned to (a commander) to obey him and to accompany him :

" Those who were capable of (serving) individually were trusted (to do so) and were called *ahadīs* ;

" Some were considered to deserve leadership and were appointed as leaders ;

" And many worthy persons in want of resources were granted the

[3] *Idem*, iii, pp 147, 148.

[4] *Idem*, iii, p. 117.

wherewithal for mounts, and such were given the assignments without the horses receiving the brand ,

" The Tūrānīs and the Irānīs are given twenty-five rupees and Indians get twenty rupees, and those who are employed as workers of the *khāliṣah* fifteen rupees ;

" And these are called *barāwardīs* ,

" And some who find it difficult to find men are given under them those who have already submitted (their horses) to branding, this catagory is known as *dākhilīs* ,

" In the contingents of *dah hazārīs* are included up to *hazārīs*, of *haft hazārīs* up to *haft ṣadīs*, of *panj hazārīs* up to *panj sadis*, of *panj ṣadis* up to *sadīs*, a *mansabdārs* of less than this rank is not included in the contingent of a higher rank ,

"And some are given as auxiliaries, and they are known as *kumakīs* ,

" Today all emphasis is upon branding, and such soldiers are superior "[5]

The first division according to this passage is the basic one between the officers and the troopsers Those who are considered capable of holding a command were expected to bring their contingents for approval Those who were approved had their descriptive rolls registered and their horses branded This was intended to be the regular procedure Special circumstances, however, found recognition in other methods of recruitment A number of men were considered to be too good to be employed merely as soldiers, and therefore were given a higher rank, though not of an officer They were called *ahadīs* The *manṣabdārs* who brought their man to the muster and fulfilled all conditions or approved applicants for *manṣabs* who were in a position to fulfil the requirements received their assignments and drew full salaries in accordance with the rules There were however, men considered fit for commands but lacking the resources for raising a contingent If they had men who, given good horses, would make good cavalry-men, they were provided with the means for purchasing horses These men were paid only the basic salary for a horseman and were not given the higher salaries which were drawn by men bringing their own horses. These soldiers were called *barāwardīs* ; some of them were attached to *manṣabdārs* , others were employed by the State in essentially non-military duties The *Ā'in* gives the salaries of those who had to perform military duties under the *manṣabdārs* and also of those who rendered

[5] *Ā'in*, Book ii, A'in 1.

services " on the *khalişah lands* " It should be remembered that the principle of giving a military rank to civilians was not limited to the *manşabdārī* system , there were many civilians in subordinate positions who had military ranks Some were classified as *ahadīs* , others as ordinary troopers, as yet others as infantry men , though none of these were expected to fight as a part of their normal duties At lower levels, however, it was rare for a man to be transferred from civil to military duties

There were candidates for *mansabs* who were not in a position to furnish any men Similarly there must have been a class of troopers who have not been mentioned directly by Abu'l Fadl , many deserving men must have come with horses who were not sponsored by any *manşabdār* These men, if found deserving, were recruited and then assigned to those *manşabdārs* who had not furnished their own contingents The lower *manşabdārs* who were given such troops served as part of the contingent of a higher *manşabdār* The commander of a thousand could serve in the contingent of a *mansabdār* of ten thousand, a commander of seven hundred under a *manşabdār* of ten thousand, a commander of seven hundred under a commander of seven thousand, a commander of five hundred under a commander of five thousand, and a commander of a hundred under a commander of five hundred This would show that in case of commanders of *dākhilī* troops, a king of a graduated command could, at least theoretically, be built up , though it seems unlikely that commanders of more than a thousand had contingents of *dākhilī* troops alone without any *tābīnān* or *barāwardīs*

Some *manşabdārs* were assigned duties which required a larger number of troops than the size of their contingents , in such instance, they were given assistance in the form of an additional number of directly recruited troops which did not form part of their permanent contigents Such troops were called *kumakīs*, or auxiliaries They differed from the *dākhilīs* only in not being permanently attached to that *manşabdār*. Thus the main divisions of the cavalry were the *manşabdārs*, the *ahadīs*, the troopers recruited and maintained by the *manşabdārs* known as *tābīnān*, the *barāwardīs*, the *dākhilīs* and the *kumakīs* The main features of the *manşabdārī* system have been excluded from the scope of this article , here it would suffice to discuss the other categories of cavalrymen

The *ahadīs* were so called because they were employed individually and did not form part of any *manşabdār's* contingent They were,

in the words of the *Ā'īn*, "among the immediate servants of the Emperor" These were men who were not given *manṣabs*, but who were considered too good to be employed as ordinary troopers In the beginning some *ahadīs* maintained as many as eight horses, but later the maximum was fixed at five horses They had a separate *bakhshī* and a separate *dīwān* ; besides a *manṣabdār* with a high rank was entrusted with their general supervision They did form an elite corps, because they were paid higher salaries than ordinary soldiers ; but they were employed mostly singly and quite often on non-military errands [6] Many civilians had the ranks of *ahadīs*, being employed in administrative and clerical capacities In fact though they were sometimes good soldiers, they were not organized as a fighting force and were employed mostly for household duties

Towards the end with the decay of the Emperor's authority the *ahadīs* had so little to do, that their name became a by word for laziness and passed into the language for an extremely lazy person During the period of vigorous administration, however, they had plenty of work Indeed Abu'l Fadl tells us that an officer was assigned the duty of bringing a few good candidates every day for appointment as *ahadīs* As late as Bahadur Shah I's reign, it was found necessary to recruit four thousand and seven hundred extra *ahadīs* [7] The reasons are obvious, they were needed to fill many of the intermediate posts in the administration and to do a large number of household duties

The most important class of troopers were *tābīnān*, or the soldiers who were furnished by the *manṣabdārs* and formed their contingents They were the bulk of the Mughul cavalry and indeed the most important part of the fighting machine In the first instance they were recruited by the *manṣabdār* , then they were mustered for inspection by the *bakhshī* and sometimes even by the Emperor The horses were examined by an expert and their quality was determined. The trooper's salary was fixed in accordance with the number and the quality of his mounts Ten troopers were placed under the command of a *dahbāshī*, a commander of ten A contingent of ten cavalrymen was so composed that the number of horses exceeded the number of men This was achieved by classifying troopers as *yak aspah*, or having a single horse, *du aspah*, or having two horses, and *sihaspah*, or one having three horses In the beginning there were *chahar aspah* soldiers as well who mustered as many as four horses each, but this category was discontinued later The proportions varied at different times. In the

6 *Ā'īn*, Book ii, A'īn 4.
7 Irvine, p 44.

beginning of Akbar's reign the rule was to have two *chahār aspah*, three *sih aspahs*, three *du aspahs* and two *yak aspahs*, thus having a total of twenty five horses for ten soldiers This seems to have been abandoned as being unrealistic, and the proportion of three *sih aspahs*, four *du aspahs*, and three *yak aspahs* was prescribed, which brought the number of horses down to twenty for every ten troopers [8] This was further changed in course of time, for under Shāh Jahān we find that the highest proportion was three *sih aspahs*, six *du aspahs* and one *yak aspah* making the total of twenty two horses for ten troopers This ratio was maintained by a small number of *manṣabdārs* in their contingents The ratio varied in accordance with the number of months in the year for which the *manṣabdār* was entitled to draw his salary The ratio mentioned above of twenty two horses for ten men was maintained by those who drew their salaries for twelve months in the year, those who drew their salaries only for eleven months maintained twenty horses for every ten men Those who were entitled to a salary for ten months or less had no *sih aspah* soldiers in their contingents, the ratio worked out at eighteen, sixteen, fourteen and a half, twelve and a half, and eleven horses per ten men in the contingents of those who received salaries for ten, nine, eight, seven and six months respectively each year Those who received salaries for only five months every year maintained only *yak aspah* troopers, and, therefore, they had ten horses for every ten men [9] This is obviously a more complicated system than the one mentioned in the *Ā'in* that every contingent of ten soldiers had twenty horses.

The question arises here whether the basic difference between the original system and the one we find under Shāh Jahān of the proportion of horses varying from contingent to contingent in accordance with the number of months for which the salary was drawn by the *manṣabdār* originated in some form under Akbar. The system of not paying the full twelve months' salary in the year did exist in Akbar's reign The *Ā'in* mentions that the *ahadis* did not draw their salaries for twelve months ; it is not unlikely that the practice extended to the *manṣabdārs* as well , but we have no positive record of the fact [10] It is a little doubtful that such a complexity as the payment of salaries for some months in the year and varying the number of months in accordance with the proportion of horses to men should have been introduced all at once We have seen that the original ratio of twenty-five horses for

[8] *Ā'in*, Book ii, A'in 5

[9] *Padshahnamah*, ii, p. 507

[10] *Ā'in*, Book ii, A'in 4.

every ten soldiers was altered under Akbar for being unrealistic ; as the details of the system were still in an experimental stage, it is not outside the realm of probability that the idea of having a uniform proportion of twenty horses for every ten men also should have been abandoned fairly early as being impractical, because to find thirty percent men among the troopers who would bring to the muster three horses each and another forty per cent who would bring two horses each, specially when they had to purchase the horses themselves, could not have been easy at any time Akbar himself permitted the recruitment of *barāwardī* troopers, who knew horsemanship but could not afford to purchase horses This is an indication that the State did not have too large a supply of applicants for appointment as troopers who had their own horses , among such as did have their own horses, it would be difficult to find such a high proportion of men with more than one horse The shortage could not have been felt quite in the beginning, when the recruitment started, because those who had already been employed would seek confirmation under the new regulations, but when it came to men hitherto unemployed seeking employment, the situation must have altered and gradually it must have been found essential to change the original regulation As the system of recruiting *barāwardī* troops existed throughout the period, at no time could the supply of men bringing their own horses have been too great [11]

These considerations lead one to believe that the system originated under Akbar There is no positive record of a change in that reign because the main writing s on which we depend for information had been completed before the change, which must have evolved over some years It is not possible at any stage to find out exactly the porportion of horses to men in an over all estimate of the cavalry, because we have little evidence We know the names and ranks of *manṣabdārs* for certain periods, but we do not know for how many months each of them drew his salary , nor do we have a record of the number of horses

There has been some unnecessary controversy regarding the responsibility for paying the *tābīnān* Some of the earlier Western writers believed that the *manṣabdār* paid the *tābīnān* out of his personal salary. With the present clarity of the position regarding the *sawār* rank, it is obvious that the *dhāt* salary could not have included the salary of the *tābīnān* The evidence contained in various *dastur-'l-'amals* which give

[11] It existed under Shah Jahan, *vide* Moreland in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* 1936, p 662 , they are also mentioned in *Dastur-u'l-'amal*, B. M. ms. 599, f 144b, quoted by Irvine, p. 10 , *baradari* is obviously an error for *barawardi*

details of the payments made to the *manṣabdārs* for the *tābīnān* should have set the controversery at rest , actually the *Ā'in* itself makes it clear when, in connection with the regulations regarding the renewal of the brand, it lays down that a *manṣabdār* promoted to a higher rank received an immediate increase in his *dhāt* salary, but the payments on the basis of his increased contingent were made to him only after the first muster [12] Three *farmāns* existing in Jaipur archives make it amply clear that the *manṣabdār* received extra sums of money or assignment for paying the *tābīnān.* He was repsonsible for the disbursement alone [13]

The next important class of the troops were the *barāwardīs.* When they were attached to a *mansabdār*, he was responsible for disbursing their salaries, but he was reimbursed for the amount so spent The proportion of three *sih aspahs*, four *du aspahs* and three *yak aspahs* mentioned by the *Ā'in* seems to have been imposed upon the *barāwardī* contingents in accordance with evidence contained in some *dastur-u'l-'amals* [14] This seems to be probable in view of the reasons given in a previous paragraph regarding the difficulties involved in maintaining this porportion in the contingents of *tābīnān* Morelands' assumption that the *barāwardīs* were all *yak aspah*, therefore, does not seem to be justified [15] The *dastur-u'l-'amals* some times use the phrase *tābinān-i-barāwardī* for *barāwardī* troops placed under a *manṣabdār* , it was ovbously coined to distinguished this class on the one hand from the *tabinan* who brought and maintained their own horses and on the other from those *barāwardīs* who were not attached to *manṣabdārs* The number of *barāwardī* troops increased after Akbar and formed part of the contingent of a growing number of *manṣabdārs*

In the beginning the *tābīnān*, which literally means ' followers '., were generally men who had been attached to a *mansabdār* for some time ; sometimes they were bound to him by tribal ties or they came from a common home land. A *manṣabdār* sponsored them when he sought service ; they were known to him and he could rely upon their loyalty and support. This was truer in the beginning when the Mughul nobility had not had sufficient time for assimilation with those who had lived longer in the area , but the tradition continued ; either the *manṣabdārs* who settled down built up new ties or the local elements seeking service like the Rajputs or the Saiyids of Bārah had their own

12 *Ā'in*, Book ii, A'in 8.

13 *J I H* 1935

14 e g B M ms 6599, f 144b, quoted by Irvine, p 10

15 *J.I.H* 1935.

tribes and clans and preferred men who thus had close ties with them In spite of these factors the number of troopers who failed to find *manṣabdārs* who would be willing to have them as their *tābinān* continuously decreased and towards the end seems to have almost disappeared , In the beginning the odd troops who had their horses were recruited as *dākhilī* troops and were placed under the command of *manṣabdārs* who could not bring their own *tābīnān* Towards the end of the period the *dākhilīs* find little mention This is true of *kumakīs* as well

The *Ā'in* mentions the salaries of troopers Those who came from Central Asia or from Īrān received a higher salary, in all probability to make it attractive for these foreigners to migrate to the subcontinent The Muslim Empires of this region always encouraged migration from Muslim lands to strength themselves The foreigners were paid twenty-five rupees every month , the Indians were given twenty rupees if employed in a military capacity These salaries were subject to a deduction of five per cent, which the *mansabdārs* were entitled to charge as administrative commission for overhead charges There was a further deduction of a month's salary every year for paying the cost of the horse and other equipment given by the State until the debt was discharged The State charged a profit of fifty per cent upon the price of the horse, but because the government purchased horses at advantageous prices, the trooper was said to have paid a fair price The *tābīnān* who brought their own horses were paid, in addition to their salary, allowances compensating them for their horses and their maintenance in accordance with the quality of their mount Those who mustere d more than one horse were asked to maintain a beast of burden as well which was assigned to them, for which they received a further allowance [16] The salaries seem to have been reduced during later reigns The tables in some *dastur-u'l-'amals* give the figure of two hundred rupees *per annum* for each trooper [17] After making allowances for several deductions which were made in the salaries on various accounts, this sum works out to be only a little less than twenty rupees per month It is not unlikely that there were imposed minor deductions other than those mentioned earlier Aurangazīb mentions the salaries as twenty rupees, seventeen and a half rupees and fifteen rupees in the Deccan during his viceroyalty [18] The round figure of two hundred rupees per annum for a soldier in all probability represents the average of the highest and other scales of the salaries

16 *Ā'in* Book ii, A'in 5
17 B M ms 1641, f 46 b , B M 6599, ff 144 b, 148 b, quoted by Irvine, p 10
18 *Ādab-i-'Ālamgīrī* f 131 b

The Mughuls depended upon the systems of maintaining descriptive rolls of the soldiers and branding the horses[19] The first was a most effective method because the officers were experts in describing the general appearance as well as the distinguishing marks of individuals; verification of troops through this process was called *taṣḥīhah* The tradition of registering descriptive rolls for certain police purposes has endured in the subcontinent and proves fairly effective even now, when, because of figure prints, the utility of the method has been diminishing for some time The horses were branded every time they were mustered for formal inspection by the *bakhshī*, this was called *dāgh* The normal regulation was that the *manṣabdār* should bring his troops every year for inspection and the repitition of the brand Fines were imposed for delays in bringing horses to the muster If a *manṣabdār* made a delay, he would lose ten per cent of his salary for the period of the delay It is, however, certain that there were exceptions to this rule The *manṣabdārs* posted in difficult areas could not possibly comply with these regulations , sometimes it was impolitic to require a *manṣabdār* to leave his duties and to arrange for a muster[20] Aurangzīb, as the viceroy of the Deccan, mentions in a letter to the *wazīr* Sa'd-u'llah Khān that it was he who introduced the system of *dāgh* and *tashihah* in the provinces of the south and that before that these regulations had not been enforced in the area The reasons are obvious , the area was still in the process of being conquered and the *mansabdārs* were not in a position to submit to the regulations of descriptive rolls and branding[21] In the beginning various marks were tried for branding the horses , ultimately, however, it was decided to have separate numerals for the various categories of personnel concerned the princes, the *manṣabdārs* and the troopers of various kinds On every subsequent occasion, the brand was simply repeated[22] The system of branding was introduced in the subcontinent by Sulṭān ' Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī Subsequently, with the weakening of the central authority it fell into disuse and was later revived by Sher Shāh[23] Akbar saw the advantages of the system and adopted it It remained in force until the crumbling of the imperial authority There were, as has been pointed out, certain exceptions Some of the servants attached to the court were required to bring their horses every

[19] A descriptive roll was called either *huliyah* or *chehrah*, both meaning physiognomy or countenance Branding was called *dagh*

[20] *Ā'in*, Book ii, *Ā'ins* 7 & 8

[21] *Ādab-i-Ālamgiri*, f 131b

[22] *Ā'in*, Book ii, *Ā'in* 7

[23] Irvine, p 46.

eighteen months ; those *manṣabdārs* whose *jāgīrs* were very remote were required to muster their horses once in twelve years ; however their salary was reduced by a tenth after the sixth year If a *manṣabdār* was promoted to a higher rank and three years had elapsed since the last muster, he received an increase only for his *dhāt* salary. Other allowances were increased only after the first muster [24]

The cavalry was the most effective arm of the Mughal armies Bābur's victories against Ibrāmih Lodi and Rānā Sanga owed much to his superb use of the *tulughmah* manoeuver with his swift cavalry which wheeled round the Indian armies and took them in the rear [25] The cavalry continued to play an important role in all Mughul victories, but towards the end, it deteriorated in keeping with the general trends of decay When the Mughul cavalry came into conflict with European armies, its real weaknesses were revealed Apart from corruption and internal jealousies which became such a feature of the later days of the Mughul Empire, there were two factors which would have put the Mughuls at a disadvantage at any time The first was a lack of cohesion The troopers were personally brave, and indeed even up to the very end of the Empire they did not lose this quality, but they knew only to fight in a big mass or as individuals The impact of ten thousand troopers riding *en masse* was not only a formidable sight to behold, but its impact upon the foes was very great , but if, by some device, this mass could by broken into fragments, it became helpless They did not know how to form their ranks again after a dispersal or to muster to the support of a small group which might have been isolated and put in danger of being overwhelmed European observers were also struck in the later days by the fact that the troopers were unwilling to place themselves in danger in spite of their bravery , this they rightly attribute to the anxiety of the soldier for his mount If he were to lose his horse, he would lose more than just an expensive mount , he would lose the chances of further employment at a reasonable salary [26] This factor came into operation when the employers were reluctant to replace the horses of their troopers even though they might have been lost in battle, often because of restricted resources In that period one reads of rebellious troopers whose salaries had been long in arrears, partly because of empty treasuries, partly because it was considered politic to keep back the salary so that the trooper should not transfer his loyalty to another employer Even in the heyday of the Mughul rule, the trooper could not be entirely indifferent to the fate of his horse and the

24 *Ā'in*, Book ii, A'in 8

25 *Memoirs* of Babur, *vide* descriptions of the Battles of Panipat and Kanwaha.

26 Irvine, pp 233, 234, who quotes various Western observers

fact that it represented a good portion of his assets must have exercised a restraining influence over his qualities as a soldier Aurangzīb describes the difficulties of the *tābīnān* posted in the Deccan during his viceroyalty in which he pointedly draws attention to the scarcity of horses and their high prices in that area and the hardship to which a trooper was put to be able to furnish a good horse [27]

The trooper was required to take a certificate, called a *saqatnāmah*, when his horse died, so that he might receive the full allowance up to the time of the loss of the animal In case the trooper failed to produce such a certificate, the deduction was made from the date of the last muster To prevent fraud, the hide of the animal had to be produced before the officer issuing the certificate , he put down a full description of the dead animal in the certificate In many cases the portion of the skin bearing the marks of the brand was forwarded with a report to the headquarters A slightly different procedure was adopted when a horse was discarded because of some injury or of old age, but the report, called a *bartarfī* in this instance, had to be sent to the headquarters for record [28]

The Mughuls maintained extensive stables A *manṣabdār* of high rank was given the post of *atbegī*, also called *ākhtahbegī* , he was responsible for seeing that the Imperial Household and the govrenment never remained short of suitable horses [29] A comparatively small number of chosen horses was kept for the Emperor's own use and that of the princes These were called *khāṣah* horses Six stables of these were *chihal aspah* and contained forty horses each There were separate stables of horses for the use of the princes of Turkī courier horses and of those bred in the Imperial studs The other horses were kept in stables classified in accordance with the prices of the animals [30] The *atbegī's* post was held by no less a person than Khān Khānān Mirza ' Abdu-'r-Rahīm under Akbar Each stable had a superintendent or a *dāroghah* , the incumbents of these posts varied in their ranks in accordance with the importance of the stables , they could be *manṣabdārs* of the rank of five thousand to *ahadīs* Each stable had its accountant and registrar, the *mushrif*, who kept the accounts and also acted as the registrar of the rolls of the horse and other documents Then there was the usual technical staff for keeping the horses and the saddleries in proper trim [31]

27 *Ādab-i-'Alamgīrī*, f, 131 b

28 *A'in*, Book ii, *Ā'in* IV , Irvine, p 24.

29 *A'in*, Book i, *Ā'in* 53

30 *Idem*, *Ā'in* 50

31 *Idem*, *Ā'in* 53.

There were separate stables for horses lent to persons for definite errands These men were called *bārgīr* , they knew how to ride, but were not required to keep horses and were supplied with horses only for specific purposes [32] The total number of foreign bred horses in the Imperial stables in the reign of Akbar was twelve thousand [33] As large number of horses were being given away as presents and sold to troopers, the number was kept up by importing horses on an extensive scale from various countries which were famous for their horses, specially 'Irāq and Turkistān The Sulṭāns of Delhi had established excellent traditions of horse breeding in the subcontinent and fine horses were bred in Kachh, Panjab, Rajputana and Bihar The Mughuls maintained a well organized department for the purchase of horses which encouraged both the importers and the native breeders [34]

The other arm to which the Mughuls came to attach increasing importance was the artillery Some writers have attached exaggerated importance to the role of the artillery in the conquests of Bābur, who did not have too many pieces and the few he had were not too effective Humāyūn had twenty one pieces in the Battle of Qanauj , by now Sher Shāh had the superiority in artillery [35] The Deccan had made greater advances in artillery than the North, because of the contacts with the Turks and the Persians The best artillerymen were recognized to be the Europeans who had by now settlements on the Western coast Abu'l-Fadl recognizes the importance of artillery The guns were "carefully distributed over the entire Empire, each province being supplied with the suitable variety of pieces" Artillery was considered necessary for " the siege of fortresses and naval actions " [36] The artillery was under the *mīr ātish*, who was an officer of high rank Jahāngīr mentions that he appointed Patr Das as his *mīr ātish* and ordered that three thousand pieces of cannon and five thousand artillerymen should remain with the monarch at the headquarters [37] In addition to the *mīr ātish* there were several other officers attached to the artillery There was a *dāroghah* and a *mushrif* , the former assisted the *mīr ātish* in his executive duties and the latter was an accountant and

32 *Idem*, *Ā'īn* 54

33 *Idem*, *Ā'īn* 49

34 *Idem*, *Ā'īn* 49

35 Ross, *Tarikh-i-Rashīdī*, p 474

36 *Ā'īn*, Book i, *Ā'īn* 36

37 *Tuzuk*, p 10

record keeper , the *dāroghah* was a *manṣabdār* [38] 'Ālamgīr I appointed a *mānṣabdār* as *daroghah* and promoted him to the rank of eight hundred *dhāt* and four hundred *sawār* [39] Patr Das was a high official under Akbar, who had bestowed the title of *Rāi Rāyān* upon him , when Jahāngīr appointed him as his *mīr ātish,* he gave him the title of Rajah *Bikramājīt* Aurangzīb was ordered by Shāh Jahān to recruit for him some artillerymen in the Deccan and then to send them to the capital [40] The sultanates of Bījāpūr and Golconda were known for the excellence of their artillery [41]

Abu'l Fadl speaks highly of Akbar's artillery , he says that with the exception of Turkey, there was no country which was so well equipped with artillery as the Mughul Empire [42] This statement is, however, not borne out by other evidence Abu'l Faḍl is too vague He mentions that some of the guns were very large and required several elephants and a thousand cattle to transport one of them Such unwieldy pieces could not be of much use in a battle The largest piece of that period which still exists is the *mulk maidān* at Bījāpūr , this gun was made by the government of the sultanate It and its twin played some part in the Battle of Tālīkota , their main contirubution must have been to frighten the animals as well as the men in the ranks of the foe with their noise , the long intervals at which they could be fired and the small area of destruction wrought by their solid balls were serious handicaps The Mughul artillery improved as the result of the contact with the Deccan as well as with the Eurpopeans Irvine seems to be correct in his opinion that 'Ālamgīr I had a better artillery than his predecessors [43] He showed an understanding of its working and personally supervised its location and use in the sieges of the strongholds of the Deccan [44] The Mughuls, however, were never able to catch up with the West. In the anarchy after the reign of 'Ālamgīr I, the contending powers in the subcontinent used artillery increasingly , even where they adopted Western methods, they did so with less efficiency than the Europeans. The local artillery was clumsy and some times too heavy for manoeuvring and could not be fired often enough The pieces were mounted clumsily and the heavier pieces were so heavy that they could not be moved in the rainy season at all and even in the dry weather their progress was

38 *Ḍawabit-i-'Alamgīri*, f. 26 b

39 *Ādab-i-'Alamgiri*, f 40 a

40 *Idem*, f 35 a

41 Idem, f 35 b

42 *Ā'in*, Book 1, A'in 36

43 Irvine, p 116.

44 *Raqa'im-i-Kara'im*, f. 19 a.

so slow that they were useless in an emergency This explains why the European artillery, being mobile and manageable and being fired more often, struck such terror in the native ranks The native powers had almost a superstitious faith in their own pieces and an unholy terror for the artillery of the foe and did not contest a battle with a clear knowledge of the limitations of artillery[45] It must be added that the morale deteriorated in the days of the anarchy The weakness of the artillery as an arm was, however, not a new factor The Mughul artillery was never a match for the atrtillery of the Turks and later for that of the European countries

The infantry like the cavalry had many men who were not soliders They performed various duties Some of them were porters ; as they were armed, they can be considered to be soldiers but they did not take part in battles There were the *kahārs*, who carried the various means of conveyance like the *palkīs*, *takht-i-rawāns*, *dolīs*, etc , upon their shoulders The *khidmatiyahs* guarded the environs of the palace and ran small errands They belonged to a Hindu caste , the word *khidmatiyah* means a servant Their chief was given the title of *Khidmat Rāi* These men also were not proper soldiers Similarly the *mewrahs* who were runners were used to carry messages As they were also used for military purposes, they could be called soldiers, though they were hardly combatants They were also employed as spies Wrestlers and athletes who performed for royal amusement are also classified by Abu'l Faḍl as infantrymen , they were not soldiers at all There were several kinds of gladiators who used their traditional weapons with great skill Some of them used cudgels Even today in many a town the processions in connection with *Muharram*, the anniversary of the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusain at Karbala, contain parties of gladiators who give exhibitions of sword dances and combats with cudgels It is doubtful if their utility in battles could ever have justified their inclusion in armies As a form of sport, these skills were entertaining and even useful Even today some of these skills are learnt not only for sport but also for personal defence like jujitsu, specially by the people in the countryside where firearms are not easily available to the populace The slaves belonging to the Emperor also have been classified as infantrymen , though only a few of them could have been used for military purposes

The real infantry consisted of matchlockmen and the archers Akbar maintained at the court a body of twelve thousand matchlockmen.

45 Irvine, p 116 et seq.

Their administration was organized into a department with a registrar, a treasurer and a superintendent. There were four grades of minor officers who were paid salaries varying from two hundred and sixty *dāms* to three hundred *dāms* The soldiers were divided into fifteen grades, three grades being classified as a class. The archers were some times more effective in the battle than the matchlockmen, because the matchlocks were still not very efficient. They became heated after being fired and had to be left to cool before they could be loaded again Some infantry was also given to the *manṣabdārs* as *dākhilī* troops A fourth of such contingents consisted of matchlokmen, the rest were archers Ten archers were under a *mīrdahah* who received a salary ranging from one hundred and twenty *dāms* to one hundred and eighty ; the common archer's salary was from a hundred *dāms* to one hundred and twenty *dāms*. Some of the infantrymen were classified as *nīmah sawārān* or half troopers. These were mostly the infantry used as *dakhilī* troops Pioneers, carpenters, ironsmiths and other workers were also treated as infantry. Those who had military duties to perform were not the ones to be thus treated. The infantry was the weakest arm of the Mughul fighting machine They were not proprely trained, had little sense of discipline and gave way at the first contact with the enemy's cavalry The impression created by the early European observers is that the Mughuls placed little reliance upon their infantry The *piyādahs*, as the foot soldires were called, were used mainly for civilian purposes They came from the lowest ranks of society The better class of infantry was called a *nīmah sawār*, so that he might be saved from the indignity of being considered a mere infantry man.[46]

Abu'l Faḍl mentions yet another class of troops. He says, " With some the Emperor is content it they submit ; he does exact much service from them ; in this manner many a wild dweller in the country side were led into good fortune , and the zamindar troops are more than four million and four hundred thousand men.. ... " A great deal of speculation has resulted from this passage among scholars, specially because Abu'l Faḍl is so specific not only about the total number, but he also gives numbers for every administrative area when he describes it If these were well organized troops, Abu'l Faḍl would have given a more detailed description of their functions and salaries. Actually, the brief sentence contains the essential information , to disentangle its meaning, it is necessary to give a short historical background.[47]

46 *Ā'in*, Book ii, A'in 6 ; *Idem*, Book i, A'in 40.
47 *Ā'in*, Book ii, A'in 1.

It was a well understood old tradition in the subcontinent that villages were held responsible for the maintenance of peace in their neighborhood. If a highway robbery or murder took place in the vicinity, the local population was called upon to find the culprits and to recover the looted property. If they failed in doing so, they were asked to compensate the victim This obligation was based upon the theory that in a sparsely populated countryside, a crime like that could not be perpetrated without information leaking out to the inhabitants The village notables were paid a commission on the revenue as their perquisites for these duties [48] As a part of these duties, the village headmen were also expected to cooperate with the government in the general maintenance of peace If there was a nest of robbers to be destroyed, the headmen furnished armed men to cooperate with the government troops. If any village turned refractory or created mischief, the headmen of the neighbouring village were required to cooperate The government had a record of the number of men who could be expected from an area, this was based on the number of dwellings in that locality It is this potential manpower, only a portion of which was expected to come to the help of the authorities in case of a local emergency which is called the zamindar army by Abu'l-Faḍl. This is the reason why this category of troops finds little mention elsewhere In later days some of the native chiefs brought this rabble to increase the bulk of their troops against other chiefs , against Europeans they proved of a negative value, because they were the first to disperse and run away and thus created panic among other troops Such a rabble did not have even standard arms, and the curious medley of weapons which they bore were of poor quality. However, the Mughuls do not seem to have used such troops for fighting against properly equipped forces They were employed for public purposes alone. The existence of such troops on paper was utilized by Akbar's court jurists as a justification for the abolition of the *jizyah*, because such *dhimmīs* as choose to fight for the Muslim State are not required to pay that tax

In the beginning the Mughuls placed some reliance upon elephant in their battles The elephants were clad in armour to protect them from the enemy's missiles ; later the elephant was used to carry light guns so that a better aim could be taken from the height which the animal afforded [48] Elephants were also used by the generals in battles so that they might tower above others and direct the progress of the combat

[48] *Ā'in*, Book 1, A'in 41 ; *Ā'in*, Book 1, A'in 36 , a gun carried on an elephant was called *gajnal*

more effectively. The troops could see them and this inspired confidence; because many a battle was fought for a person rather than a cause. If the monarch or prince were killed, the troops saw no reason to endanger themselves any further His presence on the elephant inspired them to greater effort. The advantages of the general being clearly visible to his own troops were more than nullified by the dangers to which he exposed himself. From the beginning he was the main target for the archers and the musketeers of the other side and all attempts were made by the enemy to destroy him If he were hit or found it advisable to get down from the elephant, his troops gave way and fled. Dārā Shukūh was not the only general to suffer from such a contingency Nādir Shāh was amazed that the Mughul generals should take such risks Elephants continued to be used as beasts of burden throughout the period; they were particularly useful in moving some of the heavy pieces of artillery of which the Mughuls were so fond

The other animals used for military purposes were camels, mules and oxen Specially trained dromedaries were the swiftest means of transport for generals if they wanted to reach some place quickly Akbar surprised both his friends and foes by covering the distance between Āgrah and Gujarāt in record time riding a dromedary [49] Camels were also used for carrying small pieces of artillery [50] Oxen were used to draw guns and other wagons They were also used as pack animals The mule has always been known for its strength and capacity to carry large loads over long distances The art of breeding these animals was well known and widely practised; this was all the more necessary because the mule does not reproduce itself and every mule is the result of cross breeding Mules were used for transport as late as the Second World War The Mughuls maintained well organized stables for all these animals Their diet was carefully regulated, veterinarians were attached to the staff, the monarchs took personal interest in their stables of various animals, in particular of horses and elephants [51]

The commissariat was not organized officially, except for the household and the immediate followers of the general, there was no central kitchen. The army, even when it was moving, had a bazar, where cooked

49 Vincent Smith, *Akbar*, pp 117, 118
From Delhi to Aḥmadabad he took nine or eleven days

50 Guns carried on camels were called *Shutar nals* or zambureks, Irvine, pp. 135, 136

51 *Ā'in*, Book i, has details about the stables of these animals, A'in, 61-71.

and uncooked food was available to any purchaser. The soldier bought from the shops all that they needed The bazar was kept supplied with stocks of food by the *banjarahs*, a community of traders who specialized in this kind of trade The State kept some control over prices ; the war against the Marathas harassed the Mughuls so much because the Marathas were so effective in cutting off supplies from the Mughul camp

The Mughul armies moved slowly , some times, when they were obliged to make forced marches, they moved a little more quickly Akbar once covered four hundred and fifty miles at the head of three thousand horsemen in eleven days, and, at the end of the journey, fought two decisive battles in one day This was exceptional In later days military movements were generally slow The reason was that a Mughul army seldom moved as a purely combatant force The bazar was essential for the army if it was to subsist Very often the general's family and household moved with him The Mughul armies were not troops on the march but cities of canvas on the move, which made quick movement difficult The camp was a vast concourse of tents , every soldier had his own tent, small in dimensions, yet part of the equipment to be moved and fixed The nobles had elaborate collections of tents , if the monarch himself happened to be moving with the army, he had a miniature replica of the essential sections of the imperial residence moving with him The movement was orderly and well organized, yet it was too cumbersome for military purposes [52]

The Mughul armies were drawn up in a conventional order for battles. The ingenuity shown in the earlier days by the Mughul conquerors like Bābur had gradually given place to steraotyped strategy In the front were the *qarawal* or skirmishers , at their back was the *harāwal* or the vanguard It was also called *muqaddamat-u'l-jaish* To its right and left, jutting out well forward were two small wings placed in such a way that could give support to the *qarāwal* in case of need or act as a protection for the left and right wings of the *harāwal*, the bulk of which was stationed in the centre Behind the *harawal* was the *qalb*, or the centre of the main force To the right and left of the *qalb* were the *maimanah* and *maisarah*, or the right and the left wings, also called *rāst* and *chap* The *qalb*, the *maimanah* and the *maisarah* were sometimes called the *ghol*, because this was considered to be the main section of the battle array The general almost invariably took his position in the *qalb* Behind the *qalb* was the rear guard, which also had the duty

52 Bernier, pp. 358 et seq gives an excellent description, *A'in*, Book i, A'ins, 15, 16.

of guarding the camp.[53] The ranks were kept in order by a small group of officers who carried the instructions of the general to other officers and kept an eye on the ranks so that they did not create confusion by acting in an undisciplined manner In later days they came to be called *nasaqchīs*, or the maintainers of order

The Mughuls constructed forts at strategic places ; the principles of military architecture were well understood Advantage was invariably taken of a helpful natural feature ; whereas in the plains of Northern provinces, such features were not common, they were sometimes created artificially. Fortresses were generally placed near sources of water supply, a curve in a river was an asset The fort was put upon an eminence, and if one did not happen to be in the vicinity, an artificial mound was created by piling up earth , the area from which it was excavated created another feature, that of a marsh or a lake, which was useful in defending the fort Forts were generally surrounded with moats; outside the moats, sometimes a thick jungle of bamboo or some thorny bushes or trees was planted to delay the approach of a hostile force. If the climate was not favourable for this purpose, a veritable forest of stone blocks was planted to obstruct the the cavalry The gates were stout and barred with beams of wood or even of iron , there were sometimes several concentric walls , in any case the approach to the citadel was tortuous and long The walls were machicolated and mounted with parapets. The forts were strong and capable of standing long sieges Many towns had protective walls around them The forts were more often starved out than taken by assault because of their intrinsic strength and also stout defence If the walls were breached or scaled the defenders did no give up the fight and often succeeded in repulsing the attack The arts of laying a seige and standing it were well understood Sand bags were used to find a passage through a moat; covered paths, called *sābāts*, were built to enable the attackers to give battle to the defenders at closer quarters Cannonading, mining and scaling ladders were used The besieged sometimes sallied out to fight the besiegers The sieges were, however, long drawn affairs in most cases ; the methods of cutting water supplies and starving out the besieged were considered more effective, because they were less expensive in human losses [54] Sometimes bribery and corruption proved to be more effective methods of attack as well as defence. Towards the

53 B.M 6599, f 164 a The small body interposed between the right wings of the *harawal* and *ghol* seems to be a mistake in view of the Mughul insistence upon symmetry.

54 Irvine, pp. 260 et saq, 270 et seq.

end this was so common that it undermined the integrity of the Mughul officers themselves and the monarchs, specially ' Alamgir I, had to be extremely vigilant.

The total strength of the Mughul army under Shāh Jahān has been mentioned as two hundred thousand mounted soldiers and forty thousand foot soldiers [55] This number excludes the non-military personnel of grades lower than that of *manṣabdārs* The figure for mounted soldiers includes eight thousand *manṣabdārs*, seven thousand *aḥadīs* and mounted musketeers and one hundred eighty fiye thousand *tābīnān* of the princes and the *manṣabdārs* The foot soldiers were artillerymen, musketeers, grenadiers and archers The number of cavalrymen has been calculated in accordance with the regulation of the proportion of the *tābīnān* to the *sawār* rank prescribed by the monarch.

The Mughuls did maintain a few seaworthy boats but they seldom ventured out into the open sea They were manned by persons whose experience was generally limited to large rivers. On the rivers, both in fighting and in maintaining supply lines they rendered good service The fleet was called *nawwāra* It was the duty of the *mīr-i-bahr's* department to build bridges of boats when such bridges were either needed by the army or for the maintenance of normal communications The Mughuls employed a number of half caste Portuguese in their *nawwāras* to deal with the pirates on the coast of Bengal and relied upon the Abyssinian rulers of Janjira on the West coast for help in naval matters

The Mughul military machine was not efficient They succeeded in building up the Empire because they were pitted against foes who were even weaker and who could not match their resources to those of the Mughuls. The repeated failure of the Mughuls to hold Qandahār against the Persians was a sad commentary upon their military efficiency They were equally unsuccessful against the Uzbeks They changed too slowly , their methods had become inelastic Even when faced with foes like the tribesmen in the north-west frontier to the Marathas, the Mughuls failed to adapt their methods to the new situations , it took all the energy of a man of an iron will and unparalleled determination like ' Ālamgīr I to reduce the tribesmen and bring the Marathas to bay

55 *Padshahnamah* ii, p 715 ; *Risalah-i-manasib*, f f 28 b

'ĀLAMGĪR'S GRANTS TO HINDU PUJARIS

by

JNAN CHANDRA, BOMBAY

In the last number of this *Journal*,[1] I have referred to a number of *farmāns* issued by 'Ālamgīr to various temples to show how erroneous are the views of historians, who brand that Emperor as an antagonist of the Hindus Here I am publishing thirteen *parwānahs* and *sanads* issued by Ṣubahdārs of Malwa between the 7th and 48th years of the reign of 'Ālamgīr, granting daily allowances and charities to a certain Brahmin family of Ujjain Their descendents are now a days the main pujārīs of the renowned Mahākāleshwar Temple of Ujjain which is one of the twelve must important Shivite temples of India. There is every reason to believe that the pujari-ship of this temple had been in this family from a remote past and the persons, in whose favour the *parwānahs* and the *sanads* which are being published here, were granted, were also worshiping in the Mahākāleshwar temple as priests.[2] If it was so, it does not reconcile in any way with the views of the historians, who call 'Ālamgīr anti-Hindu Even if we do not attach any importance to the suggestion of the recipients of these *parwānahs* and *sanads* as the priests of the Mahākāleshwar temple, this charity to Brahmins, in whatever form it may be, could not be expected from a ruler who was antagonistic to Hinduism

Here these *parwānahs* and *sanads* show that Najābat Khān, the Ṣubahdār of Malwa granted a daily allowance of three Murādī Tankahs to one Brahmin named Kūkā in the 7th regnal year. When this Kūkā died in the 17th regnal year, the same allowance was granted to his son Kānjī It was increased to annas four by Habībullah al-Ḥasnī in the year 19 ; but his successors did not agree to this enhancement and reverted to the old payment of three Murādī Tankahs as his daily allowance But in 26th year Khān Zamān, the subahdār of Malwa restored the increased allowance of four annas, and in due course it

1. Vol. V, pp 254

2. These papers are still with the punjaris of the Mahakaleshwar temple, Ujjain and are unpublished They were made available to me by the kind courtsey of Pandit Surya Narain Vyas, a renowned a man of letters and a notary of Ujjain I am thankful to him as well as to Prof. N A Nadvi of Anjuman-i-Islam Research Institute, Bombay, Mr P L. Gupta, numismatist, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and Mr. T. H Hashmi for their valueable assistance in reading and translating these documents.

was made permanent under the ṣubahdārship of Mughul Khān. The first ten papers refer to this allowance

The next two papers show that Kānjī was getting a charity (*khairāt*) of rupees ten and a half annually at the time of *Kharīf* harvest from the state. The last one shows that Murār and his brother Kūkā were getting 50 *dām* i e 1 Murādī Tankah (?) annually for the services rendered to the slaves of the Emperor (*bandgān-i-'ala Hazrat*) long before the time of 'Ālamgīr, and the same was continued even in the time of that Emperor and an order was issued to this effect in the 8th year of his reign.

As such these papers should be an eye-opener to anti-Aurangzīb historians.

I

متصدیان مہات حال و استقبال چبوتره کوتوالی پرگنه شاه جهان پور بدانند چون در این ولا حقیقت کوکا زنار دار به ظهور پیوست که عیال کثیر به او وابسته است و هیچ وجه معیشت ندارد بنا بر آن مبلغ سه ٹنکا مرادی در وجه روزینه مومی علیه(الیه؟) مقرر نموده شد باید که وجه مذکور را از ابتدا بیستم شهر ذیقعده سنه ۷ مقرر دانسته روز بروز از محصول چبوتره مذکور مشار علیه(الیه؟) می رسانیده باشند که صرف معیشت خود نموده بدعا دوام دولت ابد اتصال اشتغال داشته باشند ـ درین باب تاکید دانند ـ تحریر فی تاریخ ۲۱ ـ ذی قعده سنه ۷ ـ

Trans May it be known to the *Mutaṣaddīs* of *Chabutrā* Kotwāli, paragana Shāhjahānpūr, those are at present and those may be in future, that Kūkā Brahman has petitioned that he has a big family and has no means of livelihood. Therefoer, a daily allowance of 3 *Murādī Tankahs* is fixed for him This order shall come in effect from 20 *Ziqa'dah* (Regnal) year 7 This shall be paid to him out of the income of the said *Chabutrā* so that he may utilize it for his livelihood and may pray for the perpetuality of this eternal State

This was issued under the seal of Najābat Khan, follower (*murīd*) of Badshāh 'Ālamgīr and is dated 21 *Ziqa'dah* R Y 7

II

متصدیان مہات حال و استقبال چبوتره کوتوالی دارالفتح اوجین بدانند درین ولا حقیقت کاشی پسر کوکا به ظهور پیوست که بموجب اسناد سابق موازی سه ٹنکا مرادی در وجه روزینه کوکا مقرر بود ـ مشار علیه(الیه؟) بقضائے الہی فوت شد لهذا درین ولا موازی سه بهلولی عالمگیری از ابتدائے بیستم شهر رجب ۱۷ سنه بنام کاشی پسر مومی علیه(الیه؟) مقرر گشته باید که از محصول محال مذکور تنخواه می داده باشند که آن را صرف ما یحتاج خود نموده بدعائے دوام دولت ابد پیوند اشتغال می نموده باشد تحریر فی تاریخ بیست یکم شهر رجب المرجب سنه ۱۷ ـ فقط

May it be known to the *mutaṣaddīs* of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī, in

Dārul Fatḥ Ujjāin, those are at present and those may be in future, that Kānjī, son of Kūkā Brahman, has petitioned that under previous orders 3 *Murādī Tankahs* were fixed as allowance for his father Kūkā, who has now died, and prayed that the said allowance should be fixed for him. Therefore, the amount of 3 *Bahloli 'Ālamgīrī* is now fixed as daily allowance from the 20th *Rajab* (Regnal) year 17 for Kānjī, son of Kūkā This allowance shall be paid to him from the income of this *mahāl*, so that he may utilise it as the means of his livelihood and pray for the perpetuality of the State

This bears the seal of Islām Khān *bin* Ḥusain 'Alī, follower (*murīd*) of Shāh 'Ālamgīr.

III

متصدیان مہام حال و استقبال چبوترہ کوتوالی شاهجهانپور سرکار سارنگپور بدانند که چون دریں بلا (ولا؟) وجه امامید که کوکا زنار دار بموجب پروانه نجابت خان مرحوم مبلغ سه ٹنکا مرادی یومیه ار چبوتره کوتوالی مذکور مقرر داشت بمقتضائے الہی فوت شد و کانجی پسر شرعی قائم ست ۔ لهذا یومیه مذکور بدستور سابق کانجی مقرر و حال داشته شد ۔ می باید که یومیه مذکور را ار پنجم شهر محرم الحرام سنه ۱۸ حسب الرسم به او ازمحل مسطور می رسانیده باشد که آن را صرف کفاف نموده بدعا گوئی دوام دولت ابد مدت مشغول باشد دریں باب قدغن دانند و از فرموده انحراف نه کردند ۔ تحریر فی تاریخ ۶ محرم الحرام سنه ۱۸ جلوس ۔

May it to be known to the *Mutaṣaddīs* of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī, *parganah* Shāhjahānpūr, *sarkār* Sārangpur, that are at present and that may be in future, that under a *parwanah* issued by the late Najābat Khān, a sum of 3 *Murādī Tankāhs* was fixed as the daily allowance of Kūkā Brahman, who is now dead His son and legal successor has now applied that the said allowance from the same place be conferred on him. Therefore it is ordered that from the 5th *Muharram* (Regnal) year 18, the said daily allowance be sent to him every day, which he may use for his expenses and keep himself engaged in praying for the perpetuality of the eternal State. This should be attended promptly and there should be no deviation from it.

This bears the seal of Islām Khān *bin* Ḥusain 'Alī, follower (*murīd*)

of Shāh 'Ālamgīr and is dated 6th *Muḥarram*, R.Y. 18.

IV

عاملان حال و استقبال پرگنه سارنگ پور بدانند که چون درایں ولا
بموجب پروانهٔ عارب(امارت؟) پناه اسلام‌خان مرحوم به ظهورپیوست که کانجی زنار
دار هیچ وجه معشت ندارد ـ لهدا مبلغ چهار آنه یومیه ار محصول چبوتره کوتوالی
محل مستور به او مقرر است ـ باید که یومیه مذکور را رور بروز می رسانیده باشد ـ
که صرف اوقات خود نموده بدعائے گوئی دوام استعمال داسته باشد ـ دریں باب
تاکید داند تحریر فی تارخ ۲۸ جمادی الثانی سنه ۱۹ جلوس والا ـ

May it be known to the '*Amils* of *parganah* Sārangpūr, those are at present and those may be in future, that it is evident from the order (*parwānah*) of the late Islām Khān, that Kānjī Brahman has no means of livelihood Therefore a daily allowance of *four annas* is fixed for him from the income of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī This amount should be sent to him every day, so that he may utilise it for his expenses and pray for the perpetuality of the State

This should be attended promptly

This was issud under the seal of Ḥabībullah al-Hasanī, follower (*murīd*) of Shāh 'Ālamgīr , and is dated 28th *Jamadī* II, R.Y. 19

V

متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال چبوتره کوتوالی بن مضاف صوبه اجین
بدانند که چون دریں ولا بوجه پیوست که کوکا زنار دار بموجب پروانه
نجابت‌خان مرحوم مبلغ سه تنکه‌ مرادی کلاں از چبوتره کوتوالی یومیه مذکور مقرر
داست ـ ودیعت حیات سپرده لهذا یومیه مذکور بدستور سابق نکاحی پسر کوکا
مذکور من ابتدا شهر ذی قعده ۱۰۸۷ ھ بحال و مسلم داسته شد باید که وجه
یومیه‌را ار ابتدا صدرمی رسانیده باشد که آں را صرف کفاف نموده بدعا گوئی‌دوام
دولت ابد مدت بندگان حضرت اشتغال می داشته باشد ـ تحریر فی تارخ پنجم
شهر ذی قعده سنه ۱۰۸۷ ھ ـ

May it be known to the *Mutaṣaddīs* of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī, in the *Subah*

Ujjain, those are at present and those may be in future, that as per orders (*parwānah*) of the late Najābat Khān, 3 *Murādi Tankahs* were paid daily to Kūkā Brahman from *Chabutrā* Kotwāli. He is now dead Therefore the said daily allowance is now renewed to Kānjī, the son of Kūkā from the beginning of *Ziqa'dah* 1087 as per old regulations, so it should be paid to him from the said date so that he may utilize it to meet his expenses and may pray for the perpetuality of the State.

This order was issued under the seal of Mukhtār Khān, the slave of (*bandah*) Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur 'Ālamgir Bādshāh and is dated 5th *Ziqa'dah*, 1087 A H

VI

متصدیان مہاب حال و اسقبال حبوتره کوتوالی شاه جہان پور سرکار
سارنگ پور بدانند که چون بموجب سند اسلام خان مرحوم مبلغ سه ٹنکا
مرادی یومیه از حبوتره کوتوالی به اسم کانجی زنار دار مقرر است لهذا یومیه
مذکور بدستور سابق به کانجی مسبور مقرر و بحال داشته شد می باید که یومیه
مذکور را من ابتدائے محرم باعث از محصول چبوتره کوتوالی روز بروز می رسانیده
باشد که آن را صرف معیشت خود نموده بدعا گوئی دوام دولت ابد مدت
اشتغال داشته باشد درین باب قدغن تمام لازم دانسته از فرموده تخلف و
انحراف نه ورزند - تحریر فی تاریخ ۷ محرم الحرام سنه ۲۲ -

May it be known to the *Mutaṣaddīs* of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī, Shāhjahānpur, *sarkār* Sārangpūr, those are at present and those may be in future, that as per *sanad* of the late Islām Khān 3 *Murādi Tankahs* were fixed as daily allowance for Kānji Brahman out of the income of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī Therefore, this daily allowance is renewed for Kānjī and is ordered that it should be paid to him daily out of the income of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī from the beginning of the *Muharram*, so that he may utilise it in his expenses and pray for the perpetuality of the State.

This was issued under the seal of Mukhtār Khān, the slave (*bandāh*) and is dated 7th *Muharram* R Y 22

VII

متصدیان مہاب حال و استقبال پرگنه شاهجہان پور سرکار سارنگ پور

صوبه مالوه بدانند که چون مبلغ سه ٹنکا مرادی یومیه از محصول چبوتره
کوتوالی پرگنه مذکور بموجب اسناد حکام پیشین در وجه یومیه کانجی مستحق
مقرر بود و در این ولا حقیقت استحقاق او بظهور پیوست رسانه کثیر . بخود واسته
دارد ـ بر یومیه قلیل اوقات به عسرت می گذارند لهذا مبلغ ۴ ـ آنه از اصل و
اضافه از محله قدیم بدستور سابق و تصدق فرق مبارک بندگان حضرت سلیمان
منزلت سکندر مرتبت ـ.......................................
مقرر گشته که یومیه مذکور را روز بروز از محصول می داده باشد که
وجه کفاف خود نموده بدعادوام دولت ابد مدت اشتغال می نموده باشد ـ دربن باب
قدغن داند ـ

May it be known to the *Mutaṣaddīs* of *parganah* Shāhjahānpūr, under the *sarkār* of Sārangpūr of *ṣubah* Malwa, those are at present and those may be in future, that Kānji, who had been receiving 3 *Murādī Tankahs* from the income of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī of the said *parganah*, as daily allowance from old days, has now represented that his family is very big and is not possible for him to meet all his expenses within that allowance Therefore, it is ordered that four annas, which includes the original allowance as well as the increment, be paid to him daily as *sadqah*(charity) on behalf of His Majesty from the said source, so that he may peacefully keep himself engaged in praying for the perpetuality of the eternal government of His Majesty

This was issued under the seal of Khān-i-zamān, slave (***bandah***) of Bādshāh 'Ālamgīr, and is strangely enough undated However this *ṣubahdār* was posted to Malwa on 1st *Rajab* R Y 26

VIII

متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال چبوتره کوتوالی بلده دار الفتح اجین
صوبه مالوه بدانند که چون حقیقت کاجی زناردار بوجه پیوست که سابق بموجب
اسناد حکام پیشین مبلغ سه ٹنکا مرادی عالمگیری از محصول چبوتره مذکور در
وجه روزینه نام گوبی چند و کوکا پدر مشار علیه (الیه؟) مقرر بود ـ از عمل تارحال
مرحوم مبلغ مرقوم به موبی علیه (الیه؟) مقرر گشته لهذا یومیه مستوربدستور سابق
مطابق ضمن من ابتدائے بیست و سوم صفر — ختم الله بالخیر والظفر سنه ۲۸
جلوس والا بشرط قبض و بتصرف و حیٔ قائم مشار علیه (الیه؟) بحال و مسلم داشته شد

که آن را صرف کفاف نموده بدعا گوئی دوام دولت ابد مدت بندگان حضرت سلیمان منزلت قدر قدرت مواصعت می نموده باشد ـ باید که مبلغ مذکور را هر روز از محصول چبوتره مذکور به او می رسانیده باسد و هر ساله سند مجدد نه طلبند ـ دریں باب قدغن تمام دانند ـ فی تاریخ صدر سهر مذکور سنه الهی موافق سنه ۱۰۹۶ ھ ـ فقط

May it be known to the *Mutaṣaddīs* of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī, Ujjain in the *ṣubah* Malwa, those are at present and those may be in future, that Kānji Brahman has petitioned that out of the income of this *Chabutarā* 3 *Tankah Murādī 'Ālamgīrī* was being paid as daily allowance to Gopichand and Kūkā, who was his father As per order of the late Mukhtār Khān this amount is now fixed as the allowance of this man Therefore, this daily allowance is renewed from the 23rd *Safar* R. Y 28 according to the earlier practice on the condition that he may get it and utilise in his expenses and pray for the perpetuality of the State This amount should be sent to him from the income of the *Chabutrā* No fresh *sanad* be demanded from him every year. Prompt action should be taken on this order

This bears the seal of Mughul Khān *Khanazadah* Bādshāh 'Ālamgīr and is dated 23rd *ṣafar* 1096 A H

IX

متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال درگمه ساه جهان بور سرکار سارنگ پور مضاف به صوبه مالوه دانند که چون دریں ولا حقیقت کاهی ربار دار به‌عرض رسید که مستحق واجب الرعایت است و بموجب اسناد حکام سابق مبلغ سه ٹنکا مرادی از محصول جبوتره کوتوالی آن جا در وجه یومیه مقرر داشت ـ ثانی الحال خانه جمع مرحوم نظر بر استحقاق و کثرت العیالی وابستگی جمع کرده از اصل و اضافه مبلغ چهار آنه در وجه یومیه او مقرر نمود لهذا از راه فضل و کرم مبلغ چهار آنه بدستور پیشین در وجه روزینه او از ابتدا ۱۴ ذی الحجه ۲۸ سنه حسب الرسم به شرط قبض تصرف و برا بین و قائم از محصول جبوتره مذکور بحال و مسلم داشته شد که آن را صرف کفاف خود نموده بدعا گوئی دوام دولت ابد مدت بندگان حضرت سلیمان مرتبت قدر قدرت مواضعت می نموده باشد ـ باید که وجه یومیه را از محصول آنجا هرروز به مشارا علیه(الیه؟)می رسانیده باشند دریں

باب قدغن تمام دانند فی تاریخ صفر سنه ۲۴ جلوس والا ـ

May it be known to the *Mutaṣaddīs* of *parganah* Shāhjahānpūr, *sarkār* Sārangpūr, *ṣubah* Malwa, those are at present and those may be in future that Kānjī Brahman has petitioned that he is entitled for *ri'ayat* (subsistence). A daily allowance of 3 *Murādī Tankā* was fixed for him under the *sanads* of earlier officers. Later on it was increased to 4 annas due to the increase in the number of family members. Therefore as an act of kindness, it is ordered that the payment of annas four as his allowance be renewed from 14 *Zilhijja* R. Y. 28 and be paid from the income of the *Chabutra* so that he may utilise it in meeting his expenses and pray for the perpetuality of the State Be it noted that this daily allowance be sent to him every day This should be acted promptly

This bears the seal of Mughul Khān *khanazadah* Badshāh 'Ālamgīr.

X

متصدیان مہات حال و استقبال چبوتره کوتوالی بلده دارالفتح احین صوبه مالوه بدانند که چون حقیقت کانجی رناردار بوجوه بیوست که مستحق واجب الرعایت است و به احتیاج کثیر بخود وابسته دارد و مبلغ سه ٹکا مرادی که بموجب اسناد حکام سابق از محصول چبوتره مرقوم در وجه یومیه خود مقرر داشت ـ خان زمان مرحوم نظر بر استحقاق او نموده از اصل و اضافه مبلغ چهار آنه یومیه مقرر نمود لهذا از راه فضل و کرم بدستور سابق مبلغ چهار آنه یومیه از محصول آن جا بحال و مسلم می شد که آن را صرف اوقات خود نموده به دعا گوئی دوام دولت ابد مدت بندگان حضرت قدرقدرت مواضع به تمی(؟) نموده باشند ـ باید که وجه یومیه را هر روز محصول چبوتره مسور و مشارا علیه(الیه؟) می رسانیده باشد درین باب باکید تمام دانند و هر ساله سند مجدد نه طلبند فی تاریخ ۱۴ ـ ذی الحجه سنه ۲۸ جلوس والا ـ

May it be known to the *Mutsṣaddīs* of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī, *baldah* Darul Fath, *ṣubah* Malwa, those are at present and those may be in future, that Kānjī Brahman has petitioned that he is entitled for *ri'ayat* (subsistence) as he has a big family The daily allowance of 3 *Murādī Tankahs*, that he was getting under various *sanads* issued by earlier officers, was enhanced to 4 *annas* by the late Khān Jahān Therefore,

as an act of kindness, it is ordered that the payment of the daily allowance of four annas out of the income is renewed, so that he may use it in meeting his expenses and pray for the perpetuality of the State This daily allowance be sent to him every day out of the income of the *Chabutra* and no fresh *sanad* be demanded from him every year.

This bears the seal of Mughul Khān and is dated 14th *Zilhijjah* R. Y. 48

XI

متصدیان مهات حال و استقبال درگنه دهار بدا بد درین ولا حققت
کانجی زنار دار به ظهور بوسب که ده و نیم روپیه به طریق چیده خراب یافته
آمده لهدا مقرر سد که ار ابتدائے فصل حریف بوسکان ایل سه ۱۰۸۳ حسب
الرس روپیه ده ارمواصعاب گرفد به مسارعلیه(الیه؟)می رسانده باسد که صرف
مایحتاج خود بموده بدعائے بقاء دولب جاوید طرار اسعال می داشه باسد ـ
تحریرا فی تاریخ دو شهر رجب المرجب سه ۱۸

May it be known to the *Mutaṣaddis* of *parganah* Dhar, those are at present and those may be in future, that Kānjī Brahman has petitioned that he had been getting rupees ten and a half as chairty (*khairāt*). Therefore it is ordered that out of the amount collected at the harvest of *kharīf* 1083, this amount should be given to him, so that having met his expenses, he may keep himself engaged in praying for the perpetuality of the eternal State

This was issued under the seal of Ḥusain ʻAlī-bin-Islām Khān, follower (*murīd*) of Shāh ʻĀlamgīr, and is dated the 2nd *Rajab*, R.Y. 18

XII

عاملان پرگنه دهارسرکارماڈو بداید دریں‌ولا بموجب پروانه عمارت(امارت؟)
پناه اسلام خان مرحوم به ظهور پیوست که کانجی ربار‌دار ده و نیم روپیه چیده
خیرات یافته آمده مقرر شد لهدا ار ابدائے‌فصل حریف بو یل ۱۰۸۴ ده نیم
روپیه مذکور ار موضعاب به مسارا علیه(الیه؟)می رسایده باشد که‌صرف ما یحتاج
حود بموده بدعائے بقائے دولب اشتعال داسته باسند ـ تحریر فی تاریخ ۲۸
جمادی الثانی سنه ۱۹ جلوس والا ـ

May it be known to the *'Āmils* of *parganah* Dhar, *sarkār* Mandu, that as per order (*parwānah*) of the late Islām Khān, an amount of rupees ten and a half is fixed as charity (*khairāt*) to be given to Kānjī Brahman. Therefore, it is ordered that this amount of rupees ten and a half be given to him from the income of *kharīf* of 1084, so that he may utilize it to meet his expenses and pray for the perpetuality of the State.

This was issued under the seal of Ḥabībullah-al-Ḥasanī, follower (*murīd*) of 'Ālamgīr and is dated 28th *Jamadi* II, R.Y. 19.

XIII

چون حقیقت استحقاق مرار زناردار و کوکابرادر کلان موسی علیه(الیه؟) معلوم شد که از مدت پنجاه سال مبلغ پنجاه دام که یک ٹنکا هر سال از حاصل چبوتره کوتوالی بخدمت بندگان اعلی حضرت یافته است بنا بر آئین چند کلمه بنام متصدیان چبوتره کوتوالی قصبه مذکور نوشته شد که موافق دستور قانون قدیم به تفصیل ذیل رساند که صرف مایحتاج خود نموده بدعا گوئی دوام دولت ابد پیوند بندگان اعلی حضرت می نماید در این باب هرچه نوشته ـ

کوکا برادر کلان مشارا علیه (الیه؟) مرار

تحریر فی تاریخ غره شهر جمادی ـــــ سنه ۸ جلوس مبارک ـ

Murār Brahman and his elder brother Kukā have petitioned that they had been getting for the last 50 years, 50 *dām*, i e 1 *Murādī Tankah* annually from the income of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī for the services rendered to the worshippers of God (*Bandgān-i-'āla Hazrat*) Therefore, these lines are issued to the *Mutaṣaddīs* of *Chabutrā* Kotwālī that according to the old procedure, the said amount be paid to the following men, so that they may utilize it for their livelihood and pray to God for the prepetuality of the State

Murār and his elder brother Kūkā.

This was issued under the seal of Muḥammad Sami ' the slave (*bandah*) of Bādshāh 'Ālamgīr and is dated 8 *Jamadi* II, R.Y 8.

STATEMENT SHOWING RESEARCH WORK BEING DONE IN THE SUB-CONTINENT

Name of Institution	Subject on which work is being done	Scholar's Name	Remarks
The Sindhi Adabi Board, Karachi	*List of works to be published*		
	(A) Historical Works		
	1. *Fath Nāmah (Chach Nāmah)*		
	2 *Tārīkh Ma'ṣūmī*		
	3 *Beglar Nāmah*		
	4. *Tarkhān Nāmah*		
	5. *Tārīkh Tahirī*		
	6. *Tuhfat-ul-Kirām*		
	7. *Mazhar-i-Shāh Jahānī*		
	8 *Hadīqat-ul-Auliyā*		
	9 *Tazkirat-ul-Murād*		
	10 *Tuhfat-ul-Tahirīn*		
	11 *Mi'yar-i-Sālikān*		
	12 *Guldastah-i-Nauras Bahār*		
	13 *Tarīkh Taza Nava*		
	14. *Frere Nāmah*		
	15 *Tārīkh Sindh by* Munshī Topandās		

16 *Lubb-i-Tārīkh-i-Sind*
17 *Tārīkh Sind* by Ibn-ul-Wa'iz'
18 *Tārīkh Jām-i-Jahān Numā*
19 *Nāmah-i-Naghz*
20 *Maktubāt-i-Ā'zam*
21 *Mazarat-i-Sindh*

(B) Arabic Literature

1 *Kitāb-al-Ta'līm* by Mas'ud b Shaibah-al-Sindhi
2 *Makātibul Mursilīn* by Abu Ja'far ah Daibali
3 *Diwān Abu 'Aṭā-al-Sindhi*
4 *Commentry on Sihāh Sittā* by' Abdul Hassan of Thatta
5 *Atraf-ul-Bukhāri* by Makhdoom Hashim Thattavi
6 *Tawali-'al-Anwār* by Mohd 'Abid-al-Sindhi
7 *Qurrat-al-Anzār* by Abu Zayyat-al-Sindhi
8 *Hasr-al-Shārid* by 'Abid-al-Sindhi
9. *Al-Mawahhib-al-Latīfah fi Harm-al- Makkī* by Moḥd 'Ąbid-al-Sindhi

Name of Institution	Subject on which work is being done	Scholar's name	Remarks
	10 *Itihaf-al-Akābir* by Mohd Hashim of Thatta		
	11. Al-*Qisṭās-al-Mustaqīm*		
	12 *Development of Arabic Literature in Sindh*		
	(C) Persian Literature		
	1 *Tazkirah-i-Rauzat-ul-Salāṭīn Bakhsh Bedil*		
	2, *Tazkirah-i-Maqālat-at-Shu'rā*		
	3 *Diwān Qādir Bakhsh Bedil*		
	4. *Diwān Mīr Jānullāh Shāh*		
	5 *Diwān 'Azim Thattavi*		
	6 *Diwān Wāsil*		
	7 *Diwān Muhsīn Thattavi*		
	8 *Diwān Najmuddīn 'Uzlat*		
	9 *Diwān Miskīn*		
	10 *Diwān Ābdul Hakim 'Aṭā*		
	11 *Diwān Ziā Thattavi*		
	12 *Diwān Sābir Thattavi*		
	13. *Diwān Khalīl*		
	14. *Diwn Karam*		

	15 *Diwān Nāmī* 16. *Masnawī Saiful-Muluk* 17 *Masnawī Judāī Nāmah* 18 *Masnawī Zibā Nigār* 19 *Masnawī Hīr wa Rānjhā* by Nawāb Walī Muhammad 20 *Masnawī Sasu wa Pannu* 21 *History of Persian Poets of Sind* 22 *Development of Persian Literature in Sind* **(D) Urdu Translations** 1 *Fath Nāmah (Chuch Nāmah)* 2 *Tārīkh Ma'sumī* 3 *Tuhfatul Kirām* 4 An Urdu Edition of the Sindhi Adabi Board's History of Sind (8 volumes) 5 *Diwān Husain 'Alī Khān* 6 *Tazkirah-i-Auliyā-i-Sind* 7 *Development of Urdu Literature in Sind*	
Central Records Office (West Pakistan) Peshawar	Mysticism and History	Mr. Riāzuddīn Aḥmad Assistant Director, Electricity Deptt. Peshawar.

Name of Institution	Subject on which work is being done	Scholar's Name	Remarks
	i History and Historical Research	Mr S. M Ja'ffar, Director of Archives, Govt of West Pakistan, Peshawar	
	ii *Jangi--Azadī 1857 (Urdu)*		
	iii Confession of British Statement	do do	
	iv Islām , The Faith, the State and Culture	do do	
	v Propagation of Christianity under official patronage during the British period	do do	
University of the Panjab Lahore (Arabic Deptt)	The Life and Works of Ḥāfiz Ibn Qayyim-al-Jauziyya	Mr. Zulfiqār 'Ali Malik	
	Arabi Shā'iri men 'Aurton kā Hissah	Mr Mohd Sharīf M A.	
University Oriental College, Lahore (Arabic Deptt.)	*Kitab-al-Maghāzi al-Waqidī*	Ummat-al-Majeed, M A	
	'Ilm-i-Hadīs Kā 'Ibrānī Mutāli'ah	Ch Mohd Ḥussain, M. A.	

Persian Deptt.	*Khān Khānān aur Uske Darbārī Shu'rā*	Aḥmad Nabi Khan
	Ahwāl-w-Āsār Qudsī Mashhadī	Fazal Dīn
	Hındnstān Ke Fārsī go Shu'rā kı Ghazal anr Qunutıat	Azīz Jawed
Urdu Deptt.	*Sharar kī Inshapardāzī*	'Abdul Ghafoor
	Urdu men Bachchun kā Adab	Mıss Shamīm Akhtar
	Josh Malıhābādı	Mıss Munawwar Jahān
	Shumālī Hınd men Urdu Shāı'rı : Mīr aur Mırzā se Pahle	Iqtıdā Ḥasan
	Bahādur Shāh Zafar Bahaısıyat Shā'ır	Eıjāz-ur-Rahmān
	Urdu Masnavı kā Irtıqā Fırāq Gorahkpūrī	Mohd Sabir Alı Khan Lodi Mıss Nazīr Jahān
	Nazīr Aḥmad Ke Novel	Mıss Khurshīd Jahān Ārā Qureshī
	Urdu Sha'ıri par Iqbāl Ke Asarāt	Miss Mehr Afroz Durrani

Name of institution	Subject on which work is being done	Scholar's Name	Rmarks
	Taqsīm ke ba'd Urdū Afsānah	Ghulām Mustafā Durrānī	
	Urdū Afsāne men 'Aurat	Miss Qayyūm	
	Urdū Novel Bīswīn Ṣadī men	Miss Khālidāh	
	Multānī Zubān aur Uskā Urdū se Ta'alluq	Mehr 'Abdul Ḥaq M. A.	
	Bahādur Shāh aur unkā 'Ahad	Miss Khāwar Durrānī M A.	
	Mustafā Khān Sheftā aur unke Ma'asirīn	Safiā 'Abdul Haq M. A.	
Agra University, Agra	Evolution of Urdū Masnawī in Northern India	Giān Chandrā Jain	
	Hāli Kā Adabī Sarmāyā	S G H Rizvi	
	Qāim Chāndpūrī	Mohd 'Irfān	
	Rohilkhand under Hafiz Rahmat Khān (1708-74)	Narāyan Dās Agarwāl	

	Pandit Rattan Nath Sarshār aur Urdu Adab	Syed Latīf Hussain Adīb	
	History of Shujā'uddaulāh	Asherbādi Lal Srivastava	
University of Madras	*Tārīkh-i-Shāh Jahān* by Shaykh Farīd Bukhārī	A S U'shā	
	Wāqa'i Muhammad Shāh Pādshāh	A. S. U'shā	
	Tīmur-Nāmāh of Hatifī	A S U'shā	
	Shigarf-Nāmah	A S U'shā	
	Tārīkh Khān Jahānī	A S U'shā	
	Sawānih Irādat Khān (History of the last years of 'Alamgīr's reign and his successors)	A S. U'shā	
Pakistān Historical Society, Karachi	*Zakhīrat-al-Khwānīn* (Persian Text)	Dr S Moinul Haq, M A Ph , D.	
	The Dreams of Tīpu Sulṭān	Dr. Mahmud Husain	
	Muqaddamā Ibn Khaldun (Englsih Translation)	Dr. U. M. Daudpotā	

Name of institution	Subject on which work is being done	Scholar's Name	Remarks
	The Administratoin of the Sulṭaanate of Delhi (Revised Ed)	Dr Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi	
	Graham's *Life of Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan*	Dr S Moinul Haq, M A Ph, D.	
	History of the War of Independence, 1857	Dr S Moinul Haq, M A Ph, D	
	Sīrah of Muhammad b Ishāq.		

SELECT ARTICLES FROM JOURNALS AND MAGAZINES

(1957)

I. Saqafat ul Hind, Bombay.

1. *Al- funun fil Hind — Funn al-Mausiqi* vol VIII, No 1 — Prof Mahmud Fahmi Zaki
2. *Al-Raqs-al-Hindi*, vol VIII, No 2 . Prof. Mahmud Fahmi Zaki.
3. *Funun-al-Raqs 'ind-al-Arab*, vol VIII, No 2 ... Prof Mahmud Fahmi Zaki

II Majallat-ul-Majma'il 'ilmi, Damacus

1. *'Abdul Malik bin Abdul Rahim al-Harsi* vol XXXII, No 3 . Prof Khalil Mardum Buk.
2. *Nazartun fi " Al-Munjid "* vol XXXII, No 3 — Amir Musaafa al-Shahabi
3. *Al- Istilahat ul-Falsafa* vol XXXII, No 3 — Dr Jamil Siliba
4. *Abu-al-Tayyib-al-Lughawi wa (Ibdaluhu)* vol XXXII, No 3 — Prof Izzuddin al-Tanukhi
5. *Tahqiqat haul Naqd il-Ghazali* vol XXXII, No 3 . — Dr Hikmat Hashim
6. *Jamaluddin Bin Maznzoor Sahib-i- "Lisan-il-Arab"* vol XXXII, No 3 ... Prof. 'Ali Al-Faqih Hasan.
7. *Muarrikhun Yanzuru ila' Al-alam* vol XXXII, No 3 — Prof Arnold Toyenbee
8. *Ma Sami'tu wa ma r'aitu fi bilad-il-Sofiat* vol XXXII, No 3 — Dr Hasani Sabu'a.
9. *Al-Aqlu wal -Naqlu 'ind Al-Imam Ibn-i-Taimiah* vol XXXII, No 3 vol XXXII, No 3 . — Prof Mohammad Bahjatat Al-Baitar
10. *Haul-al-Fusha wal-'Amiah* vol XXXII, No 2 .. — Prof Sati' al-Hasri
11. *Muraj'atu Kitabin fi Ikhtisar-il-Jabr wal-muqabalah* vol XXXII, No 2 — Prof Qadri Hafiz Tuqan
12. *Tahqiqat Haul Naqd-il-Ghazali* vol XXXII, No. 2 — Dr Hikmat Hashim
13. *Hamlatu Nabiliyun 'Ala Misr* vol XXXII, No 2 . ... — Amir J'afar-al-Hasani
14. *Al-Tirmizi Sahinb-il-Jami' fi-l-Sunan.* vol. XXXII, No 2 .. Prof Mohammad Yusuf-al-Bannuri
15. *A'aras-ul-Shami fi awakheri-il-Qarn* vol. XXXII, No 2 . .. Prof. 'Abdul Hadi Hashim.
16. *'Abul Fatha Ibn Jinni* vol XXXII, No. 2 .. Dr. Mohammad As'ad Talas.

III. The Indo-Asian Culture, New Delhi.

1 *Adult Education in Turkey* vol VI, No 2	Dr Manilal Patel
2. *Recent Indian Archaeology* vol VI, No. 2	T N Ramachandra.
3 *Indian Medical Science among the Ancient Arabs* vol V, No 4	Prof Dr M Z. Siddiqi
4 *The Parsis in India,* vol V, No 4 .	Prof. D B. Diskalkar.
5 *The Asian Approach to Culture,* vol VI, No 1	... K G Saiyidian
6. *Modern Egyptian Literature* , Vol VI No. 1	Dr Mohammed Kamil Hussein.
7. *An Ancient Indian System of Medicine,* vol VI No 1 ..	Nanigopal Ray
8 *Akbar's Place In History,* vol V, No 3	Prof Dr Nandlal Chatterji
9 *Indian as known to the Ancient Arabs* vol V, No 3	Prof Dr M A Siddiqi.
10 *New Inscriptions of Asoka* vol V, No 3	Dr D C Sircar

IV. Islamic Culture, Hyderabad-Deccan

1 *Characteristics of Arabic Lietrature from the beginning to the end of the Umayyad Period* vol XXXI, No 1 .	Dr J Somogyi
2 *Life and Works OF'Abd-al-Latif Al-' Abbasi,* vol XXXI, No 1	Prof Sayyid Akbar Ali
3. *Imamuddin Gusain Riadi, The Garndson of Nadir-Ul-'Asr Ustad Ahmad, The Architect of the Tajmahal and His Tadhkira-i-Baghistan* vol XXXI, No 1 .	H E Dr 'Ali Asghar Hekmat
4 *Culture and Administrative* vol No 2 .	Prof H K Sherwani.
5 *Ibrahim Qutb-Shah,* vol XXXI, No 2	Prof H K Sherwani
6 *The Life and Times of Malik 'Ambar* vol XXXI No 2 .	Dr D. R Serh
7. *The Politics of Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi,* vol XXXI. No 2	Dr Muhammad ' Abdul Bari.
8 *Characteristics of Arabic Literature from the Beginning to the end of the Ummayyad Period,* vol XXXI No 2	by Dr Joseph Somogyi.
9. *Arabic Literature During the Abbasid Period,* vol. XXXI, No 3 .	by Dr Joseph Somogyi.
10. *Culture and Administrative Set-up underibrahim Qutb-Shah,* vol XXXI, No. 3 ..	Prof. H. K Sherwani

11. *Early Fortifications and Encampments of the Mughuls*, vol XXXI, No 3	R. A. Jairazbhoy
12 *Dress of the Great Mughuls*, vol XXXI, No 3	Mohd Azhar Ansari.
13 *Arabic Literature During the ' Abbasid Period*, vol XXXI No 4	Ignaz Goldziher, Tr by Dr. Joesph Somogyi.
14 *Critical Study of the Sources for the History of India*, vol. XXXI No 4	Dr Mahdi Husain
15 *Administrative System of the Surs (Sher Shah And His Successors)* vol XXXI, No 4	Dr Satish Chandra Misra
16 *The Sufi Idla of Self-Perfection*, vol XXXI No 4	Dr Mir Valiuddin

V. Journal of Indian History, Trivandrunm (India).

1 *Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk the First Ruler of Medieval Tilangana*, vol XXXIV, Pt I	Prof H K Sherwani
2. *Firuz Tughluq and Asokan Pillars*, Vol XXXIV, Pt I	Dr Nandalal Chatterji
3 *The Presidency of Agra*, 1834-1836 vol XXXIV, Pt I	Dr Dharma Bhanu
4 *Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l Mulk, the First Ruler of Medieval Tilangana*, vol XXXI, Pt II	Prof H K Sherwani

VI. East and West, Rome

1 *Early Muraqqa's of the Mughul Emperor Jahangir*, vol VIII, No 2	Hermann Goetz
2 *The Colonial deviation in Indonesian History*, vol VIII, No 3	Julius M vander Kroef
3 *Spritual Virility in Budhism*, vol VIII, No 4	Julius Evola
4 The legend of Barlaam and Josaph in Byzantum and in the Ronance Europe, vol VIII, No 4	Raoul Manseli

VII. The Islamic Quarterly, London

1 *The libety of the individual in contracts and conditions according to Isalmic law*, vol II, No 2	Professor Muhammad Yusuf Musa
2 *The Story of the prophet's ascent (MI'RAJ) in Sufi thought and literature*, vol II, No. 1	Professor A E. Affifi
3 *IKHWAN AS-SAFA and their Rasa'il*, vol II No 1	A L Tibawai Ph D.

VIII. Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi 1957.

1	*Arabic Science in the West* (I), vol V, No I	Dr M D Dunlop
2	*The story of the War of Independence (being an English translation of 'Allama Fadl-i-Haqq's Risalah on the War)* vol V, No I	Dr S Moinul Haq
3	*Cultural Decay or Cultural Emergency. the meaning of the twentieth Century* vol V, No II	Prof. Ralph E Turner.
4	*Arabic Science In the West (II)*, vol V, No II	Dr D M Dunlop.
5	*Origin and Evolution of Khiyal in Pak-India*, vol V, No II	Dr A Halim
6.	*Akbar's Northern Policy*, vol V, No II .	A A Ansari
7	*Note on two little known fighters in the War of Independence*, vol V, No II	Maulvi Mohd Sulaiman, Badayuni
8	*Arabic Science in the West* (III), vol V No III . .	Dr D M Dunlop
9	*The Site of the so-called Battle of Talikota*, vol V No III	Professor H K Shirwani
10	*Muraqqa'-i-Gulshan*, vol V No III	Dr Mohd Baqir
11	*Shah Jhan's North-Western Policy*, vol V. No. II .	A A Ansari
12	*The Sultan in the Political and Social Life under the Later Ghaznawaids*, vol V No III	Dr Yusuf Abbas Hashmi
13.	*Islamic Studies in Italy in the XIX-XX cc*, vol V, Pt IV .. .	Prof Alexander Bausani.
14	*Arabic Science in the West (IV)*, vol V Pt IV	Dr D M Dunlop.
15.	*The Identity of Shitab Khan of Warangal,*, vol. V, Pt IV .	Prof Harun Khan Serwani
16.	*Khawajah Uthman, an Afghan hero of Bengal*, vol V, Pt IV	Capt Karimuddin Ahmed
17.	*Aurangzib and Hindu Temples*, vol. V, Pt. IV	Jnan Chandra

IX. M'a arif, Azamgarh.

1.	*Ibn Al-Jazri*, vol LXXXI, No 5	'Abdul Halim Chishti.
2	*Malik-us-shu'ra Akhtar ka gair m'aroof kalam*, vol LXXXI, No. 5 ...	Bashir ul Haq Dismavi.

X. Al-'Ilm, Karachi.

1.	*Zafar ki shar'i par muqami asarat*, vol. Vi, No. 3	Tahawwar Husain.

2. *Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan Shaheed*, Vol Vi, No. 3	Syed Mustafa 'Ali Bareilvi.
3. *Maulana Kafi Shaheed*, vol. VI, No. 3	Mohammad Ayub Qadri.

XI. Sab-Ras, Hyderabad Dn

1 *Ghulam Mohyuddin Khan Mateen*, vol. XXI, No. 7 & 8 .	Dr. Syed Mohyi uddin Zor

XII. Urdu, Karach

1. *Shah Qasim 'Ali Qasmi Aurangabadi* vol XXXVi, No 1	Mohd Sakhawat 'Ali Mirza
2 *Hazarat Shah ' Isa Jandullah ka marsiah*, vol XXXVI, No 1	Tr by Shaikh Burhanpuri.

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume VI Part II

APRIL 1958

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

CONTENTS

Recent European Research on the Life and Work of Prophet Muhammad*

by

PROF. RUDI PARET, GERMANY

Within the last three generations of orientalists, the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad has been the subject of thorough scientific research. In 1843 the German orientalist Gustav Weil published his *Mohammed der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* . This was the first attempt to handle the problem in a critical, though unbiased way. At the time of the writing of this book, however, the oldest sources on the life of Muhammad were not yet accessible in print Still, Weil was able to get hold of a manuscript of the oldest existing biography of the Prophet by Ibn Hishām. Not later than 15 years after the publication of Weil's book, this manuscript was edited by another German, G Wustenfeld, and translated into German by Weil in 1864 Another important source, Wāqidi's *Kitāb-al-Māghāzī* was edited in 1856 by Alfred von Kremer of the Austrian Consulate General at Alexandria and printed at Calcutta as a part of the collection of the Bibliotheca Indica. An abridged German translation of the same work by the famous orientalist Julius Wellhausen appeared at Berlin in 1882 Further material on the life of Muḥammad was provided by parts III and IV of the famous world history of Ṭabarī, published in the eighties of the last century. The work as a whole was edited by a team of the best European Arabists of the time. Last, but not least, volumes I and II of the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd, containing the biography of Muḥammad, were edited by another team of orientalists, Mittwoch, Sachau, Horovitz and Schwally, within the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Nobody, I venture to say, will ever question the value of this editorial work. With the only exception of Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* in the Bibliotheca Indica which is not quite satisfactory, the main sources of the life and work of the Prophet are now at our disposal in excellent editions. The *Ta'rīkh* of Ṭabarī have in the meantime, been reprinted in Cairo in a somewhat simplified manner. The same holds true with regard to the reprint of the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd,

* This paper was read Professor Rudi Paret, of the Tubingen University (Germany) at a meeting of the Pakistan Historical Society held on 20 January 1958.

of which up to now three volumes have been published, if I am rightly informed. Only of the *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām an amplified and, to a certain extent, corrected edition has been printed (Cairo 1936, four volumes).

Far be it from me, however, to indulge in a historical description of the work done by former generations. What I want to do is to give you some information about *recent* European research into the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad, that is to say, about scientific work which has been done within our own generation or is still going on.

First of all I have to mention in this connection the new translation of the biography of Ibn Hishām by A. Guillaume, formerly Professor of Arabic at the University of London, at present at the University of Princeton, U S.A. It has been published in 1955 by the Oxford University Press and comprises more than 800 pages As far as the difficult task of translation from Arabic into a modern European language is concerned, the author has done very well indeed. Guillaume has successfully " endeavoured to follow the text of the original as closely as possible without sacrificing English idiom." His new version is, therefore, in terms of readability, superior to the German one done by G. Weil some ninety years ago. In one more respect, the work deserves our appreciation : the author has tried to give more than a mere translation by unearthing the main source of Ibn Hishām, namely the biography of the Prophet by Ibn Isḥāq written about seventy years earlier He therefore removes all remarks inserted by Ibn Hishām into the original text of Ibn Isḥāq to an appendix at the end of the book. On the other hand, he offers at the respective places of the text the translations of the passages omitted by Ibn Hishām, but preserved by Ṭabarī, Azraqī, Ibn Sa'd and others. So the new translation by Guillaume, for the first time, renders the *Sīrah* of Ibn Isḥāq in a continuous text which is neither abridged nor amplified. It is to be hoped, that this book will help to enlarge the interest in the life of Muḥammad, and at the same time stimulate and deepen research into one of the most important fields of human history.

Professor Guillaume's contribution to research into the history of Muḥammad will by no means be confined to the translation and reconstruction of the text of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sirah Rasūl Allah* from Arabic originals accessible in critically edited and printed texts. As he announces in the Introduction to the translation (p. XVIII)

and in an article in the first volume of *The Islamic Quarterly* from April, 1954 (p. 6), he is preparing the edition of a large fragment of the original Ibn Isḥāq (in the recension of Yūnus ibn Bukayr), which exists in the Qarawiyin mosque at Fez, and which—to use his own words - "contains some important additions to the received text". We join Guillaume in the hope that this very important text will shortly be available to scholars throughout the world.

In his article in *The Islamic Quarterly*, A. Guillaume further announces that J. M. B Jones of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London is preparing, or has already prepared, an edition of the text of Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* from the manuscripts in the British Museum As the edition of the same work by Alfred von Kremer, which has appeared at Calcutta a century ago, was based on a single and rather faulty manuscript, such a reedition is a real desideratum and will be of the highest importance. We are eagerly looking forward to it. Once it will be out, there will be no source of the history of Muḥammad left which, in its textual reproduction, would not meet all requirements.

The quality of the work done by all the editors of Ibn Hishām, Ṭabarī and Ibn Sa'd is self-evident. Moreover, there is no question that the newly discovered fragment of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrah* and the two manuscripts of Waqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* will leave the printing press with the same stamp of philological accuracy and scholarship as their predecessors. Yet, however difficult and important a task editing may be, it must not be considered as an end in itself. Its auxiliary functions are quite clear. It is by the editor's work, a philologically reconstructed and published text, that the *historian* establishes contact with the subject of his research, with the historical and social facts of a certain age or period, or with the personality and background of someone who, as we call it in German, has made history ("der Geschichte gemacht hat") and so deserves to occupy the interest of later generations. Following this line, our question must be : has the vast material about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad contained in all these excellently edited texts of Ibn Hishām, Ṭabarī etc, been properly explored by the living generation of European orientalists, and if so, what are the results ?

If I venture to answer this question, I ought to admit quite frankly that the main historical work—analytical as well as synthetical—has been done by orientalists who were at the height of their work in the

first decades of this century and are now no more alive. Three of them deserve to be mentioned first and foremost and with the deepest respect for their representative scholarship: Conte Leone Caetani, Frants Buhl and Tor Andrae. In the first two volumes of his monumental *Annali dell' Islam*, the Italian Count Leone Caetani, supported by a staff of collaborators, not only collected and scrutinised the vast materials about the life of the Prophet and the beginnings of the history of Islam but also interspersed his demonstration of the facts with ingeniously conceived surveys on the main historical problems and evolutionary trends. The Dane Frants Bhul wrote several articles concerning the history of Muḥammad and early Islam for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* The Swede Tor Andrae in a scholarly book inquired into certain relations between the origin of Islam and Christianity. But both these Northern orientalists acquired international fame by their biographies of Muḥammad, which were published in 1930 and 1932 in German (in 1936 that of Tor Andrae was also published in an English translation). The work of Bhul is marked by its quiet and objective representation of the facts, that of Tor Andrae by a deep psychological and religious insight. Both biographies are, each in its manner, standard works and, as I believe, will stand unrivalled

Thus we owe to orientalists of a bygone generation a rather complete picture of the history of Muḥammad and his time. As far as details are concerned, however, they have left quite a lot of work still to be done. I dare say that in the meantime quite a bit of ground has been convered, and the results of earlier research have in many respects been improved and amplified. If I would undertake to catalogue the titles of all articles and books that, since the biographies of Buhl and Andrae, have been written about facts and problems concerning the history of the Prophet, and that have come to my knowledge, I am afraid I would bore you with a rather long list. I want to spare you this exertion and prefer to concentrate my report on a few cases of significant character.

May I then, in addition to what I have said before about Professor Guillaume and his translation of the *Sīrah* of Ibn Isḥāq, draw your attention to an article by the same author, entitled "Where was al-Masjid al-Aqṣā ?" and published in 1953 in "*Al-Andalus*". In this article, *Guillaume* suggests quite a new interpretation of the term *al-Masjid al-Aqṣā* ("the remote place of worship") in the first verse

of Sūrah 17 (*Sūrah al-isrā'*). The text runs as follows : "Glory be to Him who journeyed by night with His servant from the sacred place of worship to the remote place of worship the precinct of which we have blessed, that we might show him some of Our signs. Verily He is the hearing and seeing one". (*subḥāna lladhi asrā bi-'abdihi lailan mine l-masjidi l-ḥārami ila l-masjidi l-aqṣa lladhi bārāknā haulahu li-nuriyahu min āyātina innahu huwa s-samī' u'l-baṣir*). As is well known, the verse has till now commonly been understood as an allusion to a miraculous night journey (Ar. *isrā'*) on which God led his servant, that means Muḥammad, from Mecca to Jerusalem or, as some commentators suggest, directly to heaven. Consequently the term *al-masjid al-aqṣā* has to be identified with Jerusalem or a certain place in heaven.

Now Professor Guillaume has discovered that the same term is applied by two historians in quite a different connotation. In a passage in Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*—a passage which Wellhausen in his abridged translation of the work has omitted—and in a passage of Azraqī's *History of Mecca*, *al-masjid al-aqṣā* points to a place of worship situated at al-Ji'rānā, which lies on the 'Irāqī pilgrim road at a distance of 15 kilometres from the sanctuary of the Ka'bah and marks the border of the *Ḥaram* of Mecca. On the ground of this unquestionable fact, Guillaume bases his theory that *al-Masjid al-Āqṣā* in Sūrah 17, I is identical with this place. He draws further conclusion that the night journey of the Prophet alluded to in Sūrah 17 did not take place when he was still in Mecca but in the year eight of the *Higrah*, after he had entered Mecca in triumph and returned from his victory over the big army of the Hawāzin. Thus the night journey—so the author concludes —was a perfectly natural event. It did not become a miracle until the writers of the second century of the *Hijrah* began to adorn it with the halo of mystery.

So far my report on Guillaume's article "Where was al-Masjid al-Aqṣā ' ?" Although at the first sight its conclusions strike one as convincing, they are still subject to doubt in my opinion. First of all, it is rather improbable that the place at al-Ji'rana mentioned by Waqidī and Azraqī was already qualified as " the remote place of worship " (*al-masjid al-aqṣā*) in the lifetime of Muḥammad. It is more likely that it acquired this qualification only later on, in commemoration of a prayer-service that the Prophet once performed there (or is said to have performed). In the second place, Guillaume could not

plausibly explain the additional remarks in the *Qur'anic* text: *alladhi bāraknā ḥaulahu* ("the precinct of which We have blessed"). In fact the remark is to be explained in connexion with the *Qur'anic* expression *al-arḍ allatī bāraknā fīha* ("the land which We have blessed" ; Surah 21,71 ; 7, 137 ; cf. 34, 18), which without any doubt refers to what we call "the Holy Land", *i.e.* Palestine. I therefore think that the traditional interpretation of the *isra'* alluded to in Sūrah 17,1 as a miraculous night-journey to Jerusalem is still valid. The article of Guillaume may, however, serve as an instructive example of modern European criticism. When doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad, we *on principle* distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way. On the contrary we attach—in our historical research—the greatest importance to the sole source that unconditionally deserves to be called authentical, namely the *Qur'an* For the *Qur'an*, undoubtedly, consists of utterances promulgated by the Prophet himslf.

To express myself quite clearly : I do not pretend that all traditional material handed down by later gererations is to be rejected as spurious, and I frankly admit that in several cases modern European criticism of Muslim tradition seems to have overstepped the mark. What I would like to say is that on principle, and only on principle, we must distrust the traditional material, in so far as it can not be verified by internal evidence or in some other way Each single case requires individual consideration. In this field of research there is still much to be done Fortunately the great Concordance of Muslim Tradition, of which the first fascicle has appeared at Leyden in 1933, and which is of the greatest use to all orientalists working in this field, is still being continued, although at a rather slow pace.

Already in 1890, Ignaz Goldziher blazed the trail for modern European criticism of *Ḥadīth* with his treatise " *Ueber die Entwicklung des Hadith* " (about the evolution of *ḥadīth.*) Joseph Schacht, now Professor at the University of Leyden whose book. *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* has been published at Oxford in 1950, not only confirms the results of Goldziher's criticism, but even goes beyond them. In concentrating his criticism on the so-called *isnads*, the chains of authorities adduced for the single traditions, he maintains that the *isnads* reaching back to the Prophet himself are of later origin than those which have a " Companion ".

(*ṣaḥābī*) or a " Successor " (*tābi'ī*) as the first link of the chain. "The isnads" so he says " show a tendency to grow backwards and to claim higher and higher authority until they arrive at the Prophet ". In fact, " a great many tradition in the classical and other collections were put into circulation only after the time of Shafi'i" who died in 820 A. D. or in the year 204 of the *Hijrah* ; " the first considerable body of legal traditions from the Prophet originated towards the second century (of the *Hijrah*), in opposition to slightly earlier traditions from Companions and other authorities", for " there is no reason to suppose that the regular practice of suing isnads is older than the beginning of the second century " "We shall find," I am still quoting Schacht, " that the bulk of legal tradition from the Prophet known to Malik (who died in 795 A D or 179 of the *Higrah*) originated in the generation preceding him, that is (to say) in the second quarter of the second century A.H , and we shall not meet any legal tradition from the Prophet which can positively be considered as authentic "

In a review of *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* published in 1953 in " Bibliotheca Orientalis ", Joseph Schacht has himself been severely criticized by Johann W Fuck for his radical criticism of the *hadīth* But as the main point in question is the problem of the evolution of Muslim Law, not the history of Muḥammad, I need not dwell upon the matter any longer. I should only like to call the attention of the scholars to a fact which I have already mentioned in an article in "Westostliche Studien" dedicated to Rudolf Tschudi (1954), entitled "Die Lucke in der Ueberlieferung uber den Urislam " (the gap in the tradition on early Islam) . The *hadīth* which in a narrower sense deserves to be called historical, and of which we make use in reconstructing the biography of the Prophet, seems—generally speaking—to be more authentical than the materials which later jurists are quoting as precedents from ancient times in order to sanction and corroborate legal decisions and theories generally accepted and adhered to. Provided even that Joseph Schacht be right in all that he has pointed out, this does not at all imply that the traditions about the life of the Prophet are altogether to be rejected as unauthentical. As a matter of fact, the works of Ibn Hishām, Ṭabarī, Waqidī and Ibn Sa'd contain quite a number of really historical traditions. Thus, the task of the historian is by no means confined to mere scepticism which calls everything in doubt. What we ought to do is to differentiate and keep our eyes open for what may really be authentic. This,

of course, requires from every scholar immense labour and patience. For—as I already have said—each single case requires individual consideration.

May I, in this connection, mention the dissertations of two pupils of mine. Herbert Horst, in his dissertation, examined and analysed the many thousands of *isnāds* given by Ṭabarī in his comprehensive commentary on the *Qur'an*. A very small extract from it has been published in 1953 in "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft". *The bulk of the material, by the way, is available* for everybody interested in the matter. Joachim von Stulpnagel wrote his dissertation on the old historian 'Urwah ibn Zubayr and the value of the traditions transmitted under his name. I hope that at least a part of this dissertation, referring to the famous letters written by 'Urwah to the caliph 'Abd-al-Malik, will be published in one of the next fascicles of the review "Der Islam".

Along this line, I shoud like to mention three publications of the Swedish orientalist Harris Birkeland which has quite recently appeared in the Transactions of the Academy of Sciences at Oslo (1955 and 1956). In the first of these publications, the author deals with "*The Legend of the Opening of Muhammad's Breast*", in the second with "*Old Muslim Opposition against Interpretation of the Koran*", in the third, under the title "*The Lord Guides, Studies on Primitive Islam*", with five of the oldest *Sūrahs* of the *Qur'an*. As Birkeland argues, "Goldziher's method to evaluate traditions according to their *contents* is rather disappointing." "We are," I am quoting his own words, "not entitled to limit our study to the texts (the so called matns). We have the imperative duty to scrutinize the *Isnāds* too......and to consider the matns in their relation to the *Isnāds*...... For it is very often the age of the contents that we do not know and which we, consequently, wish to decide The study of the *Isnāds* in many cases gives us valuable assistance to fulfil this wish, despite the fact that in principle they must be held to be spurious. However fictitious they are, they represent sociological facts".[1]

With this argument, the author outlines a vast scientific programme. And he uses every effort to carry it out himself, in collecting, diffe-rentiating and thoroughly scrutinizing all traditions and comments concerning a certain passage of the *Qur'an* or some legend about the Prophet. The results of his efforts are—at least in my opinion—

[1] *The Lord Guides*. p. 6f.

rather disappointing. He, for example, maintains that "the Muslim interpretation of the Quran in the form it has been transmitted to us, namely in its oldest stage as hadith, does not contain reliable information on the earliest period of Muhammad in Mecca". (133). Nevertheless he continues : "The original tafsir of Ibn 'Abbās and possibly that of his first disciples must, however, have contained such information." "An exact, detailed and comparative analysis of all available materials, of Isnads and matns and exegetical-theological tendencies, in many instances enables us to go behind the extant texts and reach the orinignal interpretation of Ibn 'Abbās, or at least that of his time, thus obtaining a really authentic understanding of the Koranic passage". (135).

To tell the truth : I cannot make this optimistic outlook my own. Nor can I quite agree with Birkeland as to his evaluation of the so-called family-isnāds (opposition 38 f) But in all other respects I do admire him for his true scholarship and for the useful work he has done in publishing the results of his penetrating and careful research.

The publications of Birkeland I have mentioned deal with a limited number of isolated cases singled out from the great mass of materials which constitute the sources of the life and work of Muḥammad. Unlike Birkeland's research, the two imposing books which we owe to Professor W. Montgomery Watt of the University of Edinburgh (Scotland) cover a *wide* field. They are called *Muhammad at Mecca* (published at the Oxford University Press in 1953) and *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford 1956) and represent, seen as a whole, a complete biography of the Prophet, including the historical and social background of his life and work and the origins of the Islamic community. Such a comprehensive work, of course, cannot be duly appreciated in a few words. All I can do is to point to some of its most characteristic features.

Compared with Frants Buhl and Tor Andrae and their standard works, which after all, still remain unrivalled, Montgomery Watt does not give a continuous account of the history of Muḥammad. His two books consist rather of a series of monographs, each of which is in itself well rounded off. This holds good especially for the second volume, *Muḥammad at Medina*. Here, Watt deals in one chapter with the Bedouin Arabs and their gradual unification by Muḥammad's policy. Instead of observing a chronological order of events, he divides up the tribes geographically and, taking each

tribe or group of tribes separately, considers Muḥammad's relations to it both before and after the conquest of Mecca. (78). In this way he is able to differentiate, for example, between the policy of the Prophet towards the tribes of the West and North and towards those of the South-East, and to facilitate the understanding of the Bedouin problem in its whole complexity. In another chapter he is dealing with the internal politics of Medina, with the social and political groupings prevailing before the arrival of Muḥammad, and with the gradual transformation and reorganisation of these groupings by the Muslim community growing stronger and stronger. One of the special merits of Watt's biographical work is to be seen in the fact, that the author draws the materials of his research immediately from the original texts, and that he knows how to make the sources eloquent. So, in his chapter on the internal politics of Medina, he is in a position to utilize the diverse geneological and sociological statements included in Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt* and Samhūdī's History of Medina by critically combining them into a comprehensive pattern His analytical scrutiny and his synthetical gift appear to be very well balanced throughout his work. Among the several appendices at the end of the volumes, the detailed lists of Meccan Muslims and pagans and of Muslim expeditions and the respective leaders and numbers of participants are of particular interest.

Needless to say, a work so teeming with new scientific insights as Watt's biography of the Prophet must in some details remain open to criticism. In my opinion, the author has, in *Muhammad at Medina*, a little overestimated the Prophet's strategy in his policy towards the Bedouin tribes. I doubt whether his tribal policy was governed by the insight that, in consequence of the "Pax Islamica" embracing all or most of the warlike Arabs, these would be forced to expand northward Another point in which I cannot agree with Watt concerns his view on the social and economic background of Muḥammad's primary messages (*Muhammad at Mecca*, 18sq. and 72 sq.). I would, however, call the recent essay of a French reviewer of the book which tries to pigeonhole Watt's work as " a Marxist explication of Islam " totally unjustified. As a whole, Watt's work deserves our highest appreciation as a document of profuond and in many regards original research. His *Muḥammad at Mecca* and *Muḥammad at Medina* will for a long time to come be indispensable for every scholar dealing with the life and work of the Prophet.

In their research, Marris Birkeland and Montgomery Watt have drawn from the two sources of the life of the Prophet which are at our disposal : the *Qur'an* and the tradition On the other hand, Richard Bell, the late Reader in Arabic at the University of Edinburgh, the scholar, with whose appreciation I want to bring my short report to a conclusion, has almost exclusively been engaged in *Qur'anic* research. By way of parenthesis I may remark that Bell deserves very well to be ranged among the representatives of *recent* European research into the life and work of Muḥammad, although he is no longer with us (he has died in 1952). For his translation of the *Qur'an*, to which he owes his reputation in the scientific world, was not completed earlier than at the eve of the Second World War and has been eagerly debated on up to now. And at least one of the somewhat bold theories put forward in his contributions to diverse periodicals and transactions seems to have just now acquired a broader publicity.

Before embarking on this report on Richard Bell, may I venture some preliminary remarks on the delicate problem which must needs be involved in every attempt to translate the *Qur'an* from Arabic into a foreign language.

According to a view that among Muslims is generally accepted, the *Qur'an* cannot be translated in the literal sense of the word. For one of its essential characteristics consists in the fact that it has been transmitted and promulgated by the Prophet to the contemporary Arabs just in their own language. *Inna anzalnahu qur'anan 'arabiyan la'allakum ta'qiluna* ("We have sent it down as an Arabic *Qur'an* mayhap you will understand," *Sūrah*, 12,2) From this and similar passages it seems to follow that there can be no English or any other than the Arabic *Qur'an*. Thus, a so-called translation is but a comment or a paraphrase, and therefore has to be combined with the Arabic text as the only authentic original. The view, that the *Qur'an* cannot be translated, is futhermore supported and corroborated by the theory of the *I'jāz*, the "unattainableness "of the *Qur'an*, that means by the belief that no literary production could in any way compete with it. Now, if no literary production in Arabic can ever compete with the *Qur'an*, how could it be possible that a mere translation would ever reach the standard of the original ?

I willingly admit that this Muslim view is in itself well founded and does make sense indeed. I further admit that in fact it is quite impossible to produce a translation of the *Qur'an* which is in every respect

adequate and equivalent to the original. But this holds true, at least in principle, for every translation. It does not prevent us from translating a book we wish to make accessible to our fellow country-men from their original into our own language. Thus nobody must find fault with a European, non-Muslim, orientalist for making an attempt to translate the Holy Book of the Muslims If anyone of us sets out for such a project, he does it because he is genuinely interested in the matter, and because, by translating the *Qur'an* he hopes to trace as much as possible of this unique authentic source of the life and work of the Prophet and to make it more easily accessible to his compatriots and to his colleagues within the whole scientific world. It is under this general aspect that I should like to report on two recently published scientific translations of the *Qur'an*—or if you prefer my putting it in this way . on two *attempts* to translate the *Qur'an* scientifically, particularly on that of Richard Bell

If Richard Bell's English translation of the *Qur'an* were not at our disposal, the French translation of Regis Blachere, Professor at the Sorbonne, which has been published some ten years ago (1947. 1949,1950), in my opinion, would be qualified as quite up to date and as the most critical and independent one that has ever been made. As a matter of fact, Blachere's work excels in workmanship. He made use of some of the most important commentaries, but never adopted any plain or simplifying explanation they propose without securing evidence He arranged the *Sūrahs* according to their presumable chronological order. He divided the longer *Sūrahs* and gave them headings indicating the main contents He supplied the text with the indispensable insertions and notes and kept his style very readable. In spite of all these advantages, however, his translation of the *Qur'an* remained without substantial effect on the scientific world It was Bell's translation which carried the day In German we have the saying, " what is better, is the enemy of what is good " (Das Bessere ist der Feind des Guten) That applies to the case mentioned. I do not want to say that Bell's translation is in all res pects superior to that of Blachere It is undoubtedly more daring and more independent,—in some way, if I may say so, even revolutionary In any case it is more fascinating I shall, therefore, in this last paragraph of my report, confine myself to Bell's translation and shall no further dwell upon that of Blachere

In preparing his translation, Bell did not ignore the Muslim commentators. As he states in the Preface (p. V.), Bayḍāwī has constantly,

and other standard commentaries have occasionally, been consulted. But whenever he presumes that dogmatic prepossessions have vitiated their exegesis, or the grammatical has been evidently difficult even to them, he ventures to use his own judgement, and to seek the solution of difficulty by methods which they were precluded from adopting. In other words, Bell depends much less than his predecessors on the authority of the commentators or, generally speaking, of the *ḥadīth*. This is, in my opinion, one of the most noticeable characteristics of his new translation, and one of its merits too In a booklet which has been published in 1950 at Stuttgart, *Grenzen der Koranforschung* (Limitations of *Qur'anic* Research), I have, among other things, discussed this point at full length and hinted at the necessity of explaining the *Qur'an* as far as possible by means of the *Qur'an* itself, that is to say by elucidating difficult passages from other parallel passages that bear upon the same subject and are easier to be understood, or from passages that grammatically or in their wording are analogous The more we, in principle, distrust the traditional interpretation of the text, the more we are bound to make use of the possibility of such internal elucidation. Of course the Arab commentators have utilized this way of mutual elucidation too But they did not depend as much upon it as we do, and as Bell has practically done when preparing his translation

In this booklet of mine I have stressed the necessity of supplying the literal translation by insertions explaining the very abruptly formulated original I thought it advisable to combine such insertions immediately with the text instead of relegating them to foot-notes or an appendix, in order to facilitate the right understanding of the text from the very beginning I tried to illustrate this by a translation of *Sūrah* 30 (*Sūrah al-Rūm*). Here I proceeded according to the suggested method by inserting into the text plenty of explaining additions (with or without brackets). I then found fault with Bell, he had not enlarged the text of his translation by similar insertions. In the meantime, however, while working at a German translation of the *Qur'an*, I gradually changed my mind and am now of the opinion, that it would be better not to overload the text of the translation with too many insertions I therefore withdraw the objection I have made in this respect to the translation of Bell. I rather hope, that the mass of his notes which, as he himself states (p. VIII), owing to the cost of printing had to be suppressed, will be published separately within a short time. So if his translation, for want of sufficiently

elucidating notes, till now looks somewhat incomplete, the author is not to be blamed for it.

If, as far as insertions and notes are concerned, Bell seems, at least for the time being, to have done a bit too little, he might as well have done a bit too much in another field I am aiming at his endeavour for a chronological re-arrangement of the text. It is here, I think, that the most characteristic trait of his translation can be found, and he had some reason for adding to the title of the work " The *Qur'an* Translated " the remark " with a critical re-arrangement of the *Surahs* "

Bell does not content himself with bringing the whole series of 114 *Sūrahs* into a chronological order, as Blachere has done, beginning with *Surah* 96, which by common consent is the oldest one, and ending with *Sūrah* 5 On the contrary, he keeps them in their usual order, from *Sūrah* 1 until *Sūrah* 114 As he says (p. VI), " the thorough arrangement of the Qur'an in chronological order remains a complicated problem which must be left to others to solve." Instead, his "main object has been to unravel the composition of the separate Surahs " are quite astonishing, not to say alarming. He characterizes the *Qur'an* in its present form, which, as he assumes, has been carefully transmitted from the time of Muhammad, as "a confusion of written documents " (VI) On the one hand, he traces back this confusion " to the fact, that the *Qur'an* was delivered for the most part in short pieces, which were afterwards put together in *surahs*, so that one finds the most diverse subjects treated of in the same *surah*, just as they forced themselves upon the prophet's attention". On the other hand, the traces it back to " all the possibilities of confusion in written documents—corrections, interlinear additions, additions on the margin, deletions and substitutions, pieces cut off from a passage and wrongly placed, passages written on the back of others and then read continuously, front and back following each other".

In his *Introduction to the Qur'an* (Edinburgh 1953) Bell introduces still another possibility of explaining certain incongruities in the composition of the *Qur'an* (pp. 82-86) A detailed study of the structure of the *Sūrahs* discloses, he says (p 83), " evidences of revisons and alterations such as could have hardly been made without the authority of the Prophet, and for which we can, in many cases, assign a reason in his own changing circumstances and aims". "There are," I am quoting Bell's own words (p. 85f) " abrupt changes in the length of verses, and sudden changes of dramatic situation involving changes

of pronoun from signular to plural, or from second to third person and vice versa. Sometimes apparently contradictory statements appear side by side. Passages of different dates stand together, and later phrases enter into earlier verses. So common are these things in *Qur'an* that they have often been regarded as characteristic of its style not calling for further study, but they certainly demand an explanation The explanation may, of course, vary in each case, but in the great majority of cases it will be found in some revision or alteration of an earlier Text"

So far my quotation fom Bell's *Introduction to the Qur'an.* In the translation, the results of his analytical research can without difficulty be recognised in the very setting of the print "What seemed the natural divisions of the text have been marked from each other by spacing " (VII) and supplied with headings indicating the main point dealt with, the presumable date of the text and, in case of need the (supposed) fact that the passage has been later revised or substituted (VI) " Shorter additions within a verse have been marked off by spaces Later additions have been set in a space or two from the margin Where parts of the text are printed in parallel columns, that which stands on the left is taken as the earlier, that on the right as a later substitution for it There it seems fairly certain that the one was written on the back of the other a line has been printed between them" (VII) And so on

Neither do I need to enlarge upon further details nor to criticize from my own point of view the far-reaching criticism of Bell (though in fact I woud have to say a word or two as to this problem). What I want to do, however, is to conclude my report with a few words clearing Richard Bell in particular and the European orientalists in general from any suspicion of ill-will and destruction It may be quite true that Muslim people feel uneasy about the way in which Bell deals with their Holy Book. As you all know, European orientalists see the Prophet frcm another point of view than Muslims do But, as Professor Arberry has put it very aptly, in the preface to his own translation of the *Qur'an,* " not even the most sensitive Muslim believer needs to take offence at the well-intentioned and well-conducted investigations of pure scholarship" (p. 11). And Bell *is* a representative of pure scholarship. All his investigations have been inspired by good-will and, in my opinion, been well-conducted too For many years the late Arabist of the University of Edinburgh has spent most of

his time in investigating the history of Muḥammad, and in particular his prophetic message, as written down in the *Qur'an*, as an authentic and therefore most important historical document. His unselfish work, as all unprejudiced research of orientalists, ought to be understood as a respectful tribute to one of the greatest leaders of mankind.

Two Christians of Pre-Islamic Mecca
'Uthman ibn al-Huwairith and Waraqah ibn Naufal

by

Dr. M HAMIDULLAH

The Christians in transit such as traders, caravan leaders and " tourists ", including missionary monks, must have visited Mecca frequently in the period from the birth of Jessus Christ to the advent of Islam. Similarly " foreign " Christian residents of this city, such as slaves (both men and women) among others, are also met with there during the same period. The indigenous Meccans, renouncing there paganism and embracing Christianity, do not seem to exist, at least just before the dawn of Islam ; they are certainly very rare. In so far as I know, the two of the earliest personalities of this kind are the *baṭriq* (patrice) ' Uthmān ibn al-Huwairith, and the *quss* (priest) Waraqah ibn Naufal, both members of the tribes of Quraysh, of the branch Asad. Both of them are well-known to the historians, yet the origin of their conversion to Christianity is preserved, in so far as I could ascertain, in a still unpublished MS , viz. *Kitāb al-Munammaq* (Lucknow, India, pp 118—123) by the famous historian Muhammad ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245 H/869). The library of the late *mujtahid* Nāṣir Ḥusayn, where it is found, is not easily accessible to research scholars. It is proposed therefore to reproduce here this account in its entirety :

The story of ' Uthmān ibn al-Huwairith and the Byzantine Emperor, reported on the authority of Hishām al-Kalbī, of Abu Amr ash-Shaybānī and of others.

It so happened that ' Uthmān ibn al-Huwairith ibn ' Abd al-'Uzzā once went to Ibn Jafnah—i. e. 'Amr ibn Abī Shamir, brother of al-Hārith ibn Abī Shamir —sovereign (*malik*) of Syria, and proposed to him : " If you desire that the Qurayshites should be submissive to you ? " He said : " Yes ". Thereupon ' Uthmān demanded : " Write a letter patent in my favour, and nominate me as their king." The sovereign did that, and moreover imposed a tribute on each Mecca clan, to be paid to 'Uthmān.

Then ' Uthmān returned to Mecca with this letter of nomination, the Qurayshites found it inadmissible, and they sent a delegation to the sovereign. Meeting him, they said : " ' Uthmān is an idiot ; andan intelligent person like you can not behave us in this way. In fact,

we recognize all your rights : we are truthful people, and we have in our land the famous temple (Ka'bah)". The sovereign understood the situation and expelled 'Uthmān from his court.

Thereupon 'Uthmān set out to meet the emperor in person, and wanted to talk to him. When the sovereign of Syria, (a dependent of the Emperor), heard of this news, he sent a confidential word to the chamberlain and the interpreter of the Emperor, neither to let him in, nor talk to the Emperor Moreover he requested them to do all that was possible, so that 'Uthmān did not raise his head.

One day when the Emperor left his palace in procession 'Uthmān presented himself before him, called him and addressed him some words On a demand from the Emperor, the interpreter said : "He is a mad man, and says : "In my country a treasure is lying hidden on the summit of a mountain ; if you help me with money, I shall demolish the mountain and bring out the treasure." The interpreter had told a lie on account of the letter of the Syrian sovereign. Thereupon the Emperor continued his march, and left 'Uthmān stupefied, who did not know what to do in Byzantine territory (Rambling in the town), one day he passed by a teacher, who was giving lesson in writing to the Byzantine boys. 'Uthmān took seat near him. By chance the teacher was of Arab origin, and when he saw 'Uthmān, he recited an Arabic verse, as if it applied to the visitor :

' So it was, and the new-comer filled my garb.' "

Uthmān understood that he was an Arab so he seized his garment and swore that he would not give him up unless he said who he was, and added he too was an Arab like him The teacher replied: "Do not talk to me, please. For the Syrian sovereign has written on your subject to the imperial chamberlain and interpreter. So there is none to help you. But I can suggest you something useful, if you promise (not to betray me) " 'Uthmān did that. The teacher continued . " When the Emperor passes before you, address him such and such a phrase" — and in fact he taught him certain religious formulas — " and if he calls on his interpreter, seize him, tear up your garb, and say : ' This is the person who has done me the evil ; and ask him to call on another interpreter.' "

When the Emperor passed before him, he did what he was told to do. The Emperor called in fact on another interpreter, to whom 'Uthmān told his story : " I am an inhabitant of Mecca where there

is the temple of the Ka'bah, visited by Arab pilgrims. I had asked the Syrian sovereign, Ibn Jafnah, to nominate me the chief of my country, so that I may force them to embrace your religion. Some persons from among my people revolted against me, and it is they who have corrupted him by presenting him gifts. That is why he expelled me, and why I have come to you. Moreover the sovereign has written to the interpreter to do me harm and to suppress me. That is what has happened. If you give me a letter patent, nominating me king, I shall force the Arabs to submit to you and to embrace your religion" Thereupon the Emperor wrote the desired letter, bestowed on him a robe of honour, and gave him a mule with gilt saddle, and added 'The Syrian sovereign has not authority over you ' The Emperor remitted him a sealed letter.

'Uthmān had composed, while in the Byzantine territory, certain poems, yet they have not come down to us from his poetical compositions, one line is reproduced for illustration .

' When we reached the city of the emperor,
Certain people felt perplexity "

' Uthmān brought the imperial letter to the sovereign of Syria, who told him . Name those of your countrymen whom you like. He indicated certain Qurayshites, among whom there were Sa'īd ibn al- 'Āṣ ibn Umayyah and Abū Dhi'b ibn Rabī'ah (of the clan of 'Āmir ibn Lu'ayy). They had gone there on commerce The sovereign imprisoned them As to Abū Dhi'b, he died in iron chains , but the liberty of Sa'īd was later obtained by ' Utbah ibn Rabī'ah ibn 'Abd Shams and Abū Umayyah ibn al-Mughīrah, on payment of ransom According to a version, it was Hishām and Abū Umayyah (both sons of al-Mughīrah), who got him released. They were his brothers-in-law, for he had married their sister. Sa'īd composed certain verses to praise them.

As far as 'Uthmān is concerned, he died before leaving the sovereign. They say that he had administered him poison in jealousy, fearing that he may snatch his kingdom. When this news came to his relatives, his cousin Waraqah ibn Naufal composed an elegy, to mourn 'Uthmān, and said :

"Have the two daughters of 'Uthmān learned that their father has fallen in an ambush ?
The message-bearer has risked his life to bring.
The news of the victim of jealousy to the heirs concerned.

I shall weep on 'Uthmān, as I must
And I shall remind the sovereign 'Amr, even if none remind him.
Is it true O son of al-Huwairith (='Uthmān),
That they have administered you poison in a polished vase?
Or is it the death which has come on its appointed time ?
For the death knows well its path
In his life, 'Uthmān was an ornament to his people ;
Now he is buried under his tomb
My body is torn up (?) ; and when came
The news of his death, I told my people : " Long live he ; "
Ibn jafnah has been nominated king in this lowly world,
And my soul call upon one who is in the closed tomb
By God, If I were to live, I shall take from him (=the sovereign)
(The vengeance) with a stroke of sword, mercilessly.' "

The narrator continues : The name of the Jafnite king was 'Amr ibn Abī Shamir, and he was the brother of al-Hārith ibn Abī Shamir. When he came to know of this poem he ordered that water should continue to boil in a big iron pot, and swore " By Him whom I swear ! It will remain on fire so long as I do not boil Waraqah ibn Naufal alive therein. By God ! If his people do not deliver him to me, I shall capture any Qurayshite to be found in Syria and put chains to him until they bring me Waraqah. When Waraqah learned this news, he left his country to take refuge in the territory of the tribe of Ṭai'y, where he remained for a long time. Then he went to Bahrain (modern al-Ḥasā, not the island of Baḥrain). When he arrived there, a Christian told him : " I shall teach you something ; if you say that, the King will pardon you." Then he told to Waraqah : " If you go to the king, do not tell him who you are, but find means to approach him. And when there, seize his garb and say: "I seek the protection of Christ against king." He did that, and told the sovereign that he had composed a poem in his praise Getting the permission, he recited it Thereafter the king entered in conversation with him Waraqah seized the garb of the king, and trembling, with fear, he recited this poem .

Is there a messenger to go to 'Amr?
For I have fled fearing him.
I took refuge among Banū Thu'l ibn 'Āmir,
And around me the dogs of Banū Jarm were barking.
I seek the protection of Christ against this (king),
Protection of the Most-Merciful who has illuminated (?) Christ

I have left many countries on account of you ;
I shall gladly drink water on your well, if they may avail me.

The King told : "I give you quarter , perhaps you are Waraqah ibn Naufal ?" He said : "Yes" The king continued : "I give protection to you and to your people" Then he ordered to put off the fire under the boiling pot All this touched Waraqah so much that he felt an inclination for Christianism.

When he returned to Mecca, and the Qurayshites felt secure the Banū 'Āmir ibn Lu'ayy said . " But how to avenge the blood of Abū Dhi'b (died in the prison of the king) ? It is 'Uthmān ibn al-Huwairith who occasioned that · it is he who caused fetters to be put to him to die in that way" Abū Dhi'b's mother was Umm Ḥabībah daughter of al-'Ās ibn Umayyah al-Akbar ; and Sa'īd was his maternal uncle So Sa'īd ibn al-'Ās went to the Banū 'Āmir and told : " Here is my son Aban ibn Sa'īd , if you do not want to forego vengeance, take him and kill him in retaliation for Abū Dhi'b" Some descendants of Suqayy opposed him, others took his side Among the opponents was al-Aswad (father of Zam'ah) son of al-Muṭṭalib ibn Asad, who said to Sa'īd . " What have we to do with the blood of a person dying in prison of the king of Syria ?" Then he addressed this poem to Sa'īd ·

Is there anybody to communicate to Sa'īd on my behalf ?
It is too much that you give for the sake of reparation !

In his turn, Waraqah addressed the following poem to the father of Zam'ah :

Let someone announce to Abū 'Aqīl (= al-Aswas),
There remains no more friendship between me and you,
You accuse my honesty, and reproach my travels,
And you devour me at home as well as in valleys (in calumny?).
When and how have I willed
To try to do harm to your tribe ?
Let him never receive a joy on behalf of a king,
And let his generosity be ever in exhaustion !

End of the citation translated from the *Kitāb al-Munammaq* on the adventurer 'Uthmān and the grateful Waraqah, each of whom had embraced Chrisainity for his own reasons. Soon came Islam and Waraqah, very old then, is said to have recognized the truth of this religion. A few details from other sources may be interesting :

According to ibn Ḥabīb (*al-Mahabbar*, p. 175), 'Uthmān was the *nadīm* (intimate friend) of Shaybān ibn Rabi'ah 'Abd-Shams ; both embraced Christianity Shaybān fell in the battle of Badr. Further (p 170) he had taken part in the b attle of Fijār as one of the commanders ; (p. 307) his mother was a Negro girl. Yet Muṣ'ab (*Nasab Quraysh*, pp 209-10) affirms that his mother was Tumāḍir bint 'Umayr al-Jumāhīy The same source, as well as Suhaylī (*Raud*, I, 146) report that 'Uthmān used to be called al-Baṭrīq (pairtce), and that he left no progeny

Reports differ as to the intervention of the Emperor. Muṣ'ab (*op. cit*) says : " He went to Qayṣar, soliciting to be nominated king of the Qurayshites, and promised " I shall convert them to your religion, which will make them submit to you He did that, and gave him a letter patent, sealed with a seal of gold The Qurayshites got afraid and proposed to submit, yet al-Aswad ibn al-Muttalib (a cousin of the candidate) sprang up to exclaim " The Qurayshites are an independent people, submitting neither to a king nor to slavery " Yet al-Fāsī (*Akhbar Makkah*, p 144) reports . 'Uthmān came to Mecca with a letter of the Qayṣar, having a seal on the bottom , when the Qurayshites refused to acknowledge him, he wrote to the Syrian sovereign 'Amr ibn Jafnah to imprison those Qurayshite traders who were then in Syria, and named them Suhaylī (*op cit*) says on the authority of Ibn Ishāq , that when he went to the Emperor, he told him . " I shall pay a tribute to you on behalf of the Qurayshites coming to Syria for trade (by imposingon them a tax) , if they refuse, you shall not let him enter Syria." The Emperor agreed Thereafter when Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ and Abū Dhi'b (grand-father of the Medina jurist Ibn Abī Dh'ib went to Syria, they were imprisoned ; Abū Dh'ib died in chains, but Sa'īd obtained his release. Yet the same source, on the authority of Ibn Bakkār says : "Qayṣar had crowned him king, and nominated chief of Mecca , when he came to Mecca, the people felt indignation, and al-Aswad exclaimed that Mecca being independent could not submit itself to kingship. The report of Mas-'ūdī (in *Tanbīh*) does not differ from what we have cited.

As to Waraqah, in one version Bukhārī (Ch. I No. 3) says he knew Syria and wrote Gospels in Syriac ; in another version (Ch 64, surat Iqara') that he wrote Gospels in Arabic. Both may be true ; having learnt Syriac he could read in that language, and also translate in his mother tongue, 'Arabic Once the Prophet said : " Don't abuse

the memory of Waraqah, for I have seen him in dream in white garments " (Tirmidhi). According to Baladhuri (*Ansāb*, I, 47-48, ms. Istanbul), on the first revelation to the Prophet, Khadijah asked Abū Bakr to take her husband to her cousin Waraqah, as he was well-versed in Revealed Books ; and on the demand of Waraqah, the Prophet did the miracle of making a tree march Suhayli (I, 104) says that even the sister of Waraqah read Gospels, and thence wanted to marry 'Abdallah, to bear the Prophet. Some sources say Waraqah died soon after the advent of Islam , others say he died in the year 2 H , killed by some pillaging bandits.

SOURCES OF THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF SPAIN
Under the Banu Umayyah (711-1031A.C.)

by

Dr IMAMUDDIN, DACCA

In order to construct the Economic History of Spain under the Banū Umayyah for a period of over three centuries it is advisable to go through different sources—books on geography, history, biography, agriculture, contracts, *hisbah*, jurisprudence the decisions of the court, art and architecture and lastly the specimens of the industrial art and culture preserved in different Museums in and outside Spain and in the store rooms of some churches.

The most important of all these are the geographical works composed in the ninth, tenth and the following centuries Nothing was written specifically on economic subjects but the geographical works written in those days possess considerable material which may prove useful in discussing the economic system of those days The five centuries— from the ninth to the fourteenth—had been the age of the Arab geographers without any rival in the field They started with writing on the routes and roads for official records and commercial guides; and ended with the advanced geographical knowledge of the then known world, particularly relating to the roundness of the Earth, the distance of the Earth from the equator to the pole, the drawing of maps and charts of sea and land, and the improving of the sails, use of widely the astrolabe and problem of the astronomical science Above all they provided details of the production and manufactures of different countries as well as the import and export of various goods between different countries as also between the East and the West (North Africa and Spain) Criticising the Arabic geographical works, J. H Kramers says, " But what the bulk of this literature has to offer us is only the official science of scholars and literary men However observant these writers may have been of the regions and peoples which they visited, and with however much interest they may have listened to the travellers and sailors from whom they derived their information, they were still more or less captivated by ideological, religious and traditional views, which prevented them from seeing certain facts in their true light, even if their opinion was much less prejudiced than that of the Christian scholars of the ' Dark Ages.' Apart from this official and literary science there was the great naval

and geographical experience of seafarers and merchants. The literary men certainly profited by their knowledge, but it appears sometimes from their own writings that the less pretentious traders and navigators were less prejudiced than themselves. Now it is this more humble kind of people whom we must consider as the principal mediators and teachers in the relations between Islam and medieval Europe."[1]

The ninth century was a period of training for the Arab geographers. It was at this time that geographical works, such as : '*The Book of Countries*' and '*The Book of Roads and Kingdoms*,' were written. The aim of writing these Road books was primarily to guide the postmen and militarymen, and secondarily, to illustrate the routes to the merchants and travellers The importance of these works lies mostly in the fact that the towns and places, through which roads passed, have been described together with the routes and their trade and commercial importance has also been indicated. Occasionally, reference has been made in these works to the non-Muslim countries, the countries and islands in the Far East, the Byzantine Empire and West Europe. The geographical and topographical descriptions are often followed by legendary stories To such literature belonged also the accounts of Sulaymān of Ṣīrāf and his voyages to India and China. From the writings of the ninth century geographers of the East it appears that the West was not adequately known to them, this explains to some extent the political separation of the two parts of the *Muslim* world also.

Of the books on itineraries that have come down to us five are of primary importance. Their authors are Ibn Khurdādbih (d. 870), al-Ya'qūbī (d. 897), Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī (d. 910) and Qudāmah (d. 310/922). Out of these, two are very important in as much as they throw light for the first time on the economic and commercial life in Spain. Their authors are famous geographers. Al-Ya'qūbī also speaks of the agricultural products of Spain, but his facts are based mostly on hearsay rather than any authentic source.

Abū al-Qāsim 'Ubayd-Allāh ibn 'Abd-Allāh ibn Khurdādbih was a Persian by origin and was brought up at Baghdād. He served as the chief postmaster of the Jibāl province. This responsible and informative post equipped him for writing his famous *Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* at Samarrā between 844-848 A. C. It is an excellent work and gives an account of the main trade-routes of the Muslim

[1] cf. Thomas Arnold, *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 82 3.

world leading to non-Muslim lands and speaks of many distant countries like China, Korea, Japan, Russia and the Slav regions. The accounts of the routes and distances between the towns and the capitals of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, the Banū Umayyah ruler of Spain, the coastal routes of North Africa, the trade routes followed by the Jewish merchants in transporting the chief products of one country to another and the land route from Spain to the East, which the author mentions in his far esteemed book, are subjects of much interest to us in the composition of an Economic History of Spain It is true that facts and fictions are sometimes blended together by Ibn Khurdādbih, but this, was the tradition of the time which he could not avoid This, however, does not overshadow the outstanding jewels, which the pages of his famous work contain It has all along been the source of the later geographical works though unfortunately it has not come down to us in entirety Its abridged text has been edited and published by M. J. De Goeje in 1889 from Leyden

Abū Bakr Aḥmad bin Muhammad al-Hamadānī known as Ibn al-Faqīh was born in the Persian city of Hamadān and flourished at Baghdād during the time of al-Mu'taḍid b' Illāh (d 290/902). He was contemporary to Ibn Rustah Nothing more is known about his life and activities His work, which he wrote in 290 H (902 A. C.), has come to us only in abridgment made by 'Alī ibn Ja'far Shayzarī (413/1022) and edited and published under the title *Mukhtasar Kitab al-Buldān* by De Goeje in 1885 from Leyden It has also been edited by Prof Ahmad Zakī Walīdī of Turkey[1] According to the *Fihrist* this book originally contained a few thousands of folios[2] In this important work, which has often been utilized by later authors like Mas'ūdī and Ya'qūbī, we find material, which helps us in completing and correcting the accounts of earlier writers In his short account of Spain the author speaks some naval things, which are not generally found in other works He, for example, says that small fractions of *dirham*, called *Tabiya*, were not minted during the time of Muḥammad I; Arabs, clients and others, worked in his military offices, small palm trees and other agricultural products like olive, cotton, linen mineral products like precious stones, gold, silver and mercury were found in abundance. He also speaks about the distance and roads. But the most marvellous piece of his geographical work is not the description of Spain but that of the Arabian peninsula

[1] Nafis Ahmad *Muslim Contribution to geography* Lahore, 1947, p. 2 [n].
[2] *Fihrist*, p. 153 quoted by Alemany, *La Geografia de la Peninsula Ibria in Revista. .. de Granade*, IX, 1919, p 119.

The information about Spain supplied by these two geographers is useful, but it is very scanty and clearly indicates the limited extent of the knowledge of the Eastern geographers about the West. The task was, however, left by them for the tenth century geographers specially Iṣṭakhrī (d. c 951-2), Ibn Ḥawqal (died after 976)[1] and Maqdisī (d 985), who wrote in greater detail about Spain and took more notice of this peninsula when the Umayyads were rising to power there, and the 'Abbāsid power was on the wane in the East.

The above mentioned three important geographers of the tenth century were the followers of the Balkhī school founded by Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 934) a famous scholar of the Sāmānid court, and flourished under the patronage of the Wazīr al-Jayhānī Balkhī's work did not survive but the new system established by him was followed by these three geographers Kramers opines that there was a tendency among the Arab geographers to represent the sea coasts and the rivers in conventionalized forms The example of this tendency we find in the maps of Istakhrī, who shows the Mediterranean sea in a circular form. The learned author criticising the Muslim maps of the tenth century concludes " The maps (like the world map of Ibn Ḥawqal) certainly show a more exact notion of geographical reality than those which circulated at the same time in Europe, founded chiefly on the world-map of the Spanish monk Beatus (c 730-98) "[2] In the works of the tenth century, we find a very developed form of geographical description of the provinces of the Muslim world, which clearly speak of their advance over the *Road Books* of the previous century as discussed above. As for Spain, the first two geographers namely Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal are more informative and dependable than Maqdisī

Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhim bin Muḥammad al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhrī known as al-Karkhī (c. 951-2) was a native of Iṣṭakhr, a province of Persia. Basing on the works of Balkhī called the *Suwar al-Aqālim* (*Faces of the Climes*), Iṣṭakhrī wrote *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* between the years 918-9 A. C when ' Abd al-Raḥmān III was on the throne of Cordova. Iṣṭakhrī met Ibn Ḥawqal in 340 H. (June 951-May 952 A.C);[3] he must have therefore died sometimes in or about the year 340. H. (951-2)[4] and not before. Iṣtakhrī mentions the important

[1] Kramers, Ibn Howqal's *Kitab Surat al Ard*, Leyden 1938 Vol I P 112.

[2] *Geography and Commerce* in *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1952, P. 87 and fig no. 13

[3] *Muslim Contribution to Geography*, p 24

[4] Cf. *Legacy of Islam* P 86 (Kramers says that Istakhri died in C 950); Alemany (*Revista. .de Granada*, 1919, P 123) and E Levi Provincial(*Histoire be Espagne* III, 1953, p. 235) give the date of his death as 322 H. (934 A.C.).

towns of Spain and describes the fourteen routes, which joined Cordova with the provincial towns and the latter with the district. He speaks about the agricultural and mineral products specially silk, amber, gold and silver and also about the trade of slaves and cloths made of Khlazz.[1]

Abū al-Qāsim Muhammad ibn Ḥawqal was an 'Irāqian and lived at Baghdād He left Baghdād in *Ramadān* 331 H. (May 943 A. C.) and made a wide tour of the Muslim world for about thirty years. He visited Spain in 337 H. (948-9 A. C) as a Fātimid spy and stayed in Cordova for some time till the year 340 (951-2 A. C) during the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III[2] He studied the works of Jayhānī and Khurdādbih and met Istakhrī in 340 H (951-2 A C) At the latter's request he revised Iṣtakhrī's work and later during the time of al-Manṣūr whom he calls the dictator of Spain,[3] rewrote it by making some amendments and adding to it his own experiences about the year 367H (976-7 A. C). He might have died after 976 A C, the exact date of his death is not known. From his writings it appears that he invited the attention of the Fātimid ruler by reporting to him that the rich Spain was ruled by weak Andalusians which is a disputable point. Abd al-Raḥmān III had appointed a large number of the foreign hands, the Slavs and Berbers, in the army not because the Andalusian 'Arabs were not good soldiers, as is supposed even by some modern scholar like Alemany and Levi Provencal,[4] but because of the fact that the Khalīfah wanted to coerce the tribal organizations of the Andalusians, who were always in the habit of revolting against the weak rulers He, therefore, formed an army of his own creation always ready to render military service *to the Khalīfah and the State. Ibn* Ḥawqal is the first author, who speaks about the populated parts of Spain but without fixing the boundaries of the areas He speaks highly about the fertility of the soil, the cheap fruits and necessary articles of Spain, abundance of fine mules, export of merchandise, specially cloth to Egypt and even so far as to Khurāsān, trade of slaves, minting of coins, principal resources of the country, revenue of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in 340 H (951-2 A. C), roads and distances between two cities. All these were the main subjects which our the author described.

1 *Istakhri* (B G A.V), pp 37-46, Alemany, (*Revista de Granada*, 1919) pp. 124-127, E Levi-Provencal, *Risore*, III, 1953, p 235.
2 Kramers, pp 108, 112.
3 Kramers, p 112
4 *Revista...de Granada*, 1919, p. 127, *Histoire*, III, pp, 70n, 236n.

Besides the above two geographers of the Balkhi school, there was a third scholar also belonging to the same school. He was Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad bin Ahmad known as al-Maqdisī or Muqaddasī of Jerusalem. He travelled throughout the Islamic world excluding the two wings, Spain in the West and Sind (now in Pākistān) in the East. He had made this wide tour in order to collect materials for his famous geographical work known as the *Ahsan al-Taqāsim fi Ma'rifat al- Aqālīm* (*The Best of Divisions for the knowledge of the climes*) which he composed in his fortieth year at Shirāz in 375 H. (985). Among the geographers whom he consulted were Khurdādbih, Balkhī, al-Hamadānī and others. However, in compiling his famous book, he seldom relied on the works of the previous authors but depended mostly on his own experience gained by studying the life, manners and needs of people of the countries he visited in relation to agriculture, industry and commerce. His details about the countries he visited are, therefore, very informative, trust-worthy and dependable "His work " says G. Le Strange, "is probably the greatest, it is certainly the most original, of all those which the 'Arab geographers composed ; his descriptions of places, of manners and customs, of products and manufactures, and his careful summaries of the characteristics of each province in turn, are indeed some of the best written pages to be found in all the range of medieval 'Arab Literature" [1] This remark holds good regarding the descriptions of the countries visited by al-Maqdisī. But when he writes about Spain his information appears to be meagre and based on secondary sources It is unfortunate that the author visited North Africa and not Spain, he, therefore, could not give us a comparative idea of the strength and power of the two Muslim dynasties, the Fātimid and the Umayyads, which were at their zenith in the tenth century He, nevertheless, consulted those who knew Spain. But the reports he collected regarding Spain are often mixed up with legends and hearesay He divided Andalus into eighteen parts and after Ibn Khurdādbih he stated that there were forty towns in Andalus ; and on the report of one 'Uthmānī, he expressed that Cordova was more illustrious than Baghdād Among other important things that he wrote about Spain are the Andalusians used nā'ūrah (noria) for irrigation of the land Spain produced a mineral product called *al-bard* (elbord?), and that it was visited by many merchants and travellers. The excellent use of paper by the Spaniards, the different weights and

1 *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, p 13. of. Nafis Ahmad. *Muslim contribution to Geography*, p. 28 n3; E. Levi-Provencal, *Histoire*, III, pp. 236-7.

measures used in North Africa and Spain, the fine wool of *sammur*, a sea animal, the sea products like ambar and coral, itineraries and distances between the Andalusian towns, the trade of white and black slaves and the castration of slaves in Pechina by the Jews are mentioned in his famous work Speaking about the castration system he says that this practice was also current in the churches to utilize the eunuchs in the Church services Alemany tries to refute this view of the author by pointing out that the Christian religion does not permit this practice [1]

To the tenth century belonged two other important historio-geographers namely al-Rāzī (d 955) and al-Mas'udī (d 956 A C) Aḥmad al-Rāzī, who was born in *Dhu al-hijjah*, 274 H (April-May 888 A C . lived during the time of Mundhir, 'Abd-allāh and ' Abd al-Raḥmān III and died in *Rajab* 344 H. (Nov. 955 A C). Originally he hailed from Persia. His father was a merchant of Rayy and came to Spain on trade and died during the time of Mundhir [2] Al-Rāzī took interest in literary activities Among his teachers were Ahmad bin Khālid and Qāsim bin Aṣbagh Besides being a lover of literature, he proved himself to be both a great historian and a geographer He wrote *Kitab fi Sifat Qurṭubah*, *Kitāb A'yān al-Mawālī bi al-Andalus*, and finally a History of Spain, and perhaps, as an introduction to the same he wrote about the physical features of Spain Dozy says that the topographical description of Spain is the first part of his great history of Spain.[3] In the Introduction he describes the cities and ports, the agriculture, the mines, the industry and the trade as well as the importance of places, the description of roads and distances from one town to another It is a wonderful piece of geographical and topographical work, though short yet very informative. But unfortunately all his works perished except the geographical description of Spain. Even the text of this introductory part has not come to us in its entirety nor is the Portuguese translation complete This translation was made by Gil Perez with the help of someMoors including one Muḥammad by the order of D. Dienisio the king of Portugal (1272-1325 A.C.). A Spanish translation made from the Portuguese version by some body, whose name is not known, has seen the light of the day and has been edited and published by P. de Gayanges[4] and the French

1 *Revista . de Granada*, 1919, p 151; cf Joseph Mccabe, *The Spyendour* p.69.
2 Dozy, *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, Leyden, 1849-51, I, p. 22
3 Dozy, *Al-Bayan*, I, p 24
4 *Cronica del Moro-Rasis*-in *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tomo, VIII, Madrid, 1852; F. P. Boigues, Ensayo, no. 23 pp. 62n3 and 64.

translation by Levi-Provencal.[1] The French translation is of course an improved and correct one but sometimes it omits certain details available in the Spanish one Some of the agricultural details given in the Spanish translation, for example, are wanting in the French one.

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī was a great geographer as well as historian. He hailed from an Arab family of Baghdād. He travelled far and wide and visited India, Ceylon, China, the eastern coast of Africa specially Zanzibar and Madagascar, the southern shores of the Caspian sea, Asia Minor, Iṣṭakhr (Persia), Syria and Palestine and died at Fusṭāṭ (Egypt) in 345 h (956 A C), he made a thorough study of the geographical works specially of Kindī, Sara-khsī and many others, whose works are not extant Later he wrote *Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawāhir* (*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Precious Stones*)[2] In this valuable work he mentions, in a chapter on sea, about the good quality and abundance of ambar found on the eastern and western coasts of Spain The book was published in two volumes from Bulāq (Egypt) in 1283 (1867) and three years later in 1877 A.C. Its French translation was published from Paris in three volumes by C. Barhier de Maynard et Pavet de Courterlle under the title, *Macoudi, Prairies d'or.*

The eleventh century had been a very bad time for the Muslims as a whole Sicily and some parts of Spain and North Africa were conquered by the Christians Disintegration set in their political power in other parts of the world also Yet in spite of this break down of their political power, their cultural activities and scientific pursuits, particularly their studies in Geography continued as before. On the other hand the eleventh and twelfth centuries formed the golden era for the famous Spanish geographers among whom mention may be made of al-Munajjim (lived between 951 and 1063 A C.), al-Bakrī (d. 1094 A C), al-Zuhrī (lived towards 1137 A. C), Abū Ḥāmid al-Māzinī (d. 1160-70 A C), and Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217 A C.).

'Isḥāq bin Ḥusayn better known as al-Munajjim lived between 340 and454 H. (951 and 1063 A.C.) in Morocco. His origin is not knwon. He might have hailed from Spain He wrote *Kitāb Ākām al-Marjān fi Dhikār al- Madā' in al-Mashhurahbi kull-i-Makān* (a *geographical Dictionary*) consulted by Idrīsī and Ibn Khaldūn.[3] No more is known about the author and his work.

[1] *Description de l'Espagtre d'Ahmad al-Razi* in *Al-Andalus*, XVIII, 1953, pp. 51-108

[2] Cf. Hājī Khalīfā, II, 828; F. P. Boigues, *Ensayo*, pp 412-413 & 412

[3] Nafīs Aḥmad, *Muslim Contribution*, p. 37

Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Abd al-'Azīz better known as al-Bakrī, the greatest geographer of Spain, was born at Cordova in 432 H. (1040 A.C.) and died at the age of 55 years at his native town in *Shawwal* 487 H. (Oct., 1094 A. C) During the period of anarchy in Spain towards the year 402 H (1011-12 A C), his grandfather Muḥammad, governor of Huelva and the island of Saltes, declared himself as independent. But his father 'Abd al-'Azīz, however, lost this petty kingdom The poor al-Bakrī lived with his father at his 'campania' in Cordova and after his father's death in 456 or 458 H. (1064-1066 A C) he lived at Almeria and then at Seville where he was patronized by al-Mu'tamid, the ruler of Seville, who had ruined the career of his father 'Abd al-'Azīz While still young he met Ibn Ḥayyān at Cordova, and in his old age made acquaintance with Ibn Khallikān [1] Al-Bakrī was fond of reading books on geography and travel. Among the books he read, were the works of the Spanish geographer Muḥammad al-Ṭāriqī (d 363 H/973 A C) who had written on the physical features of North Africa and that of Ibrāhīm bin Ya'qūbī a Jewish merchant of Spain, who dealt with slave trade and had visited Germany and the Slav countries during the time of Otto the Great of Germany [2] Al-Bakrī composed three important works, *Mu'jam Mā Ista'jam (Geographical Dictionary)*, *Kitāb al-Nabāt (Book on plants and trees of Spain)* and *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik (Book on Routes and Kingdoms)*. The first book was published by Wustenfeld in 1876 A C The second one is perhaps lost because no trace of it has been found as yet.[3] Four manuscripts of the third book are known so far. This book was edited and translated into French by M G de Slane and published from Algier in 1911 and 1913 , but the chapters on Spain that al-Bakrī wrote are not found either in the MSS or in the printed copy Only a page of the general description of Cordova is found at the end of the Manuscript of Paris.[4] Dozy and Kramers are of opinion that he was the greatest Spanish geographer of the time.[5] Kramers says : " the best known author of this time (eleventh century) is the Spanish Muḥammadan al-Bakrī (wrote C.1067), of whose voluminous work only the part concerning Africa has been edited Here we find a still more

[1] F P Boigues, Ensayo, no 125, p. 162

[2] Nafīs Aḥmad, *Muslim Contribution to Geography*, p 36

[3] *Revista... de Granada*, IX, 1919, p 154 & n3

[4] *Recherches*, I, 1849, p. 303

[5] *Recherches sur l'Histoire Politique et litteraira de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age*, Tome I, Leyde-Brill, 1849, pp 283-304, cf Levi-Provencal, *Histoire*, III, p. 238, *La Peninsule Iberique*, XXI-XXIV, 245-52

elaborated knowledge of itineraries and specially of the coast-line with its numerous ports and inlets."[1]

Muḥammad bin Abū Bakr al-Zuhrī of Granada lived in about 532 H. (1137 A C.). He read the books of al-Fazārī and al-Kumārī, who had used the important geographical work composed at the order of Khalīfah Mā'mūn of Baghdād by seventy geographers Of this work now only a few pages survive in the National library of Paris, no. 2220. He wrote *Kitāb al -Jughrāfiyāh* (*Book of Geography*). Nothing more is known about the author and his work.

Al-Māzinī was another famous geographer of Spain His full name was Abū 'Abd-allāh Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Māzinī al-Qays al-Andalusī, better known as Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī He was born at Granada in 473 H (1080 A C) In 511 H (1131 A C) he set out to travel in the Middle East and went as far as Khurāsān and Aleppo. He wrote many books before he died at Damascus in 565 H (1169-70 A.C.) Among his known works are *Tuhfat al-Albāb wa Nukhbat al-Ā'jāb* (The Presents of the Friends and the account of some rare objects), *Nukhbat al-Adhān fi Aja'ib al-Buldān* (*An account of his journeys through Spain, Africa, Syria, the Caspian Coasts, the land of the khazars*), *al-Mughrib'an Ba'd 'Ajā'ib al-Buldān* (geogarphical description of North Africa and Spain) which he had composed for the library of Wazīr Yahyā bin Muḥammad bin Hubayrah of Baghdād, and *Tuhfat al-Kibār fī Asfār al-Bihār* (*The Present of the Great in the Sea Voyages*) A manuscript of the last book is available in Constantinople.[2]

Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad bin Ahmad bin Jubayr al-Kin'ānī of Valencia was born in 1145 A. C and died in 1217. He was the famous Ibn Jubayr whose *Rihlah Ibn Jubayr* is well known and does not need further introduction. This book in which the author draws a very complete picture of the commercial activities in the Mediterranean regions and the Middle East, has been widely utilized by later geographers and historians like al-'Abdārī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah and al-Maqqarī.

The most important geographer of the twelfth century was al-Idrīsī Abū 'Abd-allāh Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin 'Abd-allah bin

[1] *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, P 88

[2] Codera, *Mision historica*, P 199, It is not in the *Historia Academia de Madrid* as written by Nafīs Aḥmad (*Muslim Contribution to Geography*, p. 37) who calls it *Tuhfat al Kibār fi Ash'ār* cf. P.F. Boigues, *Ensayo*, no 190, pp. 229 no. 102 and p. 230.

Idrisi al-Sharif. He was born at Ceuta in 493 H. (1099 A. C.) and died in *Ramadan* 567 or 570 (1172 or 1175 A. C). His ancestor Idris II was the Hammudite ruler of Malaga, two years after whose death Malāga was annexed to Granada in 1057 A.C Idrisi studied at Cordova where he lived for long as appears from his detailed description of that place in his work. He made an extensive tour of the Islamic and Christian lands, such as Egypt, Syria and many other countries. Finally he settled at Palermo in Sicily and wrote for Roger II of Sicily *Nuzhal at-Mushtāq fi Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq (Amusement for him who desires to travel round the World)* in *Shawwāl* 548 H. (January 1154 A C) and made some additions to it afterwards. This book is also known as *Kitāb Rujārī (Book of Roger)* and was written as a sort of description of the seventy[1] maps which the author had prepared in ten parts of the seven climes in which he had divided the world.[1] Living at Palermo the author was in a very advantageous position to watch the trade movements in the Mediterranean It was the meeting point of the travellers and merchants coming from the Atlantic Ocean and Northern waters to the Mediterranean Sea Kramers observes, "But the fact that king Roger entrusted the composition of a description of the known world to a Muhammadan scholar indicates clearly how far the superiority of Muhammadan learning was acknowledged at that time "[2] His work has been widely translated into European languages The first Italian translation was published from Rome in 1619 A C.

This book is next to that of Rāzī in importance as far as materials on agriculture, industry and commerce of Spain are concerned. Al-Idrisī wrote as an eye witness many pages on Andalūs.[3] He spoke about the agricultural, mineral and industrial products of Spain, flour mills, 'noria' (water wheels), cattles, public baths and hotels, navigation, ship building in the arsenals of Spain, itineraries and distances of the towns from place to place

The most celebrated geographer of the thirteenth century was Yāqūt al-Hamawī bin 'Abd-allāh of Rūm. He was a Greek slave born in 574 H. (1179 A C.) and was bought by a Baghdādī merchant

[1] *The Legacy of Islam*, P. 90.

[2] *The Legacy of Islam*, 89; Amari, *storia*, III, P 663, Reinaud, *Intr of Abul Feda*, cXII, P 26, Dozy y Goeje, *Description* Introduction, Nafīs Ahmad, *Muslim Contribution*, PP. 39-40, F. P Boigues, Ensayo, no. 19, nº pp. 232-240

[3] R Dozy et M J de Goeje, *Description de L, Afrique et de L,* Espagne, Leyden, 1866, PP. 173-214.

of the Ḥamāh tribe. He lived a very adventurous life, assisted his master in his trade, left him in 590 H. (1194 A. C.) when he was in Kish island in the Persian Gulf on his third commercial trip and earned his liveli-hood as a bookseller. In 610 H. (1213 A. C.) he started on his journey to Tabrīz, Moṣul, Syria, Egypt, Nishāpūr, Balkh etc. and died at Aleppo in 626 H. (1229 A. C). He was a self-made man of great experience and learning and compiled a dictionary of learned men called *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, which contained some geographical notices besides the biographical ones But he is known for the compilation of the famous work *Kitāb 'Ajām al-Buldān* or *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, a geographical dictionary, completed on 13 March 1224 A. C. About 75 years later it was epitomized by a Mesopotamian in a work called *al-Marasid* (*the observatories*) In the *Mu'jam* the author arranged the places in alphabetical order. References made to several works, which are not extant now, speak about the learning of the author and the importance of the book. Among the authors he consulted were al-Bakrī, al-Andalūsī, Abu Ṭāhir al-Iṣfahānī, Abū Zayd, Ibn Ḥawqal, al-Tājir, al-Mawṣulī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Maqānā al-Ashbūnī al-Andalusī, Ibn-al-Faqīh, Sa'd al-Khayr, Abū Bakr bin al-Qanṭariyah, Abū Bakr bin Mūsā, Ibn Bashkuwāl, al-Ḥumaydī, al-Gharnāṭī, al-Anṣārī, Ibn al-Muhallab, who wrote in 330 H. (942 A C), etc. His minute observations and detailed information about the importance of even the small places not generally described elsewhere are of course very important. In this work consisting of eight volumes[1] thus we find the mention of the Spanish towns, their importance, agricultural and mineral products, manufacture of goods, paper, roads, bridges, transport, navigation, export, streams of hot and cold water, animals, the sea animal called sammūr and salt. Sometimes he copied some authors without mentioning their names and thus committed some mistakes. Writing on Tarragona, for example, he says that the river 'Allan flew from there, which is a glaring mistake[2]

Another compiler of geography, who flourished in the thirteenth century, was Zakariyā' bin Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd Abū Yaḥyā al-Qazwīnī He was an 'Arab and called the Pliny of Arabic literature. He was born at Qazwīn in the Jibāl province of Persia in 600 H. (1203 A. C.), lived in 'Irāq during the time of Mu'taṣim (227/842 A. C.), served as the qāḍi of Wāsiṭ and Ḥillah and died at the age of about 81 years in 682 H. He wrote on cosmography and geography.

1 Two more volumes, a later addition to it, are also published from Egypt.
2 Yaqūti, VI, P 44, *Revista .. de Granada*, X, 1920, P. 17.

His cosmography *'Ajā-'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Ghara'ib al-Mawjūdāt* deals with the celestial and terrestrial things and contains some geographical materials like the description of mountains, rivers, seas and islands. But he mixes many myths and fabulous stories with facts of history In 1250 A. C he wrote his geography which exists in two different editions under different titles *'Ajā'ib al-Buldān* and *Āthār al-Bilād* This work is full of geographical and historical information though they are mixed up with myths But his information about Spain cannot be rejected altogether as others do for he consulted many Spanish Arab geographers like Ahmad bin'Umar al-'Udhrī al-Andalūsī, author of *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, who lived about 450 H. (1058-9 A C),[1] Muhammad bin al-Gharnātī, al-Tartūshī (d 477 H/ 1085 A C) and some others His general tendency has been accepted by Dimashqī (C 1325) but in a more refined manner Qazwīnī speaks highly about the fine wool of Shāshīn (Jajen) and records some agricultural and industrial products not described by others By mistake he says that saffron was nowhere produced in Spain but in Valencia.[2]

Another great compiler of geographical work was Abū 'Abd-allāh ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyārī He lived at Ceuta in the early part of the fourteenth century Consulting his predecessors he compiled a voluminous historico-geographical dictionary of the Muslim world and named it *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Mi'ṭar fi khabar al-Aqṭār*. In the part that he wrote about Spain and Africa he utilized al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī, sometimes copying them line by line but without making any mention of his source Thus he preserved a considerable part of the lost work of al-Bakrī. He is often quoted by al-Maqqarī, who wrote the Muslim history of Spain in the seventeenth century [3] The part regarding Spain has been edited and translated into French by E Levi-Provencal and was published in 1938 A. C. with an appendix dealing with the account of Spain by al-Bakrī. It gives some rare and useful information about the economic life in Muslim Spain It is the only work where we find the mention of flour mill run by air working at Tarragona from ancient times Among other things we are informed of the products of agriculture, industry and mine, gardens, woods, building of ships, markets, exports, trade and commerce, revenue of certain areas, and foundation of certain towns. In short it improves upon and supplements the work of Idrīsī in many cases where Ḥimyarī deals with agriculture, industry and commerce.

[1] *Rivista . de Granada*, X, 1920, P 162
[2] Qazwini, *Athar al-Bilad*, PP 344-5, *Revista de Granada*, 1920 p 158.
[3] Gayangos, I, P 18, *Azhar*, I, P 60

Among the historical works,[1] which have been often utilized by the author of this book, are *Tārīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Qūṭiyah, *Ā'māl al- A'lām* of Ibn al-Khaṭib, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* of Ibn 'Idhārī, *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Umwiah bi Bilād al-Mughrib* of al-Nuwayrī, *Azhār al-Ryāḍ fi Akhbār 'Iyāḍ* of al-Maqqarī and *Nafh al-Ṭīb* the famous history of Spain of the same author. Important notices of the economic history of Spain are found scattered in the pages of these books A minute and detailed study of the pages of these books are sure to enable one to construct the economic history of the Spaniards in the early middle ages To know the economic value of these works a brief critical survey of each one of them is given below.

The *Tārīkh Iftitāh al-Āndalus* was composed by Ibn al-Qūṭiyah al-Qurṭubī (d. 367 H/977 A C.), a Hispano-Muslim scholar of Spain, who lived and worked at Cordova in the tenth century, the period of Muslim glory in Spain It deals with the history of the Muslim rule in Spain up to the early part of the reign of, 'Abd al-Raḥmān It was published several times But the most complete edition with Spanish translation was made by J. Ribera and was published under the title, *Historia de la conquista de Espana* at Madrid in 1926 A. C. The Arabic text was published in 1868 A C. In this book we find reference to the farming system in Spain, famine, collection of tax, Spanish shops in Ṭāhirat, commerce, artisans, engineers and orphans' property etc each one having been mentioned in its respective places. The author must be regarded as impartial and more reliable than other Muslim or Christian writers of the Medieval period in the statements of the facts, because he was an Arab from his father's side and a Goth from his mother's side His father 'Īsā bin Muzāhim was the Umayyah freed of 'Umar II and his mother Sārah was the grand daughter of Witiza one of the last rulers of the Goths. He studied at Seville and lived at his native town of Cordova where he died in 367 H. (977-8 A C) He attended the lectures of several learned men, and gave their extracts in his work. Ibn Khallikān gives a long list of his pupils, the most notable among them being Al-Faraḍī, who died in 403 H (1012-13 A. C.). As for his knowledge of jurisprudence, traditions, philosophy and history, Ibn al-Qūṭiyah was known for these sciences so much that when Abū 'Alā al-Qīlī was asked by Ḥakam II about the most learned man of Spain, he mentioned the name of Ibn al-Qūṭiyah without hesitation.[2]

[1] Cf. the author's paper 'Sources of Muslim History of Spain' in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol I, 1953, pp 357-379

[2] For more details of his life & work see Ribera's preface to his book and F.P Boigues, *Ensayo*, Madrid, 1898, no. 44 PP. 83-85 and the works cited in the footnotes.

Al-Bayān al-Mughrib fi Akhbār al-Andalus-wa-al-Mughrib was written by the famous writer of Marrākush, ibn 'Idhārī, who lived in the thirteenth century. This work was utilized by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in writing his history of Spain and was partly translated into Spanish by Fernandez Gonzalez. The second volume of this book (edited by R. P. A. Dozy under the title, *Histoire de L' Afrique et Intitulee Al-Bayān, L'Moghrib*, and published from Leyden in 1849-1851 and was after one hundred years revised and re-edited by E. Levi Provencal in 1949-51 A. C.) deals with the Muslim history of Spain under the Banū Umayyah. The author is not very critical in writing the events. Sometimes he is overpowered by temptations to exaggeration. Much information about economic conditions can be gathered from the pages of this volume. The tax free land of al-Baṭḥā known as al-Rabḍ cemetry in Cordova, sale of Prince Sulaymān's estate, price of some necklaces, suits, wheat and marbles, minting of coins, public works particularly bridges, relation with Baghdād and other countries, famine, famine relief work, flood, destruction of cultivation by military forces, earthquake, office of inheritance, salaries, Cordova mosque, its staff and consumption, import of foreign articles from 'Adan and other places, are some of the subjects which are found scattered in the pages of this important document.

The *Akhbār al-Dawlah al-Amwiyah bi Bilād al-Andalus*, the history of the Banū Umayyah in Spain is the fifth chapter from the fifth part of the encyclopaedic work known as *Nihāyat al-Arab fī funun al-Adab* (The excellent desire of the experts in Library Arts) of Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-Wahhāb bin Muhammad al-Bakrī al-Taymī[1] known as al-Nuwayrī. The author was born at Nuwayrah, a village in the province of Bahnesa (Egypt) in 1278-9 A. C. and died at the age of fifty years on 17 June 1332 A. C. A large part of this book deals with the history and literature of other parts of Medieval Muslim world. The part dealing with Spain has been edited and translated into Spanish by M. Gaspar Remiro and published in 1917 from Granada under the title, *Historia de los Musulmanes de Espana y Africa* in two volumes. The first volume deals with the history of the Banū Umayyah. Subjects like gardening of Ruṣāfah, famines and rise of price, floods and destruction, marine power and construction of boats in the Guadalquivir, return of purchased property, treasury, taxes, relation with Egypt, Zahrā' palace and its

[1] *Prolongo d'l traductor*, P. VI, Al-Zaimi written by F P. Boigues, *Ensayo*, P.

decoration, water supply, prohibition of the use of wine are some of the materials which interest us and are found within the pages of this book.

The *Kitāb A'lām al-A'lām al-Qism al-Thānī fī Akhbār-Jazīrah al-Andalusiah* was composed between the years 774 and 776 H. (1372—1374 A C) during the time of the Merinide ruler Abū Zayyān by the famous writer of the fourteenth century namely Abū 'Abd-'allāh Muhammad bin Sa'īd al-Salmānī better known by his surname Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khatib the celebrated author of *al-Ihāta fī Tārīkh al-Gharnāṭah*. He was born at Loja near Granada in 1313 A C, flourished during the time of the Nāṣirid rulers Yūsuf Abū al-Ḥajjāj and Muhammad V and held distinctive posts in the court. Later finding his position unsafe due to the court intrigue, he escaped to North Africa in 1371-2 where shortly after he died within three years.[1] The book in question has been edited by E Levi Provencal and published with his Introduction under the title '*Histoire de L'Espagne Musulmane extraite du " kitāb Ā'mal al-Ā'lām* " from Rabat in 1934 A. C Many important economic matters are found in this book, which have been utilized thoroughly Among the important material found therein, mention may be made of the import of necklace and other jewelleries from Baghdād, checking of accounts by Muḥammad I, incomes and expenditures during the time of al-Manṣūr, breeding of horses and camels, arms and ammunition factory and famine during the time of al-Manṣūr

The *Azhār al-Riyād fī Akhbār 'Iyād* (The Flowers of the Meadows in the History of ' Iyād) was compiled by the famous Maghribi writer of the seventeenth century named Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Maqqari al-Maghribī of Tilimsān (Algiers), the celebrated compiler of the most complete history of the Muslim rule in Spain namely 'The *Nafḥ al-Ṭib min Ghusn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb-wa-Dhikr wazīr Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khatīb* (Exhalation of Sweet smell from the Green branch of Andalus and History of the wazīr Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khatīb). During the time of his residence in Al-Maghrib, al-Maqqari passed most of the years at Fez in reading important books on Spain. In 1617 A. C he left for the East, performed *hajj* (pilgrimage) five times and passed the rest of his life in Egypt and Syria. At the time of his third journey from Egypt to Damascus he died in *Jumādā* II 1041 H. (January 1632).[2] In the composition of the *Azhār* published in two

[1] cf *Introduction to 'Amal*, PP.I-II; cf F P Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 294, PP. 334 ss.

[2] cf. F.P. Boigues, *Ensayo*, PP. 417-418.

volumes from Cairo in 1940 the author utilized his vast knowledge gained from the study of the original sources, and quoted among his authorities the names of al-Bakrī, Abū Marwān bin Ḥayyān and others. Some of the materials which interest us are : physical feature of Andalus, the twon of Cordova and its houses, construction of the Zahrā' palace, the import of marbles and labours engaged in the construction of the same, the cost of a kingly villa, the taxes collected during the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, metal industries of Cordova, hiring of mules, import of furs and other valuable stuffs, forty dīnārs as the salary of a minister

Maqqari's other work *Nafh al-Tib* as mentioned above was compiled at Damascus between the years 1628-1630 A. C. The author divided this book into two parts, each one consisting of eight books—one part relates to the continuous history of the conquest and settlements of the Muslims in Spain, the other gives the life of his ancestor, the celebrated historian and *wazīr* Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khatīb. Again, the first part is an elaborate Introduction to the second one, which constitutes the main work, and contains a vast store of information concerning literature and politics of Muslim Spain. Al-Maqqāri was more a literary genius than a scientific historian. He seldom introduces critical or explanatory remarks of his own but always quotes his predecessors. The long and sometimes unnecessary quotations from the works of the previous writers, which could have been easily summarised, are often interrupted by the introduction of some poetical verses Sometimes his accounts do not tally with or are not even found in the accounts of his authorities This was because Maqqarī went through his sources in Tilmsān and might not have all of them with him at the time of the composition of this work durring his refuge in Syria One should be cautious in using this work. But in spite of all these defects, it is important because no work of its kind is known to have been written on the history of Muslims of Spain Credit goes to the writer of this work for preserving many passages quoted from some valuable works, which have not come to us. In some of the chapters and sections, which al-Maqqarī devotes to the topographical and geographical descriptions and are the stores of the economic activities in Medieval Spain, we find some further economic data scattered in other chapters of this valuable work. Further it contains a chapter on Muslim administration in Spain, which is not found in complete form elsewhere in any work written in Arabic.

It was edited by Dozy, Dugal Krehl and Wright and published in five parts under the title *Analectes sur l'histoire et la litterature des Arabes d'Espagne* from Leyden in 1855-61 A.C. In the following year its another edition came out from Bulāq (Egypt). The latest critical edition by Muḥī al-Dīn was published from Egypt in 1369/1949. But some fifteen years before the first Arabic text saw the light it had already been translated into English by a Spanish scholar namely Pascual de Gayangos, who published his book under the title *The History of the Mohammadan Dynasties in Spain* with a valuable introduction, notes, annotations and extracts from many important and rare manuscripts in appendices, at London in 1840—1843. In his paper, *Critical study of the authorities of Spanish Muslim history*, William Wright observes, " Dozy has produced abundant evidence, both in his ' Recherches ' and in his ' *Scriptorum Arabum Loci de Abbadides* ' that the work of De Gayangos contains numerous errors, many of them of a very grave cast".[1] It is true that Gayangos' translation is not always accurate and sometimes it is too much abridged but his notes contain much valuable materials, which is not generally found elsewhere, and of special value to the students of research[2] Lanepoole defends him while Dozy and Wright charge him for some short-comings which are quite likely to be committed in the translation of such a voluminous work containing a large number of the names of places, which have either been changed, or no more exist ; and a large number of terms and phrases used in the original text, are not even usually found in an Arabic dictionary. In these circumstances the translator, like other scholars, was bound to commit some mistakes[3]

The biographical sketches concerning the various classes and important individuals of the people of Spain also throw a good deal of light on the commerce and economic life in Medieval Spain. To this class of literature belong the following works :

The *Kitāb al-Quḍḍāt bi Qurṭubah* (*History of the Judges of Cordova*) was written on the initiative of al-Ḥakam II, while he was still a prince, by Abī 'Abd-āllāh Muḥammad bin Ḥarīth, al-Khushi nī born Qairwān, studied law, history etc. at Qairwān and Cordova with Aḥmad bin Naṣr, Aḥmad bin 'Ubādah and Qāsim bin Aṣbagh, wrote many books, 100 for al-Ḥakam II only and died at Cordova in Ṣafar

[1] J KAS, 1856

[2] Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, XXIII.

[3] cf. Gayangos, vol. I, pp. 69, 377n20 for a glaring mistake, corrected by Dozy cf. *Recherches*, I, 1849, p. 73.

361 H. (Dec. 971 A.C)[1] The *Kitab al-Quḍāt* is a very important biographical history of the judges, who flourished at Cordova from 711 to 968/9 A C It is a social history giving clarifications about old Cordova and a highly enriched literature concerning the Spanish Islamic civilization and justice of the Middle Ages In the pages of this book we find data for the social and cultural history of Spain—, languages spoken in Medieval Spain, in the ninth and tenth century, despatch of letters through travellers, use of certificates and identity cards, system of administration of justice and formalities of the appointment of the *qadīs* We also find in this book a lot of information about economic life farm houses, flour mills of Cordova, dress, use of turban in the Eastern part of Spain, mis͟hrikab (mexricab), a kind of dress, barrocan, another kind of dress, marjares, a kind of food and drinking of the milk of she-ass, ordinary furniture in the house of a *qadī*, feasts and regulations, *qadīs* as a cultivator and a manufacturer of cloths, *qadīs* as a trustee and a banker, and the deposit of public money in the court for the distribution among the poor It also deals with the laws of the construction of house and oven, purchase of orphans' property by the king, charitable property, market and its officer (ṣāhib aḥbās or muhtasib), Magrana, a suburb of Seville, bano 'astil', the family bath of the Banū Umayyah, wine drinking and connivance of the court It was edited and translated into Spanish by Jullian Ribera and was published under the title '*Historia de los Jueces de Cordoba fora Aljoxani*, at Madrid in 1914 A. C. Ribera made some factual mistakes in the translation, as for example- he writes El Cabisi[2] instead of Ibn al-Qusaybī given in the text [3]

Al-D͟hak͟hīrah fi Mahāsin ahl al-Jazīrah (The Treasure of the good quantities of the people of Spain) written by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Bassām a native of Santaren (Portugal), who lived a very secluded life in Cordova and Seville, earned his livelihood by literary works and did not hold any office, died in 542 H. (1147-8 A C)[4] The date of the composition of the work is not known but it is certain that the author was busy in 503 H. (1109-10 A C) in writing the third part of the book. It is a sort of biographical work of the contemporary learned men and poets of Spain. The work is divided broadly into four parts and

[1] F P Boigues, *Ensayo*, P 77 n; 1 & 2 cf. Prolgue of Ribera to *Aljoxani*,/ Dozy, *Bayan*, I, pp 15,71, Gayangos, I, pp XXI, 463

[2] Spanish Tr, p 178

[3] Arabic text, p 144

[4] Brockelmann, I, p 579; FP Boigues, *Ensayo*, pp. 208-210, Gayangos, I pp XXI, 370, II, p 513n, *Hesperis*, XVI, 1933, pp 158 ss.

each part into various sections. The first part deals with Banū 'Āmir, Banū Dhu al-Nūn and the lives and activities of the learned men and poets of Cordova, Toledo, Saragossa, Jaen, and other cities ; the second part deals with those of Western Spain and Portugal including the short history of the Banū 'Abbād of Seville , the third one deals with those of Valencia, from Barmak (Khurāsān—Balkh in Central Asia), and other things from Africa, Louse Contracter, famine and price of wheat, barley and flour. Almeria, Murcia and other cities of Eastern Spain , and the fourth and the last one deals with the foreigners, who lived in Spain for some time including twelve men of Africa, Syria and 'Irāq, who did not enter Spain The author did not follow the chronological order except when he wrote about Badajoz. A few long quotations from this book have been given by Maqqarī,[1] who on the authority of Ibn Sa'id says that it is a supplement to the *Huertos* of Ibn Faraj It has been summarised by Abū al-Fadl Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad bin Mukarram (d. 711/1311-2), who was not a Spaniard [2] A few sections of the first and the second parts have been published at Qāhirah (Cairo) in 1939, 1942, 1945 A C. The book contains many important materials for the economic history of the country, as for example, treasury during the time of al-Manṣūr, Egyptian and 'Irāqian merchants in Muzaffar's court, government store, governor, salary of a private tutor of a prince and that of a courtier, import of musk from Tibbet and alban from Barmak (Khurāsān - Balkh in Central Asia), and other things from Africa, house contracter femine and price of wheat, Barley and flour.

(to be continued)

[1] Gayangos, II, pp 176-8, 263-264
[2] F P. Boigues, *Ensayo*, P 210.

/

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP FOR THE HINDUS UNDER 'ALAMGIR

by

JNAN CHANDRA, BOMBAY

It is a pity that biased historians—who have left not a single stone unturned to prove 'Ālamgīr to be anti-Hindu—have ignored even the oft-quoted contemporary evidence whenever it did not suite their sweet will One of such instances is Bernier's *Travels*, which gives a very detailed description of the solar-eclipse-bath in the Jamunā, beneath the fort palace of 'Ālamgīr. He says " I saw both the shores of the river, for nearly a league in length, covered with *Gentiles* or idolators " [1] And he very clearly says—" The Great Mogol though a Mahomedan permits these ancient superstitious practices[2]

The European traveller who was very well acquainted with the religious madness of Europe was so much astonished with the tolerance of 'Ālamgīr that he failed to judge whether the King actually does not like to interfere in it or " he does not dare to disturb the Gentiles in the free exercise of their religion. [3]

And further he gives a very startling fact that when a number of Brahmins used to go to the Emperor with their presents—to inform about the said function—" he used to give them a few vests and an old elephant " [4] It was nothing but charity (*dān*).

It is not a solitary instance. Bernier has also given a very detailed description of the *rath-yatra* of Jagannath at Puri. [5]

Both these instances are quite sufficient to show that Hindus had full freedom of worship under 'Ālamgīr.

There is ample evidence in contemporary literature to show that 'Alamgīr was no horror to the Hindus. A Jain Gujrati poet—Bhagwati Das by name—writes :—

Narpati tihān ai rāje aurang,
Jaki Ajnā bahe akhand,
It bhiet vyāpe nahin koya
Eh upgār nripati ke hoya

[1] Constable's Oriental Miscellany, Vol 1 Bernier's Travels, p. 301
[2] *Ibid*, p 303
[3] *Ibid*, page 303
[4] *Ibid*, p 303
[5] *Ibid*, p 304.

(Awarang is the king of the place. His orders are obeyed without the least hitch In his kingdom there is no fear to any man and this is a great boon of the King)[1]

Another Jain writer—Muni Rāmchand by name—has written:—

Mardano ai māhabali
Aurangsāhi Narand
Tās rāj main harsh sun
rachyo Shāshtra Ānand

(King Aurangshah is gallant and valourous. In his reign, I have written this book with ample joy and peace[2]

The translator of *Mahabharat* in Hindi—Sabal Singh Chouhan-writes in the *Shalya-Parva* of *Mahabharat* -

Awrangshāh Dilli Sultānā
Prabal pratāp jagat sat jānā

('Aurangzib is the Sultan at Delhi. His glory is known throughout the world.)

Had he been the least tyranical, no Hindu or Jain poet (who had no concern with his Court) would have praised him like this

[1] *Jain Gurjar kavio* by Mohan Lal Dalichand Desai, Vol III Part 2, p. 1279
[2] *Ibid*, p 1297

The position of the Afghans under the Mughuls, 1526—1605 A.D.

by

Dr A. RAHIM, KARACHI

In the sixteenth century, the general attitude of the Afghāns towards the Mughuls was one of hostility. This was because the self-willed Afghān chiefs, fresh from the enjoyment of privileges and accustomed to a life of turbulence and feud, could neither reconcile themselves to the loss of sovereignty nor submit easily as peaceful subjects of the Mughul Empire Bābur and Humāyūn sought to win them over by following a conciliatory policy This policy contributed, however, to the expulsion of the Mughuls from India in 1540

In the reign of Akbar (1556-1605), the relations between the Afghāns and Mughuls may be summed up as one of hostility and distrust With a few exceptions, the Afghāns as a body remained hostile to Akbar until they lost Bihar and Bengal in 1576 After that, most of them reconciled themselves to Mughul rule Akbar, however, could not forget their past conduct and, throughout his reign, he followed a policy of distrust towards them, though many of them served him with loyalty and gave their toil and blood for his empire

Under Bābur (1526-30) and Humāyūn (1530-40), the Mughuls wanted the Afghāns to accept their rule in Northern India In his *Memoirs*, Bābur claims that he showed the Afghān nobles greater kindness than they could claim by right [1] Abū'l Faḍl's *Akbarnamah* supports Bābur's contention He says, after the conquest of India, Bābur treated everyone, great or small, with kindness and even the mother, children, dependents and relations of Ibrāhīm Lūdī received favours in the form of *jagirs*, allowances and pensions [2] Badāyūnī also agrees with Bābur and Abū'l Faḍl.[3]

We shall see that Bābur did really follow a conciliatory policy towards the Afghāns In this policy, he was indeed guided by the need to stabilise his newly acquired empire But whatever might have been his motive, it has to be said that, considering the treatment normally

[1] *Waqi'at-i-Baburi*, 527

[2] *Akbarnamah*, II, 98-99

[3] Badayuni, I, 337

meted out by the victors to the vanquished, Bābur was remarkably humane and generous to the Afghāns.

The first step in Bābur's policy, taken even before his conquest of India, was his marriage with an Afghān lady named Bībī Mubārikah, the daughter of a Yūsufzaī chief Malik Shāh Manṣūr.[1] In 1526 after the conquest of the Panjab, he appointed 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Ālam Khān Lūdī, the uncle of Ibrāhīm Lūdī, and Dilāwar Khān Lūdī, a son of Daulat Khān Lūdī, as governors of Dīpālpūr and Sulṭānpūr respectively.[2] He even helped the former in his attempt to obtain the throne of Delhi.[3] It was only when 'Alam Khān had proved his utter incompetence as an organiser and general that Bābur decided to fight for the throne of Delhi for himself. Bābur especially favoured Dilāwar Khān Lūdī whom, in 1526 after the battle of Panipat, he honoured with the title of *Khān Khānān*, the highest title in the Indian Muslim court.[4]

Among the examples of Bābur's favours to the Afghāns was the conferment upon the mother of Ibrāhīm Lūdī of a pargana worth seven lacs of double *dāms*[5] equivalent to rupees thirty-five thousand a year. He also favoured the Afghān chiefs, who submitted to his rule, with *jagirs*, money and suitable posts in the imperial service. Fīrūz Khān Sārangkhānī received a *jagir* in Jaunpūr and one crore, forty-six lac and five thousand rupees.[6] Bāyazīd Farmūlī obtained the government of Oudh and a crore of rupees.[7] Bābur also gave Maḥmūd Khān Luhānī the government of Ghāzīpūr and ninety thousand rupees.[8] He appointed Shāh Muḥammad Farmūlī as the governor of Saran.[9]

Bābur favoured Fatḥ Khān Sarwānī with Kara, the title of *Khān Jahān* and one crore sixty lac rupees.[10] Biban Shāhūkhail,[11] Malikdād Karrānī,[12] and Yāhyā Lūhānī[13] were admitted to the imperial service. Niẓām Khān Miyānā and his brother 'Ālam Khān, Tātār Khān

1 *Waqi'at-i-Baburi*, 379
2 *Baburnamah*, I, 442-43
3 *Baburnamah*, I, 444
4 *Waqi'at-i-Baburi*, 572, *Tuzuk*, 42
5 *Ibid*, 478, *Akbarnamah*, I, 98
6 *Ibid*, 527, *Tabaqat*, II, 19
7 Bayazid was brother of Mustafa Farmuli, the husband of Fath Malikah the daughter of Miyan Muḥammad Farmuli called Kala Pahar, a noble of the Lūdī Sultans. 'Abbas, 51a-b
8 *Waqi'at-i-Baburi*, 527, 530 and 550
9 *Baburnamah*, II, 675
10 *Waqi'at-i-Baburi*, 537
11 *Ibidi*, 446
12 *Ibid*, 478.
13 *Ibid*, 682-3.

Sārangkhānī of Gwalior, Muhammad Zaitūn and other chiefs received royal favours [1] Bābur had also been generous to the Lūhānī and Sūr Afghāns. The Lūhānī chief Jalāl Khān was left undisturbed in Bihar on his promise to be loyal to the Mughūl throne and pay tribute to the imperial treasury [2] Sher Khān Sūr also retained his possessions in Sahsrām.[3] Bābur admitted about eight thousand Lūhānīs to the imperial service [4]

Furthermore, Bābur was lenient towards the rebel Afghāns. He did not treat harshly Ibrāhīm Lūdī's mother, who, in spite of his favours, made an attempt on his life by having a cook poison his food.[5] Biban Shāhukhail broke the court etiquette by sitting in the royal presence while all the great nobles Mīr Khalīfah, Sulṭān Junaid Barlās, 'Alā-u'd-dīn 'Ālam Khan Lūdī, Dilāwar Khān Lūdī and others used to stand in the presence of the Emperor Although disgusted, Bābur did not enforce his court etiquette on the rustic Afghān chief [6] This shows his eagerness to conciliate the Afghāns

Badāyūnī writes, "The amīrs of India, notwithstanding his (Bābur's) conciliating behaviour and efforts to improve their fortunes, did not yield obedience to him and behaved like unruly savage "[7] We might not agree with Badāyūnī that Bābur wanted to improve the fortunes of the Afghān chiefs, but it cannot be denied that Bābur accorded them generous treatment The Afghān chiefs, who had enjoyed privileges and power, could not, however, remain content with the favours bestowed on them by the Mughūl Emperor They aspired for the full privileges of sovereignty and deserted Mughul service Biban,[8] Bāyazīd[9] and Fatḥ Khān Sarwānī[10] deserted from Bābur's service. Biban and Bāyazīd formed a confederacy with Mahmūd Lūdī, a brother of Ibrāhīm Lūdī, with intention of driving out the Mughuls from India On March 12, 1528, they fought an unsuccessful battle against Bābur near the Ghogra [11] Shher Khan Sūr was also obliged to join them in tihs battle.[12]

1 *Baburnamah*, II, 539-40, *Akbarnamah*, I, 104-5
2 *Waqi'at-i-Baburi*, 682-83
3 *Ibid*, 658-59, 'Abbas. 28a
4 *Ibid*, 683
5 *Ibid*, 542, *Akbarnamah*, I 104
6 *Ibid*, 466
7 *Badayuni*, I, 337
8 *Waqi'at-i-Baburi*, 528
9 and 10 Ibid, 658-59 Fath Khan Sarwani deserted because Babur did not confer on him his father's title of *A'zam Humauyn* As the name of Babur's son was Humayun, he could not "cal Fath Khan greater Humayun.
11 *Waqi'at-i-Baburi*, 658-59.
12 *Ibid*

A few of the Afghān chiefs had gone to Bengal and they incited the Bengali king Nusrat Shāh against Bābur.[1] The Afghans also joined Rana Sanga of Mewar and fought against the Mughuls in the battle of Khanwa.[2]

Humāyūn faithfully followed the Afghan policy of his father. In his reign, Dilāwar Khān *Khan Khanan* rose to the position of a minister. Of all the Afghān chiefs it was Dilawar Khān, who remained sincerely attached to Humayun and advised him not to trust too much his fellow Afghān chiefs. In 1536, he said to Humāyūn, "It is not wise to neglect Sher Khān Sūr, for he is rebelliously inclined and well understands all matters pertaining to government"[3] Humāyūn, however, neglected Sher Khān and marched against him only when he had gained strentgh and besieged Gaur Though Dilāwar Khān advised him to advance immediately to Gaur,[4] he wasted in the siege and occupation of Chunār six precious months and thus gave time to Sher Khān to capture Gaur and strengthen his power with the wealth of Bengal.

On his return march from Gaur in 1539, Humāyūn sent in advance Dilāwar Khān to Munghyr Sher Khān's general Khwāş Khān made a surprise attack on him at Munghyr and took him prisoner.[5] Sher Khān allotted his captive a daily allowance of half a seer of unground barely and executed him after the battle of Chausa.[6]

The Lūhānīs and Sūrs of Bihar received generous treatment from Humāyūn. Humāyūn could have exterminated Sher Khān, then a petty chief of Sahsarām in 1532, and thus averted the greatest calamity of his life. He, however, left him in the undisturbed possession of his estates as he had promised to be loyal to his throne and also sent as a security his third son Qutb Khān and his *wakil* 'Īsā Khān with 500 retainers to his service.[7] It was a great political blunder by Humāyūn that he trusted the ambitious Afghān chief Sher Khān, who, only a few days previously had joined the confederacy of Biban, Bāyazīd and Maḥmūd Lūdī and fought against him in the battle of Daurah in 1531.[8] Humāyūn was deceived by the show of allegiance by the

1 Firishtah, II, 587 and *Shahi*, 99.
2 *Waqi'at-i-Baburi*, 569 and *Akbarnamah*, I, 106
3 'Abbas, 53b.
4 *Ibid*, 54b-55a.
5 Jauhar, 31 and *Tuzuk*, 42
6 'Abbas, 75a
7 'Abbas, 34a; Jauhar, 6; *Akbarnamah*, I, 123-24. Abu-al-Fadl mentions the name of Qutb Khan as 'Abd-al Rashid
8 'Abbas, 32b; Elliot, IV, 348-49

crafty Afghān chief. In 1535 when Humāyūn was fighting against Bahādur Shah of Gujarat, Qutb Khān fled from his service.[1]

A few of the Afghān chiefs who had deserted the Mughul srevice joined Bahadur Shāh and incited him against Humāyūn. Bahādur Shāh sent Tātār Khān Lūdī, a son of 'Alā-al-ūdīn 'Alam Khān Lūdī, with 40,000 horse against the Mughuls [2] Tātār Khan captured Biyānā. Humāyūn's brothers Hindāl and 'Askarī, however, recovered it and defeated and killed him in a battle at Mandrāel near Biyānā in 1534.[3] 'Alā-al-Dīn 'Alam Khān and his Afghān followers also fought for Bahādur Shāh against the Mughuls Humāyūn defeated them and captured 'Ālam Khān along with others in the fort of Māṅdū in June 1535. 'Alam Khan was, however, hamstrung and released.[4]

In 1537 after the death of Bahadur Shah, some of the Afghan chiefs went from Gujarat to Bihar and joined Sher Khan [5] Strengthened by their adhesion, Sher Khan could indulge in his vision of the restoation of Afghān sovereignty in India In 1540 his vision was realised at the battle of Qannauj , Humāyūn was expelled from India and Afghan rule was restored in the country

The restoration of the Afghān sovereignty in Hind-Pakistan was made possible by the conciliatory policy of Bābur and Humāyūn towards the Afghāns. This policy saved them from being ruined and rendered homeless. It also gave them an opportunity to regain strength and resources. Indeed the Afghāns under Sher Shāh could conquer Gaur and strengthen themselves with the wealth of Bengal only because Bābur and Humāyūn had left them in the possession of

[1] 'Abbas, 75a, *Akbarnamah*, I, 123-24 After the battle of Chausa, Sher Shah sent Quṭb Khan to Chanderi to create disturbances for Humayun In an engagement at Mandrael, Quṭb Khan was, however, killed

[2] Considering 'Alam Khan dangerous due to his pretensions, Babur confined him in Qila' Ja'far in Badakhshan 'Alam Khan, however, escaped with the help of some Afghan traders and came to the court of Bahadur Shah *Akbarnamah*, I, 129, Erskine—*History of India*, II, 41

[3] *Ṭabaqat*, III, 267-68, Abu Turab—*Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, 5

[4] *Ak barnamah*, I, 134, Abu Turab, 19 In the reign of Mahmud Saha III (1538-53), 'Alam Khan became for a time the *Wazir* and an absolute authority in Gujarat (*Ṭabaqat*, III, 237-38, Abu Turab, 43) His absolutism disgusted the sultan and the amirs, Sayyid Mubarak Khan and I't imad Khan, the *Habashi* chief. Their combined forces made him leave Gujarat and take shelter in Malwa, where Sher Shah gave him a *jagir* in 1542 After Sher Shah's death, he had to leave Malwa and come back to Gujarat Sayyid Mubarak gave him a *jagir* in Champanir. 'Alam Khan plotted against his benefactor and being defeated, joined the Fuladi Afghans at Patan. They occupied Kari, a possession of I'timad Khan, who however, later on defeated them and killed 'Alam Khan. *Ṭabaqat*, III, 237-38, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, 271, 275-76, 279, Mirat-i-Aḥmadi, I, 89

[5] 'Abbas, 50b.

Bihar. Had they been dispossessed of Bihar it would have been extremely difficult for these homeless people to obtain a foothold and a rallying centre in order to make a bid for the restoration of their lost sovereignty.

The Afghāns lost the sovereignty of Hind-Pakistan to Humāyūn in 1555 and finally to Akbar in 1556. Prudence required their acceptance of Mughul rule. The proud Afghān chiefs, however, instead of submitting peacefully to Mughul rule, remained at bottom hostile and created troubles throughout the reign of Akbar (1556-1605).

In the period from 1556 to 1561, the Afghāns made several attempts to recover their sovereignty. In 1558 the Afghān ex-pretender Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr came out of his refuge in Orissa and advanced to occupy Jaunpur.[1] The Mughul commander 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān, however, forced him to retire to Orissa. Bahādur Shāh of Bengal also fought against Khān Zamān near Jaunpur, but he was beaten back to his own country.[2] In 1561 the Afghans under Sher Shāh II, the son of Sultān 'Ādil, mde another attempt to recover their territories, but they failed due to their own indiscipline and superior generalship of Khān Zamān.[3] The last attempt at a systematic campaign of the Afghāns under I'waḍ Khān, a son of Islām Shāh, in 1561 for the recovery of their lost position also failed at Andhiābārī on the bank of the Son.[4]

After these failures, the Afghāns seem to have realised that the recovery of their power was an impossible task and they retreated to their possessions in Bihar and Bengal A few adventrous chiefs went to Gujarat and joined their fellow chiefs at Patan. The retreat of the Afghāns from the Mughul territories did not, however, mean the end of their hostility towards the Mughuls. Of course they did not launch any more systematic campaigns against the Mughuls, but they did not cease to cause troubles for Emperor Akbar whenever they found an opportunity. Indeed any enemy of the Mughhul Emperor was a friend of the Afghans.

In 1564 when Khān Zamān rebelled in Jaunpur, the Afghāns helped him. I'waḍ Khān joined him and only deserted to the Mughul forces in 1565 when he found the position of Khān Zamān helpless in the extreme.[5] Sulaymān Karrānī, the ruler of Bengal and Bihar, contracted

1 *Akbarnamah*, II, 82.
2 Badayuni, II, 25.
3 *Ibid*, 48; *Akdarnamah*, II, 138-39, *Dawudi*, 126a.
4 *Akbarnamah*, II, 220; Badayuni, II, 24-25.
5 *Ibid.*, 226.

a freindship with the rebel Mughul viceroy and helped him by sending an army under his generals Ḥasan Khān Batni, Sulaymān Mankali and Kālā Pahār.[1]

The Afghāns also joined Rānā Pratāp of Mewar, the bitterest enemy of Akbar, and fought aga nst the Mughul forces in the battle of Haldighāt in 1576. The h stor an Badāyūnī himself was a soldier in this battle and his evidence that the Afghāns fought on the side of the Rajputs cannot be disbelieved He says that an Afghān chief named Ḥakīm Khān led a division of Pratāp's army at Haldīghāt.[2]

Ḥāji Khān[3] and other Afghān chiefs, who, after the loss of sovereignty in Northern India, took shelter in Gujarat, remained the uncompromising enemy of the Mughuls So great was their hatred of the Mughuls that they killed Bairām Khān, the fallen minister of Akbar who had halted a while at Patan on his way to Makkah in 1561[4] It was the Afghāns under the leadership of Sher Khān Fūlādī, who had installed himself as the virtual ruler of Gujarat having the puppet sultān Muẓaffar Shāh III in his control,[5] who in practice resisted Akbar's conquest of Gujarat in 1572 when I'timād Khān and other Gujarātī nobles had submitted to the Mughuls.[6]

After Akbar's conquest of Gujarat, the Afghāns did not submit to him. They left the country Sher Khān Fulādī took shelter in Surat and his son Muḥammad Khān in the mountains of Idar. In January 1573 when the Emperor was dealing with the rebellious Mirzās at Surat, Sher Khān Fūlādī Junayd Karrānī, another adventurous Afghān warrior who fled from Mughul service and other Afghāns came out of their refuge and created serious disturbances in Patan. Then with a large army they advanced to capture the fort of Patan They reduced the Mghhul commandant of the fort to great straits. The timely arrival of the Mughul general Khān Ā'ẓam Mirzā 'Azīz Kokā from Aḥmadād and of the Emperor from Surat saved the situation.

1 *Akbarnamah*, II, 258

2 Badayuni, II, 231 and 233

3 Haji Khan at first joined I'timad Khan of Gujarat who gave him a *jagir* in Kari. In a battle between It'imad Khan and Sher Khan Fuladi, he with his forces stood aside out of sympathy for his fellow Afghans Being defeated, Itimad Khan wanted to seize Haji Khan, who, however fled and joined the Fuladi Afghans, in 1561. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 90, *Mirat-i- Sikandari*, 279-80, 286, 291, *Tabaqat* III, 246-47

4 *Akbarnamah*, II, 131; Badayuni, II, 45, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 93

5 *Tabaqat*, III, 258-59; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 303-4. Sikandar was present at the time of the Gujarat campaign

6 *Akbarnamah*, III, 5-7; Abū Turab, 54-56. Abū Turab acted as the envoy of I'timad Khan to Akbar.

The Afghāns were defeated. Sher Khān fled to Junāgarh and his son with other Afghāns to Idar.[1] Akbar returned to the capital.

No sooner had Akbar returned to Fatḥpur Sikrī than the Afghāns came back to Gujarat and, in collaboration with the Mirzās, captured some places and besieged Aḥmadabad. Badāyūnī says that Sher Khān Fūlādī and the Mirzās made a plan that some of them would go to Northern India to incite rebellion against the Emperor and Sher Khān Fūlādī would besiege Patan.[2] The execution of the plan depended on their capture of Aḥmadābād. Their vigorous attack placed the Mughuls in straitened condition. In despair, Khān Ā'zam prayed for the help of the Emperor.[3] Akbar, however, personally marched to Gujarat and arrived near Aḥmadābād in nine days covering a distance of six hundred miles. The enemy was surprised and beaten in a battle near Aḥmadābād on September 2, 1573.[4]

After this defeat, the Afghāns were dispersed and Gujarat seemed to be free from any further Afghān trouble. Trouble, however arose in 1582 when Muẓaffar Shāh managed to escape from the custody of the Mughul officers He collected an army. With his Afghān followers, Sher Khan Fūlādī came out of the obscure corners where he had been spending his days in misfortune and assumed the command of an army. He advanced to take possession of Patan from the Mughul officers,[5] The historian Niẓāmial-Dīn, who served under Mirzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm, the Mughul governor of Gujarat, routed Sher Khān Fūlādī and sent him flying back to Aḥmadabad.[6] Mirzā 'Abd -al-Raḥīm defeated the rebels in a hotly contested battle at Sarkej, three *kos* from Aḥmadabad, on December 31, 1583. Sher Khān Fūlādī and his Afghāns fled towards Baglana and thence to the Deccan, while Muẓaffar Shah took shelter in Kathiawar [7] Thus the Afghans of Gujarat fought against the Mughuls to the last and left the country instead of submitting themselves to their rule.

In 1576 at the battle of Rājmahal, the Afghans lost their strongholds in Bihar and Bengal Even after this, a section of them remained the uncompromising foes of Akbar. They retreated to Orissa and

1 *Akbarnamah*, III, 26
2 Badayuni, II, 147-48
3 *Akbarnamah*, III, 41, Abu Turab, 59
4 *Ibid*, 53 and 57; Badayuni, II, 167-68.
5 *Ibid.*, 412-13; Tabaqat 373.,
6 *Ṭabaqa,t* II, 373-74
7 *Ibid.*, 375-76; *Akbarnamah*, III, 424. Nizam-al-din fought in the battle of Sankrej.

frequently raided the Mughul territories in Bengal and Bihar. At the time of the Bihar-Bengal rebellion and the rebellion of Akbar's brother, Mirzā Ḥakīm,[1] in 1579-81, the Afghāns under the leadership of Qutlū Lūhānī took the opportunity to fish in troubled waters and seize some Mughul territories in Bihar and Bengal [2] The rebellion was, however, suppressed by the Mughul generals and the Afghāns had to fall back on their strongholds in Orissa

The Afghans could not long hold Orissa ; in 1592 it fell into the hands of the Mughul general Rājā Mān Singh The loss of Orissa made the Afghāns homeless wanderers Even then, a large number of them did not accept Mughul rule, but disperesed themselves in Bengal. They took service under the Bārā Bhūyāns (twelve great zamindars), who had installed themselves as independent rulers in their respective territories after the fall of the Karrānī sultanate in 1576.

Qutlū Lūhānī's son Sulaymān Khān Lūhānī and his followers entered the service of Rājā Kedar Rai of Bhusana. In 1596 he died fighting Rājā Mān Singh [3] Khwājah Jamāl, two brothers of Sulayman Khān Lūhānī, joined the service of Rājā Pratapaditya of Jessore,[4] and strengthened his position against the Mughuls. Īsā Khān Masnad-i-'Ala, the powerful zamindar of Bhātī and the leader of the Bārā Bhuyans in their struggle against Akbar, made Khwājah 'Uthmān, another brother of Sulaymān Lūhāni, his ally by the grant of territories in Bukainagar9 in eastern Mymensingh and western Sylhet districts 'Uthmān and his Afghāns, in alliance with 'Isā Khān, and, after his death, with his sons Musa and Dawūd challenged the authority of Akbar in eastern Bengal [5] In spite of his best efforts, Akbar failed to subdue them and Bengal, though it was nominally conquered in 1576, remained in fact unconquered until his death in 1605

Akbar thouroughly disliked the Afghāns as a body. In view of their past conduct to Bābur and Humayun and their hostility towards his own rule, his distrust of them was but natural Akbar could

[1] The Afghans supported Hakim as he championed the cause of orthodox Islam against Akbar whom they considered heretical *Akbarnamah*, III, 335-37, 360.

[2] *Akbarnamah*, III, 320-21 and 398-99

[3] *Ibid.*, 711

[4] *Baharistan*, I, 126-27, 130 and 135-36.

[5] *Ibid.*, 110; *Akbarnamah*, III, 632

not forget that the Afghāns had deserted Humāyūn and caused his expulsion from India.

Moreover, Akbar had seen from personal experience that the turbulent Afghān chiefs did not feel comfortable at the Mughul court, because a few of them who, being forced by circumstances, joined his service, proved deserters after a few days 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān Sur, the son of Sikandar Khān Sūr, and Ghāzī Khān Tanūrī entered Mughul service at the time of the surrender of Mānkot by Sikandar Khan Sur in July 1557 [1] In 1560 when Bairām Khān rebelled, they left service and created trouble in Sambhal Suffering defeat in an engagement, they fled and took shelter with Rājā Rām Chand of Panna The Mughul general Asaf Khān, however, defeated them in a fight and killed many of the Afghāns including Ghāzī Khān Tanūrī [2]

Junayd Karrānī, the son of Sulaymaan Karrani's brother 'Imad Karrānī, was another deserter from Mughul service In 1566 he fled from his uncle's court and took refuge with Akbar. According to Abū-al-Faḍl, the Emperor bestowed princely favoures on him and granted him a jagir in Hindaun , but Junayd deserted the Mughul service and went to Gujarat [3] In view of Akbar's distrust of the Afghāns, Abu-al-Faḍl might be exaggerating when he said that Junaid received princely favours from the Emperor , but undoubtedly he was admitted to the imperial service and he deserted only after a few days. Junayd joined his fellow Afghāns in Gujarat and in 1572-73 fought against the Mughul invaders After Akbar's occupation of Gujarat, he went to Bihar and caused enormous troubles for the Mughuls.[4] Junayd afterwards joined his caousain Dwūd Karrāni and was killed in the battle of Rajmahal in 1576.[5]

Maḥmūd Khān Sūr,[6] a son of Sikandar Khān Sur, and Ḥusayn,[7] a son of 'Ādil Shāh, also left the service of Akbar in 1572 and 1574 respectively The desertion of these Afghān chiefs, in spite of his favours, naturally caused Akbar's distrust of the Afghāns

This distrust is revealed in Akbar's conduct towards some of the Afghān chiefs In 1557 when Sikandar Khān Sūr surrendered the fort of Mankot, he was promised Jaunpur in *jagir*, though the territory

1 *Ṭabaqat*, II, 134-45, *Akbarnamah*, II 59. Firishtah (Briggs), II, 190
2 *Akbarnamah*, II, 98, 148 and 183.
3 *Ibid*,284 Abū-al-Faḍl says that Junayd fled owing to a groundless suspicion.
4 Badayuni, I, 193, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 339-41,
5 *Akbarnamah*, III, 181-82
6 *Ibid*., 16.
7 *Ibid*., 102. Ḥusain was later on captured and executed by Mun'im Khan.

was yet to be conqered.[1] In 1558 Jaunpur was, however, conquered; but it was conferred on Khān Zamān and the Afghāh chief was sent with a small force to conquer Bengal from his fellow Afghāns and to obtain his jagir there.[2] Badāyūnī says that in Bengal many accidents befell Sikandar Khān Sūr and that such a position was created that he attached himself again to his friends and died shortly afterwards.[3]

Bāz Bahādur, the ex-king of Malwa, who was induced to join the Mughul court, also did not receive any better treatment Although nominally he was given a command of 1,000, raised later on to 2,000, yet actually he was confined in the fort of Agra until his death [4] The Mughul historians, except Badāyūnī, are silent about Bāz Bāhādur's fate They simply mention him as a talented musician and a *manṣabdar* of 2,000 and do not refer to his confinement. It is probable that Abū-al-Fadl and Nīẓām-al-dīn did not refer to Bāz Bahādur's confinerment as it would have injured the reputation of their master. Writing his book in secret, Badāyūnī, however, stated what he saw with his own eyes.

The reaction of Akbar to the news of the death of a petty Afghān officer, Daulat Khān Lūdī, at Agmadnagar in 1601 expresses his distrust of the Afghāns The Emperor is said to have remarked, "This day Sher Khān Sūr has departed from the world "[5] This indicates the distrust with which Akbar still regarded the Afghāns even at a time when his empire had reached the zenith of its prosperity and they hād cased to to political fact in India

Certain economic measures of Akbar show his distrust of the Afghāns Badāyūni says that, as the *ṣadr-u'ṣ-ṣudūr* (minister in charge of ecclesiastical affairs and endowments) of the Emperor from 1556 to 1561 A D , Shaikh Gadāī cancelled *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands and took away the legacy of the Khānzādhas [6] Evidently by the Khānzādas, Badāyūnī meant the Afghāns, because in his history we find him often mentioning them as Khān or Khānzādas and the Mughuls as Mirzās, Chaghtāīs and Qizilbāshis Moreover, the Afghāns had preced Akbar

[1] Badayuni, II, 18-19.

[2] and 3 *Ibid.*

[4] Badayuni, II, 51-52 Badayuni says that Baz Bahadur obtained release from confinement, but he could not escape his death.

[5] *Ma'athir*, II, 6

[6] Badayuni, II, 29.

and also Abūl-al-Faḍl accused S͟her S͟hāh and Islām S͟hah for their lavish grant of lands [1] So, it is reasonable to conclude that this land measure of Akbar affected the Afg͟hāns living in his empire

Further evidence from *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* not only clears whatever doubt we might have had about our conclusion from Badāyūnī's statement, but also proves that Akbar was determined to ruin the well-to-do Afg͟han families of his empire Abū-al-Faḍl writes that in 15 1562-63 (971H) Emperor Akbar appointed S͟haik͟h 'Abd-al-Nabī as the *ṣadr-uṣ-ṣudur* of the empire He then took away all the land grants (*suyurghal*) from the Afg͟hāns and *chaudhuris* and referred the case of the others to the S͟haik͟h, who inquired into and certified their grants[2] Indeed this incident reveals Akbar's distrust of the Afg͟hāns. He resumed outright the lands of the Afg͟hāns, while he gave the other classes of landholders the benefit of inquiry and confirmation The motive which actuated Akbar in the resumption of all Afg͟hān lands was certainly to break their economic affuence and to weaken them so that they might not creat any trouble in the empire

Another incident, though small in itself, expresses Akbar's distrust of the Afg͟hāns In 1579, some Afg͟hāns came from their country and settled in the Panjab On a report that they oppressed the people of the locality, Akbar ordered Sa'īd Khan, the *sūbadar* of the Panjab to have them settled in batches in different places so that they might neither be able to opress the people nor become vagabonds [3] The idea in thus scattering the Afg͟hāns over the province was, no doubt, to prevent them from causing any mischief locally

Akbar's distrust of the Afg͟hans is reflected in the writings of his secretary and court historian Abū-al-Faḍl, who often mentioned them with the epithets of 'black fated', 'black faced', 'brainless', 'turbulent', 'vagabond' and 'wicked' [4] In making such remarks, Abū-al-Faḍl, who recorded the deeds and thoughts of his royal master, simply gave expression to the feeling of Akbar towards the Afg͟hāns.

A large number of the Afg͟hāns entered the Mug͟hul army, particularly after the loss of Bengal and Bihar in 1576. Although they served with devotion and valour, Akbar did not entrust them with

1 *Ā'in*, I, 296.
2 *Ā'in*, I, 198.
3 *Akbarnamah*, II, 247.
4 *Ibid*, II, 253, 325 and III. 4.

any important post in his government Malik Muṣṭafā,[1] a brother of Bāz Bahādur, Fatḥ Khān Masnad-i-'Ālā, Ḥasan Khān Bāṭnī, Ḥājī Khān,[2] the brother of Khwāṣ' Khān, Salīm Khān,[3] Bābūī Mankālī, Sayyid Khān Karrānī,[4] Shāhbāz Khān Niyāzī, Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar, Ibrāhīm Khān Miyānā,[5] Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī,[6] Ḥabībullah,[7] Fatḥ Khān Sūr, Daulat Khān Lūdī, Fatḥ Khān Lūdī,[8] Bahādur Khān Qurdār, Salīm Khān Lūhānī, 'Isā' Khān Maswānī, Sulṭān Sūr, Allahdād Khān Lūhānī, Ulūgh Khān Lūhānī, Naṣīr Khān Miyānā, Manū Khān Lūhānī, Tāj Khān Lūhānī, Sher Khān and others[9] joined Akbar's army and rendered good services in different campaigns of the empire. None of them, however, attained any post of dignity and honour in the imperial service

While Akbar was very liberal in his appointments of the Turks, Persians and even Hindus to responsible posts, he seems to have behaved very differently towards the Afghāns. There were 7 *wakils*, 10 *wazirs* 15 *bakhshis* and 8 *sadars* in the reign of Akbar,[10] but not one of them was an Afghān The Afghāns were not appointed to governorship or to any other subordinate office in the provincial administration Although they took part in many of Akbar's campaigns and distinguished themselves, yet they were never entrusted with a major army command.

Moreover, Akbar did not give any of the larger *manṣabs* to the Afghans A study of the list of the *manṣabdars* given in the *Ā,īn* reveals this fact[11]

1 *Ṭabaqat*, III, 420.
2 *Akbarnamah*, III, 24.
3 *Akbarnamah*, III, 14,, *Tabaqat* II, 448
4 and 5 *Ibid*, 427 and 623
6 *Ibid*, 608-9, *Ṭabaqat* II, 452.
7 *Makh* - Elliot V, 67. Habibullah was the father of historian Ni'matullah
8 *A'in*, III, 807
9 *Akbarnamah*, III, 650
10 *A'in*, I, 232; Blochmann, I, 527-28.
11 *Ibid*, 223-32;

Manṣab	*Total No. of Manṣabdars*	*No of Afghāns*
5,000	30 (excepting the prices)	None
4,500	2	None
4,000	9	None
3,500	2	None
3,000	17	None
2,500	8	None
2,000	27	2
1,500	7	None
1,250	1	None
1,000	31	4
900	38	None
800	2	None
700	25	None
600	4	None
500	46	None
400	18	1
350	19	None
300	33	1
250	12	None
200	81	1
	412	9

The table shows that of the total number of 412 *manṣabdārs* only 9 Afghāns received *manṣabs*, and those too but lowly ones. Bāz Bahādur, the musician and ex-king of Malwa,[1] was the recipient of the *manṣab* of 2,000 Another Afghān named Daulat Khān Lūdī received this rank[2] Fattū Khān *Mansad-i-'Alā*,[3] Ḥasan Khān Bāṭnī,[4] Bābūī Mankālī,[5] and Salīm Khān Kākar[6] were *manṣbdārs* of 1,000. Raḥmat Khān and Shāh Muḥammad, the sons of Fattū

1 *Ibid.*, 225.

2 *Akbarnamah*, III, 785; *Tabqat*, II, 388-90.

3 Badayuni (II, 77) mentions him as a *mansabdar* of 2,00, but Nizam-al-din (II, 440) says that Fattu died a *mansabdar* of 1,000. The evidence of Nizam-al-din, who was a *bakhshi*, seems more reliable.

4 Blochmann—*A'in*, 476.

5 *A'in*, I, 227; Blochmann, I, 473; *Ṭabaqat* II, 440.

6 *Ibid.*, 225; *Ṭabaqat*, II, 448.

Khān,[1] and Bahādur Khān Qurdār[2] obtained the *manṣab* of 300, 250 and 400 respectively Ḥasan Khān Miyānā, the father of Buhlūl Khan Miyānā, who rose to the *manṣab* of 1,500 in the reign of Jahāngīr has been mentioned as a *manṣabdar*, but his actual command has not been given in the *Ā'in*[3]

Most of the above mentioned Afghān chiefs, however, rendered distinguished service to Ākbar's empire. Fattū Khān *Mansad-s-'Alā* a noble of Sulṭān 'Ādil Shāh, joined Mughul service in 1561 after the failure of Sher Shāh II's attempt to recover the lost sovereignty, surrendering the fort of Chunār to Akbar[4] A valiant soldier, Fattū Khān fought the enemies of the Emperor in many a campaign He took part in suppressing the rebel viceroy Khān Zamān in 1565,[5] and the distrubances in the Punjab caused by the advance of ambitious Mirza Ḥakim from Kabul[6]

Ḥasan Khān Bāṭnī, one of the Afghan chiefs of Sulaymān Karrānī, left the service of Dāwūd Karrānī before the fall of Ḥājīpūr to Akbar in 1574 The capture of Ḥājīpūr and Patna from Dāwūd was mostly due to his valuable suggestion When the Mughuls failed to capture the strong fort of Patna, Ḥasan Khān Bāṭnī suggested the destruction of the Punpun bridge and the siege of Hājīpūr, the supply centre of Patna, as the necessary preliminary[7] Following his suggestions, the Mughuls captured Ḥājīpūr and the fall of the town broke the resistance of the Afghāns of Dāwūd They evacuated Patna and the Emperor easily occupied the fort

Bābūī Mankālī was another noble of Dāwūd Karrānī who entered the service of Akbar after the fall of the Karrānī sultanate in 1576. He took a good part in the suppression of the Bihar-Bengal rebellion and in subduing the chiefs of Bengal[8]

Daulat Khān Lūdī was another Afghān, who served valiantly the cause of Mughul expansion His ancestors, the relations of Daulat Khān Lūdī and Dilāwar Khān, served the Lūdī and Sūr sulṭāns and his father 'Umar Khān Lūdī, after the battle of Panipat in 1556, fled

1 *Ibid*, 229, Blochmann, I, 528.
3 *Ibid*, 228, *Ṭabaqat*, II, 456
2 Blochman—*A'in*, I, 569.
4 *Akbarnamah*, II, 149-50, *Ṭabaqat*, II, 170; Badayuni, II, 63.
5 *Akbarnamah*, II, 257
6 *Ibid.*, 370, III, 167, and Badayuin II, 156.
7 *Ibid*, 325, III 82-83.
8 *Akbarnamah*, III, 314 and 400-1.

to Gujarat and took service under Sher Khān Fūlādī at Patan[1] 'Umar Khān fought against the Mughals in Gujarat in 1572-73 and was killed and his son Daulat Khān Lūdī fled along with other Afghāns to Surat Abū Turāb, the author of *Tarikh-i-Gujarāt*, invited him to Aḥmadābād and introduced him to the Mghhul *subahdār*, Khān A'zam Mirzā 'Azīz Kokā, who appointed the brave young Afghān in his army in 1575 [2]

Khān Ā'zam greatly appreciated the courage and fighting qualities of Daulat Khān Lūdī and made a present of him to Mirzā 'Abd-al-Raḥīm, the son of Bairām Khān, at the time of his (Khān Ā'zam) sister's marriage with him At that time, he said to Abdur Raḥīm that if he wanted to rise high and to obtain his father's title of *Khān Khānān*, he should keep Daulat Khān with him and rear him [3]

Mirzā 'Abd-al-Raḥīm had a great admiration for Daulat Khān Lūdī and chose him for his companion In his *Memoirs*, Jahāngir says that 'Abd-al-Raḥīm regarded Daulat Khān as his own brother or even hundred times more than his brother[4] Daulat Khān had also so much influence with his master that Badāyūnī has mentioned him as his *Wakil* [5]

Indeed most of the victories of 'Ab-al-Raḥīm were due to Daulat Khān's valour and manliness [6] In 1583, 'Abd-al Raḥīm, then governor of Gujarat, was faced with the formidable rebellion of the renegade Gujarati sultan Muẓaffar Shah III, who had collected 40,000 horse against the Mughal force numbering only 10,000 The Emperor had sent instructions to him not to engage the rebels until the re-inforcements from Gujarat had arrived. Daulat Khan, however, said to 'Abd-al Rahīm at the time, "Then you will have partners, if you want to be *Khan Khanan*, you must win victory alone It is better to be killed than to live with an obscure name "[7] Thus encouraged, 'Abd-al Raḥīm instantly engaged the enemy at Sarkej, 3 *kos* from Aḥmadabad Daulat Khan fought with undaunted courage and defeated the rebels. This victory won 'Abd-al Raḥīm from Akbar the title of *Khān Khānan* and the mansab of 5,000 [8]

1 *Tuzuk*, 42-43, 'Imamual-din-Khan Jahan's Ancestors, *Islamic Culture* XXXIII, No. 5.
2 *Ibid*, and *Ma'athir*, II, 5.
3 Ibid.
4 *Tuzuk*, 43.
5 Badayuni, II, 367.
6 *Tuzuk*, 43; *Rahimi*, III, 1628
7 Masir, I, 694-95
8 *Ṭabaqat*, II, 376; Badavuni, II, 336.

Daulat Khan also played a heroic part in 'Abd-al Raḥīm's conquest of Thatta in 1593 [1] His part in the conquest of Aḥmadnagar in 1600 was no less distinguished In recognition of his courage and service, 'Abd-al Raḥīm gave him the rank of 1,000 in his own contingent [2]

Prince Daniyal had great admiration for Daulat Khān for his valour and courage At his request, 'Abd-al Raḥīm, who was his (Prince) father-in-law, transferred the service of Daulat Khan to the Prince in 1600 Prince Dāniyāl gave him the rank of 2,000 Daulat Khan, however, did not live long to enjoy his new *mansab*, for in 1601 he died of colic in Ahmadnagar [3]

The authors of *Rahimi* and *Ma'athir* mention Daulat Khan as one of the bravest men of the age [4] Indeed the victory of Sarkej and the conquest of Thatta and Aḥmadnagar were largely due to his valour conquest of Thatta and Aḥmadnagar were largely due to his valour Still Akbar distrusted him as an Afghan, and this is reflected in the remark he made when he received the news of his death [5]

Daulat Khan Lūdī left several sons behind him of whom Pīr Khan was destined to be the most influential noble in the court of Jahangir, with the title and name of Khān Jahān Lūdī.

[1] Masir, II, 5, Rahimi, III, 1628
[2] Ibid
[3] Akbarnamah, III, 785, Masir, II, 5-6.
[4] Rahimi, III, 1628-29, Masir, II, 6.
[5] Op. Cit, 9

REVIEW

Religious Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan by Bashir Ahmad Dar Published by Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore. pp..... ...304. Price....... .Rs 8/-

On the importance of the subject discussed in the book, as also the delicate nature of the problems arising out of its discussion, there can be no two opinions Sayyid Aḥmad was the greatest leader of the Hind-Pakistani Muslims in the post-1857 period. His reform activities were varied end extensive, but it is for his work in the field of education and social reform that he has secured an eminent place in the history of the subcontinent. His efforts to persuade the Muslims to abandon their old ideas and practices in favour of modernism brought him into conflict with the *'ulama* and other protagonists of the old school of thought The reaction of this opposition on Sayyid Aḥmad was that he became more hardened in his views and began to question the validity of some of the basic concepts of orthodox Islam For this he could not be forgiven by his opponents ; he was declared a naturalist and condemned as a heretic.

Sayyid Aḥmad was not primarily a religious thinker, much less a religious leader, and yet he decided to write on various problems connected with that aspect of Muslim life; he went even to the extent of writing a commentary of the Bible and then a *tafsīr* of the *Qur'an* In the eyes of his contemporaries he was not fit for writing these commentaries, but he thought otherwise According to him, *"hamāre siwā tamām mufassirīn aur'ulama-i-mutaqaddimīn. ....āyāt ki mā'nī ulte samjhe"*, and also *"hamāre mufassirīn ne aise nā-pāk tarīqe se . ..... mas'le ko mahmul kiya hai ke ba juz iske ke Khudā unhen ma'āf kare aur kuchh nahin kahā jā saktā."* Besides the language of these and other remarks of a similar nature Sayyid Aḥmad's wholesale condemnation of the commentators of the *Qur'an*, who included some of the most illustrious thinkers and writers of Islam, naturally created among the Muslims serious doubts about the soundness of his religious views. The result was that his religious ideas could not be properly assessed in an atmosphere of impartiality His opponents started a campaign of criticism and condemnation of his views; they succeeded because it was not difficult to discover vulnerable spots in the stand taken by him, for, however

intelligent you might be it would be difficult for you to successfully explain every problem merely by the application of commonsense. Sayyid Aḥmad wanted to give a módern interpretation of Islam, because he wanted to guard his people against the onslaughts of nineteenth-century tendencies of atheism and irreligiousness.

The commentaries of the Bibie and the *Qura'n*, however, involved him into a conflict with the old school on a number of technical questions, such as the extent of *ijtihād*, the authenticity of *hadīth*, the nature and meaning of *wahī*, and so forth Nor could one ignore the fact that Sayyid Aḥmad's bias in favour of European civilization always carried him too far in his efforts to reconcile Islamic teachings with western concepts of life On reading Sayyid Ahmad's *Essays*, Muir is said to have remarked· "I did not object to the Islam of Sayyid Ahmad but to the Islam of the common people" Mr Dar's comment that "it was, in reality an admission of failure on his part part in view of Sayyid Ahmad's defence" (p 11) is not convincing. Sayyid Ahmad has said many good things, but on account of a strong prejudice against him, created and intensified by the combativeness of some of his arguments and expressions, they were not thoroughly appreciated· Today many of us agree with quite a few of his interpretations of Islamic doctrines, but perhaps without realizing that he was the first person to draw the attention of the Muslims totwards them

Mr Dar has rendered a useful service by presenting Sayyid Ahmad's religious thought in a readable book In the earlier chapters an attempt has been made, and quite successfully, to give a back-ground of the circumstances under which Sayyid Aḥmad preached his ideas. A reference has rightly been made to the growth of Hindu nationalism under the auspices of British patronage (p. 16), which, Sayyid Aḥmad was the first person to realize, would in course of time adversely affect the interests of the Muslims. The author has made only a brief reference in the Introduction to the earlier phases of the development of Sayyid Aḥmad's religious ideas and education. The later stages of development, particularly after the Revolution of 1857, have quite naturally received greater attention and the main features of his commentaries on the Bible and the *Qur'an* have been discussed in detail and give a clear picture of his religious ideas. What strikes a reader, however, is the fact that no attempt has been made to give the reaction of Sayyid Aḥmad's ideas on the Muslims in general and the literary sections in particular. Never the less

Mr. Dar's book has drawn our attention to a number of interesting aspects of Sayyid Aḥmad's life and work; some of these have been discussed in detail, but there are others which could be further studied with advantage. The author is an admirer of Sayyid Aḥmad, and no doubt there is much in the work of that eminent leader which all of us admire, but it would be difficult to agree with the view that he "was too great a thinker to follow them (Ghazzālī and Shāh Walīullāh) exclusively" (p. 136). If some one disagrees with a great thinker in respect of some of his ideas it need not be concluded that he does so because he is a greater thinker In the case of Sayyid Aḥmad, for instance, we note that he disagrees with almost every distinguished thinker on one question or the other, but this does not lead us to the conclusion that he was a greater thinker than every one of the Muslim thinkers and writers In fact sometimes his comments and arguments become so obviously fallacious that one is bound to ignore them as unconvincing. For instance speaking of *hijab* (a technical term of Sūfism he says, "but the word has confused us as to what type of *purdah* (curtain) it is, which stands between the body and soul, it is neither a curtain of *tāt* (gunny), nor of of cloth, nor of *lankat*, then of what (stuff) is that curtain?" (*Ākhrī Maḍāmīn*, Lahore, p 91). For a proper appraisal of the true nature of Sayyid Aḥmad's religious ideas one has to study every aspect of them

The book is well printed, yet a few misprints have found their way into its pages; on page 20 we have, for instance, 1819 instead of 1849. On page 4 *asūl-i-fiqh* should have been *usūl-i-fiqh*

JOURNAL

OF THE

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume VI Part III

JULY 1958

Edited by
DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

ᐠAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

CONTENTS

Ibn Khafif[1]: An ea[illegible]

By

PROFESSOR DR. ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL, ANKARA

In the process of the development of early Sufism, numberless unknown, or little-known, personalities have played an important role. Though their words and deeds perhaps may be lacking of the splendour and depth of those of the famous great ṣūfīs, like

[1] Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Khafīf (al-Khafīf) is mentioned by *Brockelmann* GAL. I 358/59, *Wustenfeld* in his book "Der Imam Schafei, seine Schüler und Anhänger bis zum Jahre 300 d H Gottingen 1890/91, tells, on p 185 No 198 that he had made long journeys in order to visit the pious, monks, and hermits and accepted the mystic doctrines (sic?) and customs from al-Ash'ari." *M Schreiner* quotes him in "Beitraege zur Geschichte der theologischen Bewegungen im Islam" (ZDMG 52/489) as a witness for Ash'arī's method of lecturing. *Goldziher* in his article "Zur Gotteslıebe in der islamischen Theologie" (Islam 9/152), in his book "Die Zahriten und ihr Lehrsystem" and in his famous "Vorlesungen über den Islam" has shown some of the peculiarities of Ibn Khafīf's mysticism, *Amedroz* in his "Notes on some Ṣūfī lives" JRAS 1912/556 quotes two stories from his life according to the work of Dhahabi, and *Mez*, in the "Renaissance des Islam" copies both these and the story of Ibn Khafīf's marriages which *Amedroz* had taken from *Hujwiri* *R Hartmann* mentions the Shirazian Ṣūfī several times in his "Studies on Al-Kuschairis Darstellung des Sufitums" But the most important notices are contained in the works of *L Massignon* in "La Passion d'al-Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam" his name is mentioned, in the Bibliography Hallajienne Nr 141 his books, and in the same work S 363 the peculiarties of his doctrines are explained In the "Essai sur les origines du lexique technique (98f, Nr. VII), in the "Receuil des textes inedits" (62ff, 80 Nr. 12) and the "Akhbar al-Ḥallāj" (Nr 68) we find excerpts from the Sirat Ibn al-Khafīf, and in his article on Rūzbihān al-Bāqlī (Festschrift J. Pedersen) *Massignon* has shown the importance of Ibn Khafīf as one of the spiritual teachers of Bāqlī *H Ritter* has, in his article on "Arabische and Persische Schriften über die mystische Liebe" (Philologica VII, Islam 21/1933) pointed out the importance of Ibn Khafīf and his pupil Daylamī for the history of mystical love in early *tasawwuf*, and *F. Meier* has, in his edition of the Firdaus-almurshidiya of Abu Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī, given some details on Ibn Khafīf's life and thought.

As to the oriental sources from which we can try to find some information about our shaykh, the most important one is his *Sirah* which was written by his pupil *Daylami*, who is also the author of a booklet on mystical love كتاب الالف المعطوف, in the University Library, Tübingen

Rābi'ah, Junayd, Bāyazīd, Manṣūr Ḥallāj, Dhu'n-Nūn Miṣrī and Catalogue Weisweiler, Nr. 81.

This *Sīrah* has been translated into Persian by *Ibn Junayd* in the time of the Atabek Abū Sa'īd in the early fourteenth century. This translation is existent in two versions, one in Istanbul Koprülü. 1589 f. 383*a* 410*a*, the other one in Berlin orient oct 303. The Berlin recension is much shorter than the Koprülü ms. which was finished on the 15 *Ṣafar* 754-23.3 1353 Since in B the last pages are missing, we cannot decide the time of its writing, it seems to be comparatively new. In some chapters, the differences between the two versions are so big that one should like to accept the existence of two different translators, in other chapters, there are only very small differences. The Berlin ms. has three big lacunae, the first one after f 31, the second one before f 54, the third one after 64, that means at the end of the ms A critical edition of the *Sīrah*, based on these mss and the information given by other sources, was published in Ankara, 1955, by the present writer (Ankara Universitesi Ilahiyat Fakültesi yatınlarından, XII) As to the relations between Ibn Khafīf and Manṣūr Ḥallāj, we have some legendary information in the Ms Berlin 3492 (Pm II 553), called *manāqib*

Since the Persian version of the Daylamī text has not given the full translation of his words on Sufism, and on mystical topics, we must try to reconstruct them from other sources, especially from the early works on the History of Sufism *Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī* gives in the حلية الاولياء X 385-86 a few details, *Sulamī*, in his "Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyā" quotes some legends which are not to be found in the Daylamī-text From him, *'Abdallāh Anṣarī* in his "Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyā" has taken his information, and both from Anṣārī and from Daylamī, Jāmī has compiled his chapters on Ibn Khafīf and on his companions in his Nafahāt al-uns He has taken over the VIIth and big parts of the VIIIth chapter of Daylamī without changing them, but he also quotes some other stories from the life of the Shīrāzian shaykh whose source must have been a longer version of the *Sīrah* for they are in style and character very close to each other and to the stories in the present *Sīrah*. *Qushayrī* too gives both a short biography and several quotations of Ibn Khafīf. *Hujwīrī* has, in his "Kashf al-mahjūb,' a special chapter on Ibn Khafīf, whose details—especially about the marriage of the Shaykh—are given also by *'Aṭṭār* in his "Tadhkirat al-auliya" (II 125-131) But *'Aṭṭār* has pictured the life of the pious Ṣūfī in somewhat romantical colours; from a single sentence contained elsewhere he developes a whole story. Almost everything he has written on Ibn Khafīf can be found again in the *ṭarā'iq al-haqā'iq* of Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh (II 212, 224 ff, in the Lit Tehran 1316).

An important source for the life of Ibn Khafīf and his fellow-saint is the Shadd al-izār fi khāṭṭ al-auzār by *Junayd al-Shīrāzī* (Tehran 1328) who gives informations about all the saints and pious men and women of Shīrāz Junayd is the grandfather of the translator of Daylamī's *Sīrah*, and therefore, well informed about the great Shīrāzian saint The Shīrāznāma of Aḥmad Zarkūb Shīrāzī is relying on the Shadd, but is too short and too superficial to be reckoned as a reliable source. But a ms in the Library of the late Isma'īl Ṣā'ib, now in the Dil ve Tarih Fakültesi, Ankara, the Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiya of an unknown author who mentions his own Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā and is a Shafiit (S 3575) gives some of the stories of Ibn Khafīf in the Arabic original and seems to have known very well, the original of *Daylamī's Sīrah*.

The later mystical writers used also to quote some important words of Ibn Khafīf, so *Sha'rānī* in his "Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā" (p. 103). *Kalābādhī*, *Makkī* in the qūt al-qulūb, and *Sarrāj* in the Kitāb al-luma' too quote much of his words and deeds, but in *Ghazālī's* Iḥyā 'ulūm ad-dīn we meet again stories, well known from *Daylamī* (esp in the

others, they are perhaps as important as the famous leaders of the mystic movement because in them the moderate type of asceticism and mysticism shows itself in a way understandable to the common people.

One of those ṣūfīs is Ibn Khafīf, called by one of his biographers "the seal of the earliest, and the flower-bed of the later Sufi is"[1] because he stands at the end of the classical period of tasavvuf (since he was a diciple of Ruwaym and had seen Mansūr Hallāj), and at the beginning of the new currents in Sufism: Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani, Abu Nasr Saārāj, the author of

al-faqr, bab al-murāqaba) *'Abdulqādir al-Gilānī* too has some quotations from Ibn al-Khafīf in his Kitāb al-ghunya, and it would be possible to find allusions and quotations from the Shirāzian shaykh in almost every work on Sufism So has *Yāfi'i* in his poetical Rauḍ ar-riyāḥīn some nice legends which are not written in other old sources, but in his historical study, the Mir'āt al-jinān (2-297) he only repeats the normal facts.

As to the great enemy of ṣūfīs, *Ibn al-Jauzī* (d 1200), he has taken our shaykh in his Talbīs Iblīs as an exemplar of meaningless asceticism and shows him and his disciples as wretched people who try to carry away people from the way of the Prophet

As to the Arabic and Persian historians, they also mention Ibn khafīf briefly the Arīb (Tabari continuatus), *Ibn al-Athīr*, Kāmil IX 12, *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, Tārīkh Baghdād VIII, 112, 125, 129); *Ibn 'Asākir*, Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī (190-2), *Sam'ānī*, Kitāb al-ansāb (f 344*a*), *Dhahabī* (Tārīkh, ms. Aya Sofya 3008, f (112*b*-114*b*), and *Subkī* in the Ṭabaqāt ash-shāfi'iya (II 150-59, 105, 277) who has the most reliable and detailed biography outside the Sīrah of Daylam *Ibn al-'Imad* in the Shadharāt adh-dhahab gives extracts from *Suki*

As to the Persian historians, *Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī* (Tārīkh-i-guzīdah, and Nazhatul-al-Qulūb), *Khwāndamir* in the Ḥabīb aṣ-siyar mention. IbnKhafīf's name with respect, though the latter ascribes him a few verses, and calls him a poet, which the Nāme-yi Dānishwārān (II. 444) does also As to the geographers, *Yāqūt* has mentioned him when describing Shirāz Qazwīnī in the Athār al-bilād 112, 141; Nāṣirī in the Fārsnāme vol. 2—without adding new material to our information Only Ibn Baṭṭūṭah who had visited the mausoleum of Ibn Khafīf (II. 78) tells that the shaykh had travelled a lot, and had also visited Ceylon, and that he during a famine did not eat, like his comrades, the flesh of a young elephant, and was saved by the grateful elephants for this reason, the animals carried him to the palace of the king, and he, by performing some miracles, brought out of a river marvellous jewels, and won the favour of the ruler. That is a story which is as far as possible from the true character of Ibn Khafīf, and we cannot but admire the imagination of the famous traveller

[1] Shadd 48.

the famous كتاب اللمع في التصوف Daylamī, the author of Ibn Khafīf's biography and of a work on mystical love, are his pupils; through Akkār, the *silsilah* goes to Kāzerūnī on the one hand,[1] to Ibn Shahryār and from him to Rūzbihān Baqlī, the famous commentator of Ḥallāj's work.[2] Ibn Bākūye of Shīrāz also belongs to the pupils of Ibn Khafīf.

In Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Khafīf (sometimes Ibn-al-Khafīf), the two main-currents of early Sufism, i.e asceticism and love, are united, and the saint of Shīrāz, who died in 371/982, is devoid of all exaggerations which are sometimes to be seen in mystic circles, he understands the meaning of mysticism in a merely moral way When asked "What is *taṣawwuf* ?" he answered: "According to the *Sharī'ah*, to clean the heart from dust, to accept good attributes, and follow the Prophet in all things. According to the *haqīqah* to get rid from human attributes, and to be satisfied only with the Creator. But بازبان حق it is the disappearing of human attributes (Sira XII 1—we see here the typical threefold way of mysticism which is to be found in every mystical system in East and West—the *via purgativa*, the way of preparation and purification—the *via contemplativa*, the way of contemplation— and the *via unitiva*, the state of union with the Divine)."

The above-quoted sentence shows that Ibn Khafīf, like most of the stern orthodox Sūfīs, explained the *fanā* not as a metaphysical experience but as a moral transformation, according to the *hadīth* تخلقوا باخلاق الله. The metaphysical explanation of the "*fanā*"—in the sense of the Buddhist Nirvana or the complete advaita of the Upanishad mysticism—belongs to a later period and is not yet contained in the doctrines of these early Iraqian and South-Iranian mystics. In their lives, the greatest stress is

[1] Meier, Die Vita des Abū Ishāq al-Kāzerūnī.
[2] Massignon, Rūzbihān Baqlī (Festschrift Pedersen), 243-45.

laid upon the *via purgativa*, the first stage of the Path, the purification of the soul by means of renunciation. The great Ḥasan al-Baṣrī has said: "Beware of this world with all wariness, for it is like a snake, smooth to touch, but its venom is deadly. Turn away from whatsoever delights thee in it." That is the state of mind of the asceties, as they are described in a famous *ghazal* of Abū'l-Atāhiya — the بكاوون and بكاءآت the ever-weeping men and women, shivering with fear of the Last Judgment, swooning, when listening to the descriptions of Paradise and Hell given by the *Qur'ān*.

The *Sīrah* of Ibn Khafīf (from which Sulamī and later Jāmī give long extracts) prefers also stories of ṣūfīs who were famous for their renunciation, even from the *ḥalāl*,[1] and for their poverty. Faithful to the *ḥadīth* فقرى فخرى they gave away everything they did not need, and even sometimes their single set of clothes in order to help their brethren; and if we believe in Daylamī's recension of Ibn Khafīf's *Vita*, we can see that the household of our ṣūfī was more than modest.[2]

Ibn Khafīf was born — probably in 882[3]—as the son of a Daylamit soldier and a Karramit lady from Nīshāpūr (I, 1). His father soon turned to the army and seems to have come sometimes drunk to his house, he is very seldom mentioned. As to the mother, she was a very pious woman who discussed with the ṣūfīs of Shīrāz religious problems and introduced her son to the beginnings of the mystic Path; together with him she performed once the pilgrimage to Mecca (III, 2; IV, 23), and she once had the vision of the ليلة القدر

[1] Cf VII 10-14. A ṣūfī whose single sheep had eaten once grass from the meadow of his neighbour, sent the sheep at once to his neighbour because he did not think the milk *ḥalāl* for himself

[2] The first book which the young Ibn Khafīf wrote, was كتاب شرف الفقر

As to Shadd, the title of the work was شرف الفقر المتحققين على الاغنياء المنفقين Ghazālī quotes in Iḥyā IV 303 that story of the Sīrah II, 3 according to which Ibn Khafīf, when he was young, used to go round and pick up patches from the dunghills, and made a ṣūfī frock for himself. (Cf Dhah. 112b, Subkī, II. 151.)

[3] He was 8 months old, when the Saffarid 'Amr Ibn Layth returned from Shīrāz to Khurāsān.

of which her son — though watching and praying — was deprived.[1]

As to Hujwīrī, Anṣārī, 'Aṭṭār and the *tadhkırahs* depending on them, Ibn Khafīf belonged to the ابناء الملوک , and only later embraced the mystic doctrines. But it seems to me that here the often used type of saintly life (which is known in the typology of History of Religions as Buddha-legend) has been implanted on Ibn Khafīf's life, the most famous example of this type of conversion in early Sufism being the story of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham

Daylamī describes in detail the different forms of asceticism which Ibn Khafīf, even as a small boy, used to practise[2] As it is well-known, the most important means of asceticism is the مخالفة النفس , the permanent struggle with the lower faculties of the soul. Just as Nūrī, the loving companion of Manṣūr Ḥallāj, went into the jungle because he was told that every night the lions used to come to that place, and he felt a quite natural fear — just as he, in order to conquer this human feeling of fear went out among the lions walking on cut reeds which hurt his feet[3] —so Ibn Khafiīf also never allowed his lower soul to be satisfied when he liked a sweet or any thing (and since he was almost ever fasting, and breaking the fast with a few beans or raisins he seldom saw a really delicious meal), he refrained from it completely or, when tempted to taste it second time, bit his tongue until it got bleeding (II,17, cf II, 10)

From this point of view of aseticism we also have to judge the different stories about Ibn Khafīf's marriage[4] Hujwīrī (whose information of Ibn Khafīf's youth we have already shown to be not very trustworthy) tells us that the shaykh married more than 400 women تبرکا but he sent them away without touching them; only one of them, the daughter of the *wazīr*, is said to have lived with him more than 40 years

[1] X 13, Shadd 368, Nafaḥāt 724
[2] Cf II. 10, Qushayrī 68, Tadhkira. II. 125 , Subkī II. 151, Talbīs, 223.
[3] IV 8, Talbīs 381.
[4] Hujwīrī 317, Tadhkira. II. 128/9, Ṭarā'iq. II. 224/5.

without seeing from him any intimacy; he only showed her the scars his asceticism had left on his body. 'Aṭṭār, who copies this story from Hujwīrī, tells another one also the Shaykh is said to have asked one night for a wife, and was at once married with the daughter of his faithful servant; after she had borne him a son who died at once, he sent her away The reason for this marriage was a dream in which the Shaykh saw that a small child led his parents safely upon the Ṣirāṭ-bridge, and he too wanted such a helping little being for himself Since such an idea is opposite to the words of the *Qur'ān* according to which on the Day of Judgment neither children nor relations can help (*sūrah* 60, *ayat* 3), this story must be an invention of 'Aṭṭār or an older source Perhaps we can find the true version in the quotation of the same story by Ṭāliqānī according to whom (and he is quoting 'Aṭṭār too!) Ibn Khafīf, thanks to his dreams, has learnt that marriage belongs to the *sunnah* of the Prophet, and that he, remaining unmarried, had not been faithful to the Prophet That may be relatively right; for here, the opposite currents in early sūfistic thought about marriage are mirrored quite clearly Daylamī who does not mention any of these stories only tells that a grown up son of the Shaykh died suddenly (II, 15, Shadd, 48).

The old ascetic rule of قلة الطعام، قلة المنام، قلة الكلام which is also, in somewhat different expressions, to be found in the spiritual testament [1] of Ibn Khafīf — this rule was followed by him in the most rigorous manner From his childhood till his death, he always used to fast, and he is told to have broken the fast sometimes only after weeks. When he died he had, according to some sources just finished the 40th of forty-days, fasting.[2] But that seems to be only the usual expression of

1 The *waṣiat* is contained in the ms Tūbingen Weisweiler 89, 21 f 127*b*-128*b* its Persian translation is contained in Istanbul, Shehitalı Pasha 1388, f 156*b*-160*b*

2 Hujwīrī 118, Tadhkira II, 125/6 'Aṭṭār has even tried to explain the name Khafīf—'light' as an allusion to Ibn Khafīf's permanent fasting; just as he often omits the Abū of the kunya, so he has here not read the i' of the "iḍāfa" and has therefore not understood that Khafīf is the father's name. Ṭarā'iq II, 212, shows this fact clearly.

40 for a long and painful time: just as the *darwīsh* has to fulfil the forty-days, reclusion (چله), so the Israelites are said to have spent 40 years in the desert, and Jesus too 40 days in loneliness. Since forty has mostly the meaning of a long painful experience it is quite natural that it is here used—even in double form—in order to show the long and difficult fasting of the Shaykh of Shīrāz. Small wonder that from this fasting he became so thin and bloodless that he was not able to stand the cupping at all[1] He himself has written a (lost) book called كتاب الجوع و ترك السهوات where he probably has defended his exaggerated point of view, and for him, the highest goal in this life was to be free from eating and drinking, like the angels (VI, 38, VI, 19)—his biographers agree that his endeavours in this field were more than a human being could bear.[2] And in two stories related in the *sīrah* we see how he himself was spiritually and bodily punished when he tried to eat something, and could not endure the hunger; once, in his youth, when coming to Medina, he found a fish's head on the street, and since the baker—quite reasonably—refrained to bake it in his oven, and threw it on Ibn Khafīf's head, the poor ṣūfī had to eat it rough and dirty as it was (V, 1-3). And when he once did not like the bad meat which a ṣūfī brother offered him, he went astray on his way to Mecca, so his fellows in the caravan bought a dog, killed it, and gave its head to the Shaykh who at once understood the meaning of the event (one source tells that the head of the dog had blamed him!), and turned home in order to ask pardon from the ṣūfī whom he had worried by refusing to eat from his table[3]

But it is interesting that Ibn Khafīf in spite of this more than modest life reached an age of probably more than 95, perhaps 100 years It is well known that eremites and ascetics often reach a very high age; very little food restricts all corporeal functions to a minimum, and the concentration on spiritual

1 II 1, 4, 5, 7, 10, Dhahabī, 112*b*, Subkī, II 151, Talbīs, 233, Ibn 'Asākir 191,
2 He lost eight teeth in the desert from hunger, III, 2, Dhahabī, 113*b*, Subkī, II, 153, Talbīs, 321.
3 III, 1, Qushayrī, 132, Tadhkira, II. 126, Shadd, 223; Nafaḥāt, 362,

problems, the touch with the Divine lifts the whole life to quite another level, and takes it away from the ordinary current of life That seems to be the case with Ibn Khafif. Most of his biographers, beginning with Daylamī, record his death on the 23. Ramazan 3711 982, Anṣarī and the sources depending on him the 3 Ramzan of the same year, Qushayrī and the depending on him the 3 Ramazam of the same year, Qushayrī and the depending sources 1000 (herę, a writer seems to have misred the original 371 h for 391 h) It seems that his "blessed spirit flew away from the cages of forms and found to abode in the highest Paradise" when he was about 105 (qamarī) years old. Some sources give 95, other ones 100, 114, 118, 124 years; but since the Daylamit 'Amr ibn Layth, the commander of Ibn Khafīf's father, was in Shirāz in 268/882, 104 qamarī respectively 100 shamsī years seems to be the most probable time [1]

Besides the fasting, and the refraining of delicious food at all, the ascets of the early period used to ascribe the greatest importance to their daily prayers, and especially to the superrogative prayers We read the Ibn Khafīf and some of his pupils performed 1000 rak'ah daily (II,9) It is especially the night-prayer which was performed with ardent zeal in the circles of aspects and mystic lovers Just as Rābi'a had praised the beauty of the lonely prayer at night "O God, night has come, and the doors are closed, and every lover is alone with his beloved—so I am lone with Thee"—so all all mystics tried to sleep as little as possible (" In the grave you will have time for sleep" said one of the early women-saints), and to pray the whole night The spiritual teacher of Ibn Khafīf, 'Ali ibn Sahl, to whom he seems deeply indebted, had, in a letter to Junayd, explained the advantages of sleeplessness and the danger of sleeping A very typical echo of this view is the fact that Shāh at Kirmanī who did not sleep for 40 years (VI, 29 again the famous 40 the number of pain and waiting!) fell asleep one night and was blessed with the vision of God in his asleep—but Hujwirī (who also mentions the letter of 'Ali ibn Sahl) closes the story

1. He died with the words of the shahādah Since he had known that a thousands of muslims and non-muslims would attend his funeral he had prayed since long that weather might be nice at the day of his death It was such a crowd that the strongest men of the butcher guild must try to keep the people quiet, and every religious group prayed a special funeral prayer at the tomb of the shayhkh Nevertheless all funeral rites were performed in two hours. (XIII)

the story with the adressing of the mystic by God. 'If you hadst not refrained from sleeping for 40 years, you would not have reached this spiritual state!'"[1]—a word which is not retold in Ibn Khafīf's *Sīrah* [1]

Ibn Khafīf never neglected the *namāz* Shortly before his death, when growing weak, he used to tell his pupils "If at the, time the *adhān* is recited you do not see me in the first range in the mosque, you may seek me among the people of the graves" (XIII) And when he, at last, was not able to stand on his feet, he performed every *rak'ah* twice, because according to a tradition the worth of the prayer of a sitting man is only half of that of a standing one (II,16) His verbal and outward interpretation of this tradition has led Goldziher to the opinion that Ibn Khafīf might have belonged to the Zāhirīyah madhhab to which his master Ruwaym also belonged.[2] But that seems to be not right—he was full-fledged Ash'arite, as Qushayri was later on.[3]

In prayer, Ibn Khafīf tried, as he did in every other performance, to remain as faithful as possible the *sunnah* of the Prophet, even when he was informed that the Prophet had performed the prayer on the top of his toes, he tried to do the same "and that is very difficult", he said (II, 16) But 'Aṭṭār tells that he had a dream where the Prophet told him that this special prayer was only for himself, and that other people did not need performing it like that [4] But on the other hand, we find in early Sufism a current which did not ascribe such an importance to ritual prayer, nor to prayer at all [5] For those people, the fixed hours of ritual prayers seemed to be an interruption of their ecstatical state, and carried them again into the world of time and space wherefrom they wanted to flee—just the contrary of the essentially Islamic idea that every prayer is a kind of *mi'rāj* Another cause for which these early Ṣūfīs

1 Nicholson's translation of Hujwīrī, 138, 353,
2 *Goldziher*, Die Zahiriten, 112
3 M Schreiner, Beitraegeous'Geschichte der theologischen Bewegung im Islam, Subkī II, 151 f, 277
4 Tadhkira, II 127, cf Shadd, 44; Subkī II, 151, Dhahabī, 112*b*, Ibn 'Asākir 191; Hajjī Khalīfa quotes a work of his on prayers under Nr 10373, but such a book is mentioned by no other source
5 Cf *Schimmel*, Some aspects of mystical Prayer in Islam, Die Welt des Islam, N S 2/2

refrained from praying is, that they did not want to trouble God with their worldly wishes, and saw no meaning in prayer since everything is pre-ordained since Eternity without beginning. They preferred a complete surrender to God's orders, and never tried to change their lot by means of ardent, loving prayer. For them, the *tawakkul* was the most important state of mind which man can reach at the beginning and end of the mystic Path. A famous example of this *tawakkul* among Ibn Khafīf's elder friends is Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khawāṣṣ who always used to wander lonely through the deserts, not accepting even Khiḍr as companion But even his *tawakkul* was not yet complete· since he used to wear the ṣūfīs' patched frock, his dress asked people with the لسان الحال to care for him· and it was only after the stern and pitiless ṣūfī Ibn Zīzī sent him to the desert a white pretty dress that he learnt what real "trust in God" means. (VI, 17).

But this complete trust in God, this not-caring for any outward means of life is possible only on the highest levels of mystic experience For the beginners, Ibn Khafīf and his fellow-saints had ordered the regular daily work in order to gain their lives. A great part of the famous ṣūfīs were humble artisans—woolcarder (حلاج), pedlar (سقطى) glass-maker (قواريرى), etc.[1] Ibn Khafīf himself learnt tops making (II, 6) but gave it up because ritually unclean material was used by his master; then he became associated with a spindle maker, but was hurt one day by a spindle; so he went to a bleacher, but could not stand this work because of his fasting, and at last he was occupied with the making of small round boxes, sometimes he also seems to have copied books.

But though most of the ṣūfī worked in order to earn their livelihood, all of them were eager to reach the complete *tawakkul*, and it is typical that Ibn Khafīf was warned by the Baghdādian ṣūfīs not to visit Ruwaym; for this great shaykh was comparatively rich, and earned enough money to care for his family (VI, 1)— a touching scene shows him, sitting together with his

[1] *Meier-Kazeruni* 18; La Passion, 83 not 3.

Shirāzān guest, when a little girl, dressed in red, enters the room and goes to sit in his lap—here, he explains the difficulty of joining the responsibilities of a family-father and of a real true mystic.

Nevertheless Ruwaym perhaps is the most important teacher of Ibn Khafīf in Baghdād; for it is difficult to find out whether the Shirāzian mystic has met the famous Junayd or not. One of the dates in Ibn Khafīf's life which we know is, that he performed one of his (four or six) pilgrimages in the year 300/912, and afterwards attended in Basrah the lectures of Ash'arī who just had broken with the *Mu'tazilah*; from Basrah he went to Baghdād and met there both Ruwaym and Junayd's *khalīfah* Jurayrī; one of them—probably Ruwaym—gave him the *khirqah*.[1] Daylamī never mentions a visit of his master to Junayd, and though 'Aṭṭār is of the opinion that he has met him, and the *Akhbār al-Hallāj* even mentions a discussion between the two ṣūfīs on the problem of Hallāj's piety,[2] the *Shirāznāmah* (a comparatively late source,) tells that Ibn Khafīf has met Junayd after his second pilgrimage, after the third one the "peacock of the door" had left this perishable world for the world everlasting. But a story which mentions Junayd as the master of Ibn Khafīf and is quoted by 'Attār and Subkī, is to be found in the oldest source, Ansārī's *Ṭabaqāt as-ṣūfiyah* without mentioning Junayd's name[3] Most of the *silsilahs* show only the relation of Ibn Khafīf to Ruwaym, not Junayd.

In Baghdād, Ibn Khafīf met at the same time also Ibn 'Aṭā whose doctrine that the grateful rich is to be preferred to the patient poor, was discussed in that time; Ibn Khafīf proved—or tried to prove—the absurdity of this idea of Ibn 'Aṭā. For most of the ṣūfīs, the superiority of the poor was not to be doubted (VI, 7).

But just as the problem of the relation between gratitude and patience (صبر و شکر) has occupied the sufistic circles, and is discussed in full also by Ghazālī, so the problem of *riḍā*, or satisfaction, is one of the central problems of early sufism.

1 Shadd 41 Jurayrī, Shirāznāme, 95, Ruwaym
2 Receuil, p 60 Nr 7.
3 Tadhkira, II, 126, Subkī, II, 152; Sulamī, 92*a*.

رضىً is said to be a fruit of patience; the real mystic has to bear everything not only with patience but has to be satisfied with everything God sends him. It leads to the real thankfulness and acknowledgement of God's wisdom and love in every moment of life. But رضىً involves also the complete surrender, and does not ask anything; it resembles often the spiritual attitude of the quietists So saw Bündār, with whom Ibn Khafīf seems to have had some argument, one night, God in his dream, and he asked Him "O God, are you satisfied that I am satisfied with Thee?" But the Almighty answered : "If thou be satisfied with Me, thou wilt not ask if I am satisfied with thee!"[1]—for the real goal is to serve and to love God without expecting any sign of love and grace from him· a point of view which is developed later in the mystical poetry of Persia

Though Ibn Khafīf on the important question of patience and gratitude did not agree with Ibn 'Aṭā, he mentions him among the five great masters of Sufism to which a moderate mystic must go back. Those five masters who tried to combine orthodoxy and mystical practice, are Muḥāsibī (who has been called a forerunner of Ghazālī), Ruwaym, Ibn 'Aṭā, and 'Amr Makkī, the author of an important book on mystic love. In most of the other ṣūfīs, Ibn Khafīf saw some errors, and he accused them of not clinging completely to the Prophetic *sunnah* and the Holy *Qur'ān*, and of uttering words which are not compatible with these two real sources of knowledge and wisdom (II, 19). He himself, belonging, like Muḥāsibī, Junayd and the great Abū 'Alī Rūdhbārī, to the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* (and therefore the most trustworthy biography of his is to be found in Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt ash-shāfi'iyah*) he himself holds that it is not allowed to explain even the smallest word of the *Sharī'ah* in a facilitating sense.[3] Whatever has been ordered by the *Qur'ān* and by the the Prophet, must be carried out without asking for any commentary. His living interest in the *sunnah* of the Prophet had

1 Tadhkira II 290, and in poetical form also in the same author's Ilāhīnāme,
2 II 15, shadd 44, Ṭabaqāt II 37,
3 Sulamī 92*b*; Anṣārī 199*b*, Nafaḥāt 281, Subkī II 154, Ṣā'ib 75*a*,

led him, beginning from his early childhood, to attend the lectures of several famous teachers of *hadīth*—from Shirāz till Baṣrah and Baghdād he was a pupil of the most famous *muḥaddithīn* (XI): his first teacher in this field of research, Abū Bakr Al-'Uta'idī (d 926) was a great ascetic (VII, 10-14);[1] the second Shirāzian teacher of *hadīth* was Azarqānī (or Azarkānī) who died, according to Sam'ānī 311/924 which is more probable than the date 340/951;[2] Abū Aḥmad ash-Sha'īrī is also mentioned among his teachers[3] In Fasā, Ibn Khafīf was the pupil of Ibn Sa'dān Among the numberless authorities on *hadīth* which are mentioned by Daylamī, we must call special attention to Abū Ja'far Muhammad al-Ḥarrānī al-Kūfī who was a pupil of Ibn Ḥanbal;[4] to the Nīshāpūrī teachers Muhammad Ibn Yazdād al-Gārī and Abū Ahmad al-Kāghidī,[5] to the Baghdādian professor Abū Bakr al-Baghandī, and al-Baghawī (213/828-317 317/929),[6] even the great Ṭabarī is mentioned among the teachers of Ibn Khafīf; Sam'ānī (344*a*) and Dhahabī (112*a*) tell, that the Shirāzian Shaykh had also lessons with Ḥammād Ibn Mudrik and 'Abdalmalik Ibn Rawāha. Even al-Ḥusayn al-Mahāmilī (d 330/914) to whose lesson more than 10,000 persons used to listen is said to have been one of Ibn Khafīf's masters in the field of *hadīth*[7] In spite of this fact has Ibn Khafīf's old enemy the famous author of the most important anti-sufistic work, نلبيس ابليس Ibn al-Jauzī, called him لا يوثق به[8]. But the fact that the great scholar Bāqillānī belongs to the pupils of Ibn Khafīf seems to show that he was reckoned a very orthodox traditionist and *faqīh*

Ibn Khafīf's dogmatic ideas are expressed in his عقيده صحيحه[9] and also in the small وصيه which he left to his pupils Here, he warns them not to frequent *qadarīs* and *Jabrīs*,

1 Sam'ānī. 383*a*.
2 *Ibid* 28
3 *Ibid* 335*b*
4 *Ibid* 534*b*.
5 *Ibid* 141 and 472*a*
6 *Ibid* 60*b*, 86
7 Dhahabī, 112*a*, Subkī, II 151; Sam'ānī 51*a*.
8 Talbīs, 358
9 The Arabic text of the 'Aqīde in Aya Sofya, 4792, f. 746*b*-748*a* and in Fatih 5391/7*a*-10, the Persian translation Aya Sofya 4792, 777*a*-784*o*.

mu'tazilis and *rāfiḍīs*—he also tells in the *Sīrah* a funny story how the Amir 'Amr ibn Layth succeeded in throwing out his *mu'tazilit* teacher, showing in this way his antipathy for every *mu'tazilit* idea. (VIII, 21)

It is a pity that, except the above-mentioned two small works of Ibn Khafīf the literary production of this ṣūfī seems to be lost He was—if we believe the sources—a very prolific writer both in the subject of mysticism as in that of traditions and dogmatics "All pious men and *imāms* made great use of his works" says one of his admirers.[1] Hujwīrī and 'Aṭṭār, again with the poetical exaggeration we had the opportunity to see in some other connections, tell that the Shīrāzian Shaykh used to produce "every 40 days a work out of the depths of the realities"[2] Mostly, the writers, like Daylamī (XII, 1) and Ibn Junayd[3] enumerate 15 long and 15 short books of Ibn Khafīf, their names are given as follows —

كتاب الاستذكار كتاب الفصول فى الاصول ، كتاب المنقطعين
كتاب اسس المرقعات' كتاب الاعانه (Shadd. الاغاثه) كتاب المعراج'
كتاب الاعتقاد (Shadd : كتاب المعتقد الكبير والصغير) كتاب
الاقتصاد ، كتاب اللوامع ، كتاب المموداب ، كتاب الاستدراج
والاندراج ، كتاب باوه الانبياء ، كتاب معرفة الزوال ' كتاب
المشيخه (Shadd : كتاب اسامى المسايخ) Shadd : كتاب
شرح الفضائل.

He also is said to have written some works of polemic character, like that against a certain Ibn Razmān, or against Ibn Sālim and the Sālimīyah, and in another book he had treated the question of the spirit in contemporary theology كتاب اختلاف الناس فى الروح.

Since none of these important books has come to us we have to find out Ibn Khafīf's theological ideas only from the small *'Aqīdah* whose first chapters are very close to the ideas in the *Fiqh Akbar*, II, which has been studied in detail by Wensinck,[4]

[1] Nasawi in Subkī, II 151 and Dhahabi 113*b*.
[2] Hujwīrī, 318, 'Aṭṭār, Tadhkira, II, 125
[3] Shadd 42, Tar'iq, II 226.
[4] *Wensinck*, The Muslim Creed, 1928.

and reflect the moderate *Ash'arite* points of view. Ibn Khafīf too accepts the orthodox point of view that the rank of the Prophets is higher than that of the saints, and acknowledges the first caliphs in their historical situation without preferring 'Alī As to him both the *mi'rāj* of the Prophet. and the peculiarities of the Day of Judgment—the Bridge, the Balance, etc —are realities Man enters Paradise not by his own works but by thanks to God's decrees, and the deeds are originated by God, not by man As a full-fledged *Ash'arite*, Ibn Khafīf denies causality; bread does not appease one but God gives man the feeling of satiety after he has eaten bread, fire cannot burn anything by itself but only if God orders it to do like that

This idea is illustrated in the *Sīrah* (VII) by the story of Abū'l-Adyān who argued with a fire-priest that he would be able to pass through fire without being burnt, for fire would not burn him without God's permission, and he really succeeded in passing through it As to him, and to Ibn Khafīf, this fact is a proof of the non-causality, as to us, it shows the strength of the ecstatic state of this pious man For the end of the story runs as follows in the evening, the servant of Abu'l-Adyān found a wound under the foot of his master who told him that he had got it when awakening from his trance at the end of the fiery way "and if I had come to myself in the middle of the fire I should have been burnt completely" It is the same ecstatic power we can see even to-day f i in the *Rifā'ī-darwīshes*, a power which is often aquired by those who follow the mystical Path in all religions but nevertheless still belongs to the lower level of mystic life, and is not a goal in itself but can hinder the spirit from his flight to the Infinite, since miracles too belong to the world which the mystic seeks to transgress

As to the situation of the faithful as pictured by Ibn Khafīf in the *'Aqīdah*, he is sure that the *mu'min* will not stay in Hell for ever, every faithful, even an Abyssinian slave (the famous Khārijitic formulation) can be *imām*, but people have to obey the government Faith and Islam are different things. every *mu'min* is Muslim, but not every Muslim a *mu'min*. Faith means, to acknowledge God's being God and being One; and it must be completed by the *'ubūdīyah,* the feeling as a slave of

the Lord, the complete surrender "when man throws everything on his Lord and is together with Him in his affliction'.[1] For *īmān* is not only a spiritual acceptance of the Divine truth but consists of word, deed and intention It is, in an expression of our Shaykh, a light which is planted into the hearts; but it can outwardly increase or diminish (This idea is, according to Hujwīrī, said to be wrong, and the *Fiqh Akbar* II, 18 too acknowledges that the *īmān* can neither increase nor diminish. But Imām Ghazālī has held that it can outwardly change though its essence does not grow or hinder) *Imān* is different from تقوى piety, which Ibn Khafīf describes as "retiring from everything which takes you far from God"[2]

In his definition of the central problem of Islam, that of *tauhīd*, Ibn Khafīf is close to his master Ruwaym who had said it to be "the effacing of the traces of carnality, and the absoluteness of the Divine"—he himself says "It means that you annihilate the traces of humanity from yourself, and dress the attributes of Divinity" (XII, 1) Anṣārī, and only he, has preserved a word of Ibn Khafīf according to which the throwing away of the 'I' is زندقه as long as one stays in the field of *Sharī'ah*, but the holding of the 'I' is *Shirk* on the level of the Divine Truth (حقيقه) (Ans 97 *b*).

We cannot find out in what measure Ibn Khafīf himself has realized the *tauhīd* in this sense; we only know that he, theoretically and quite in accordance with the great Baghdādian ṣūfīs, Muḥāsibī, Junayd and Jurayrī, in the discussion of the mystical "states" (حال) of حضور and غيبه has preferred the "presence" حضور as the positive state—, Hujwīrī writes that the Khafīfiyah were especially interested in this problem though among the works of Ibn Khafīf no book on حضوروغيبه is mentioned; we know only a *risālah* which he has written on جمع و تفرقه

1 Qushayrī, 29, 91. Subkī, II 154; Tadhkira, II, 131.
2 Sulamī, 92*b*, Subkī, II, 154; Ḥilyah X, 386, Ghunyah, 127

what is, according to Hujwīrī, a favourite problem of the Sayyārīs of Merw and Nasā. It seems that Hujwīrī's statements are sometimes too schismatical, and do not fit with the facts given by older sources. As to the question of حضور it seems that Ibn Khafīf has learnt its importance from his master 'Alī ibn Sahl for Iṣfahān on whose ideas he also has written a booklet called مسائل علی بن سهل[1]

The spiritual attitude which led Ibn Khafīf to the preference of the "presence" shows itself also in the fact that he preferred the صحو the mystical soberness, to the اضطرار the compulsion, and the افاقة, the awakeness, to the سکر, the mystic ebriety Here, the influence of the sober Baghdādian ṣūfīs is apparant, and this attitude is just fitting with the portrait of the stern ascetic Shirāzian mystic as it is given in most of the sources

But what about his definition of سکر, ebriety, as the "agitation of the heart when the name of the Beloved is mentioned".[2]

Here we touch the most important problem of early *taṣawwuf* the problem of love

The ṣūfīs had, beginning from the ninth century, started enumerating the different "states" احوال like fear, hope, longing, intimacy, of which Sarāj mentioned ten, and "stations" مقامات (like conversion, abstinence, poverty, patience, etc). And among them, the place of love in the mystic systems becomes more and more important from century to century

As to the Islamic orthodoxy, represented by scholars like Ibn Qayyim al-Jauzī, the expression that "man loves God" is allowed only in the sense that love means 'obedience'.[3] To adore God by an act of love seems to be heresy, زندقه

[1] Tadhkira II 110
[2] Hilya X 386, Subkī II 154, Ṭarā'iq II 180
[3] Qur'an 5/59, 2/160, 3/29, cf. *Goldziher*, Die Gottesliebe in der islamischen Theologie, Passion 608 ff, 161 ff

in the eyes of these theologians. On the other hand the *hadīth* that man has to love God and his Prophet more than everything, and the famous *āyat* يحبهم ويحبونه have prepared the idea of the love of God in the hearts of the believers.[1] Though from the early ascetic circles in the first and second centuries of the *Hijrah* only a few—and even not very reliable—words on love are preserved, the real mystic love shows itself for the first time, as far as we are aware, in the loving mysticism of Rābi'ah who taught her fellow-mystics to love God only for His own sake, not to serve him from hope for Paradise or from fear of Hell. Thanks to Rābi'ah who has sung in her prayers the sweetness of the nearness of the Divine Beloved in lonely nights, the idea of love has taken a central place in Sufism, and replaced in many a great saintly man the originally quietistic-ascetic state of mind.[2] As early a mystic as Muhāsibī, the master of Junayd (d. 857) has written a فصل في المحبة in his كتاب التوهم, and 'Amr Makkī, one of the above-mentioned masters of Ibn Khafīf, is often quoted as the author of a كتاب المحبة. But it is especially the great Egyptian sūfī Dhu'n Nūn who has not only systematized the mystical Path, and given a special place to the *ma'rifah*, the gnosis, but is also famous for his longing love, stories of which are told even in Maulana Rūmī's Mathnawī [3] When he died—so tell people—it was written on his forehead "He is the friend of God حبيب الله, he died in love of God, killed by God".[4] Love means, for him, that the lover loses everything from his heart and is living in God and through God alone [5] The really loving soul fears the separation so much that besides this ocean of fear the fear of Hell is like a drop of water.[6] Dhū'n-Nūn knows and has expressed it often that God, the Loved and Belover, in his names المميت المحيي is killing the bad attributes of man and awakening

1 Qūt al-qulūb. II, 50
2 *M. Smith*, Rābi'ah the Mystic and her fellow-saints, 1928.
3 Cf Mathnawī, II 1386 ff
4 Hujwīrī 225; cf Hilmī, Ibn al-fārid wa'l-hubb al-ilāhī 100
5 Luma' 59.
6 *Nicholson*, The Mystics of Islam 116.

him in a higher Divine life[3] In his prayers, he praises the Divine Beloved whose traces he finds everywhere—he is, in this way, more faithful to the Qur'ān which teaches that everything is praising God, than the first ascetic Sūfīs were for whom nature was only a veil and beauty a temptation He sings "O God I neber hearken to the voices of the beasts or the rustle of the trees, the splashing of the waters or the song of the birds, the whistling of the wind or the rumble of the thunder, but I sense in them a testimony to Thy Unity, and a proof of Thy Incomparableness, that Thou art the All-prevailing, the All -knowing, the All True And perhaps the shortest formula expressing this view is to be found in one of his well-known stories· He met a woman on the shore of the sea and asked her "What is the end of love" She answered "O simpleton, love has no end" He asked. Why? She said "Because the Beloved has no end"—a story which shows very well the dynamic character of early Sufism.

Dhu'n-Nūn who used to pray "O God among the people I call Thee My Lord, but when I am alone with Thee I call Thee Beloved!"—he has tried to define the different stages of love ودمحبه انس (is, for him, higher than محبه) 56 Ibn Khafīf has, one century later, written two—unfortunately lost—books on the same problem· كتاب الودوالالفه كتاب المحبه

It is important in early Islamic mysticism —be it in Sari as-Saqaṭī's identification of Lover and Belover ("The love of two being is not perfect until one calls the other O Thou I!")[3] or in the ardent verses of Yahya ibn Mu'adh who says "Real love does not diminish by the cruelty of the Beloved nor grow by his grace but is always the same"[4] or in Sumnūn al-Muhib who felt that the Beloved is in each of his breaths, and between his eye and eyelid[5]—that all those great lovers have used the terminus محبه in order to express their love of God. They are faithful to the Qur'an which uses the verb احب for the expression of the relation between God and man, and they are faithful

[1] Hilya IX 373
[2] Cf. Hilya IX 378, 359, 363, 392, Tadhkira I 128
[3] Hilmi 73 Qushayrī 64, Andrae, I Myrentradgarden 183.
[4] I Myrentradgarden 135, cf Hilya X 58, 59, Passion 526 not 3,
[5] Ḥilyn X 310, Luma' 250.

to the Holy Book also in their opinion that the Divine Love is previous to the humane love: if not be the يحبهم , people could not dare love God at all: the mystery of the gratia infusa, of the Divine grace and love which enables mankind to love Him who has loved them first was well-known to the early Ṣūfīs.[1]

But the terminus عشق which is later, as we can see in the whole of Persian-Turkish-Urdu mystical poetry—the only word used for Love at all —this terminus was not used by the Ṣūfīs until the end of the 9th century We find it in some sentences of Bāyezīd Bisṭāmī who is some what far from the stern orthodox Sufism of the Irak, and belongs to another current; but we find the word عشق also, and that is quite astonishing, in Junayd's work. Ibn Khafīf who like most of his contentionaries, first rejected the use of عشق in a religious sense but accepted it after having seen it in a book of Junayd's.[2] The cause for the not-acceptation of عشق by a large group of early Ṣūfīs is that it involves "a surpassing of the limits; but God is without limits" or because عشق is a feeling which wants to understand and to comprehend the Beloved, but God is beyond understanding and is incomprehensible [3] عشق has, in the first moment, too strong an erotic timbre and was therefore considered as dangerous But the more the Ṣūfīs used erotic symbols for the expression of Divine love, the more the word عشق came in use It has a more dynamic character, and is not as static as محبة It is just this dynamic character of love which has attracted Manṣūr Ḥallāj to express the essence of the essence of the Divine as عشق it is the creative Divine power which influences man, and draws him near, it is the Essential Desire in the heart of God [4]

[1] Hujwīrī 400; Ḥilya X 7; 34, 294; Niffarī, Mukhāṭabāt 7/13: Tadhkira II 953; Niffarī, Mawāqif 11/16.

[2] Daylamī, alif 7a.

[3] Ghazālī, Iḥya IV 281, Hajwīrī 401.

[4] Massignon, Interferences 295.

We do not know how far Junayd could agree with this point of view, which involves a deepening of the religious feelings. Junayd had, himself, ascribed a great importance to the *Qur'anic* word of the day of الست 7: (171): here, in the pre-eternal covenant, all worldly things are originated, and the mystic must try to separate them from the Eternal and to reach himself the Eternal, that will happen in the moment of ecstasy Ḥallāj goes the other way: in the moment of ecstasy the uncreated Divine Spirit comes into the created human spirit and holds ineffable conversations with him· here, the marvellous prayers of Ḥallāj are originated And in his overwhelming love Ḥallāj—quite in accordance with his fellow-mystics—was longing for affliction, affliction being " God Himself" whereas "the grace comes from Him" [1] The problem of the affliction of the lovers was at that time a favourite subject of the mystics, and the roots of the idea, often expressed in poetry that mankind with the *Yes* بلى of the *alastu*-day has accepted all affliction بلاء which would rain upon them, may be seen here. God, the jealous God, afflicts them with His love so that they must leave everything but His love, poverty, illness and death are the signs of this Divine Love poverty, says Junayd, is a treasure which God gives only them whom He loves [2]

Ibn Khafīf seems to be influenced by some ideas of this kind, though we possess unfortunately only a few scattered expressions of his in the Persian translation of the Sīrah (because the translator found it too difficult to render into Persian all his sayings and asks the patient reader to consult the original Arabic text . .) Even in the famous booklet كتاب الالف المعطوف which was written by his pupil and biographer Daylamī, Ibn Khafīf is quoted only five times [3] And that is by far not sufficient to find out what role the Shīrāzian Shaykh has played in the development of mystic love. We only know that he held the opinion of his friend, the Shāfi'ī *qāḍī* Ibn Surayj (who is famous for his positive *fatwā* in the process of Ḥallāj)

1 Passion 622, cf 620

2 Cf also Ibn Khafīf's words "poverty is, to have nothing and to give up 1› own attributes" Tadhkira, II, 131, Ṭarā'iq II 225, Qushayrī, 125, Nafahāt 11 Here, poverty is a completely spiritual state.

3 Daylamī, alif 7*a*, 31 *a*, 38 *b*, 39 *b*, 49 *a*.

who laid stress on the idea that man's love for God be not only allowed but was a religious duty [1] For, though the biographies show Ibn Khafīf as a very ascetic and dry type, he seems to have had a deep understanding for that side of mysticism which is beyond asceticism and renunciation, and which makes a real mystic out of a *zāhid*. This feeling of his may explain his friendship with Manṣūr Ḥallāj. Only he and one other ṣūfī had dared visit Ḥallāj in prison (according to some legends shortly before his execution), March 26,922, and he has acknowledged him not only as a faithful believer but even as a عالم ربانى at a time when everybody in Baghdād, the mystics, not excepted, was against him His visit in prison has been related in different forms, but how it might have happened, be it one time or five times we always can feel how deep an impression Ḥallāj had left on Ibn Khafīf, who later on also happened to meet his daughter. The miracles, Ibn Khafīf says, are not as important as the impression we get of the deep piety of Ḥallāj (VI) Was it the ardent love which filled Manṣūr Ḥallāj, was it his longing prayer, his embracing of death which impressed Ibn Khafīf most? We do not know it. But even the Shaykh of Shirāz had learnt the goal of all mysticism, the وصاب "It is the union with the Beloved, every other thing being excluded, and separation from everything except the Beloved."[2]

But how to reach the Beloved? How to find a way to him? In the time of early Sufism, it was not a common idea that the beauty of the Divine Beloved could show itself in the shape of a charming human being, mostly in that of a young man—according to the *hadīth*, which is quoted in different forms, "I saw my Lord in the shape of a young man, without beard" Early Sufism is much more abstract in its views, and would not allow allusions on mundane love at all. Even the loving prayers of Ḥallāj do not contain a single line which might be interpreted in an erotic sense. But at the end of the classical period—about 900 A D.— the problem of نظر is arising. that means whether it be allowed to look at the beautiful human object of love which may

1 Dhahabī 114 *a*; *Goldziher*, Islam, 9/144, *Amedroz*, JRAS 1912/577. Subkī, II, 154; Tadhkira, II, 131, Ṭarā'iq II 225.

be accepted as a mirror of Divine Beauty or as the place of the manifestation of Divine marvels. Most of the earlier ṣūfīs spoke against the "looking at the Beloved", and orthodoxy never allowed it—whereas in Persian and Persian-influenced poetry just this side of the mystic life plays a most important role.[1] One should expect that Ibn Khafīf who refrained from every pleasure and everything belonging to this world would have clearly denied the possibilty of نظر but he has openly praised it. "The body has three pleasures: eating, sleeping, and cohabitation, and the spirit has three pleasures scents, beautiful voice, and looking at the Beloved". (XII)

The first of the spiritual delights, scent has been chosen particularly because the Prophet too was very fond of scents, as to the second and the third delights, both of them have taken a very central place in later *taṣawwuf*

For the "beautiful voice" leads us to the wide field of the *samā'* سماع and no student of Islamic mysticism can deny the importance of the "hearing" even now the recitation of the *Qur'an* by a *hāfiẓ* with beautiful voice can carry people into ecstasy, and the books on *taṣawwuf* are full with stories of sūfīs who either swooned or died when they were touched by a sweet voice reciting some *āyat* or even love-poetry Therefore most of the authors agree in the view that *samā'* is dangerous for the beginners,[2] and Ibn Khafīf, who also has written a كتاب السماع tells several stories of this meaning He himself completely lost consciousness when a *qawwāl* sang a verse which had caused one of his disciples to fall down from the roof and die (VII 33) Even the turning around one's own axe which is to be seen in its most perfect manner in the whirling dance of the Maulawi-darwīshes, is mentioned in the Sīrah, this kind of *samā'* was followed by a deep ecstasy in which the enraptured ṣūfī could carry fiery coals in his hand without being hurt (VII, 1, 2).

Another way of drawing near to the Beloved—and perhaps a more spiritual one than the *samā'* and the "looking"—is the *dhikr* which was well known in that time among the ṣūfīs It was the سورة الاخلاص

[1] Cf *Ritter*, Das Meer der Seele, p 445 ff
[2] Cf. the chapters on *samā'* in Luma', Hujwīrī, and Ghazālī.

which has been preferred by Ibn Khafif as the foundation of all *dhikr*, and, as he says "Who recollects Him, He will recollect him too in His absolute Unity" (XIII). But *dhikr* is not only the outward formula which is to be repeated hundred and thousand times but the spiritual attitude, the never-ceasing meditation of the Divine truth: that is, according to the Shīrāzī Shaykh, the real ذکر خفی He, Who is remembered and recollected in the *dhikr*, is always the same, is always One, but the *dhikr* must be different according to the spiritual state of the recollecting one. "Who is living in the state of fear will recollect God's threatening, and who is in the state of hope will recollect His promises, who is in *tawakkul* will be busy with another kind of recollection than one who has reached the station of gnosis معرفه."[1] This theoretical statement can be illustrated by the story of Abū Bakr al-Sha'rānī who blamed another ṣūfī because he was using the *dhikr*-formula الحمد لله instead of the استغفرالله which is the right *dhikr* of as true ascetic (VII, 7) The same استغفرالله was also repeated in the mysterious meeting of the great shaykhs at the Abu Qubays near Mecca by all the pious ṣūfīs who were present (VII, 32).

In ecstasy, and even beginning from a certain point of the mystic Path, the ṣūfī can perform miracles As to Ibn Khafīf he has never hown great miracles, the most important ones are such of فراسته (II, 18, X) Sometimes, the shaykh or his disciples are guided by a dream (some ṣūfīs have often enjoyed the vision of the Prophet in their dreams, IV, 14), and Ibn Khafīf was compelled to finish his book جامع الارشاد by means of a dream (IX 6) Another kind of miracle which is sometimes mentioned in the Sīrah is that somebody disappears suddenly from the eyes of his companions. Ibn Khafīf, who always longed for this particular experience without having reached this point explains this phenomenon (psychologically quite right) with the words that the ṣūfī in question did not disappear but

[1] Ḥilya, X, 386, Sha'rānī, I, 103

had come in such a spiritually exalted state that the eyes of ordinary people were no longer able to see him (VII 34, 40).

All miracles are explained in the Sīrah as real خارق العاده in the Ash'arite sense of the word since there exists no causality in the modern sense but only the عادهالله, the custom of God, a miracle is nothing but the breaking of this Divine custom which always can happen the above-quoted story of 'Abd-u'l-Adyān and the fire-priest is a fine example of this way of thinking

The real sūfī does not boast of the miracles he performs; the great masters have always warned their pupils lest they should try to show miracles And even more the sūfī must, according to the word of Bishr al-Khāfī, one of the spiritual fathers of the *Malamatiyah* current (VI, 27), conceal his virtuous actions as he conceals his evil deeds he must, faithful to the most important spiritual law of Sufism, do every thing with complete اخلاص sincerety. The greatest sin from the beginning of the Path till its end is hypocrisy, رياء that means seeking to win the praise of other people by outwardly good deeds—like the sūfī who entered a mosque at night time in order to sleep there, but when he felt that another being was with him in the mosque, he started praying, and prayed till dawn—and found that his neighbour was not a pious man but a dog.

And one more point every station of the mystic Path has not only a worth of its own, and as a preparation for higher stations, but shows its effects also in the social life· poverty and renunciation are meaningless when they do not result in love for the poor. "Poverty means, to prefer the others" says Nūrī.[1] "Love of the brethren is better than stern asceticism To eat with the poor, is God's nearness"[2] —so praises Ibn Khafīf the social side of Sufism. To break the fast because a companion is hungry and wants to eat (VII, 35; II,11) or to accept a present because the giver has taken so much trouble in bringing it —that is better than to cling to the hard rules of ascetic life (VII, 8) The real ṣūfī is at once ready—as Ibn Khafīf did—to give the only dress he posesses to a beggar, or to distribute every Friday

1 *Ibid*, X, 112
2 Saib, 75*a*,

all his worldly goods to the poor (II, 11), to care for animals as well as for human beings (II, 10)—the love for animals is a characteristic trend in Sufism and is worth studying in detail. In a famous story, which all biographers of Ibn Khafif tell, we read how he, when he was looking after a sick shaykh, slept in the night for a few minutes after long sleepless days, and the sick man cursed him with the words لعنک الله but to him his course was like رحمک[2] for every word of the spiritual guide is a blessing. According to one source the sick man asked him later on: "How will you serve God in the right way when you are unable to serve your brethren?" (VII, 1)

This social responsibility, born out of the love of God, is one of the most important sides of early Sufism, and especially of Ibn Khafīf—small wonder that his pupil Kāzarūnī was the founder of the first order which was working in the social field: the spirit of Ibn Khafīf, who was loved by Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Parsees,[1] and honoured by the Government, was living in this order for a long time and influenced even the Indian Islam through the activity of *Kāzarūnīyah* and *Khafīfīyah* members.

One of his first biographers is quite right when he writes: "Ibn Khafīf was a great shaykh whose blessings are hoped for, and through whose prayer heavenly bliss is attained."[2]

[1] Sulamī, 92 *b*; Anṣārī 198 *a*; Saib 75 *b*, Subkī, II, 153; Tadhkira, II, 131, app. 83; Nafahāt 280.
I'lām al-akhyār Ist. Univ. Libr., 3246 f. 115 *b*.

SOURCES OF ECONOMIC HISTORY OF SPAIN UNDER THE UMAYYADS (711—1031 A C.)

By

DR. IMAMUDDIN, DACCA

(*Continued from p* 123, *Volume VI, Part II,* 1958)

The *Kitāb Tārīkh 'Ulama' al-Andalus'* is a very important biographical dictionary of the eminent Muslim scholars of Spain[1] It was composed by Abū al-Walīd 'Abd Allāh bin Muhammad bin Yūsuf al-Azadī known as Ibn al-Faradī (962-1013 A C), the pupil of the famous historian, Ibn al-Qūtīyah The author was born at Cordova in *Dhū-al-Qa'dah* 351 H (Dec 962), studied traditions, jurisprudence and poetry, held the post of *qādī* at Valencia, toured the Eastern Khilāfat in 382 H (992 A C) He was killed at Cordova on the 6th of *Shawwāl* 403 H (April 1013) along with many other distinguished men like Sa'īd bin Mundhir and Marwān, the Banī Huḍayr in the tumult that followed the forcible entrance of the Berbers into the city from the Secunda gate[2] He wrote many books on different subjects ; but none of them except the present one survived him. It was edited by Francisco Codera and published in two volumes by the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, Madrid, in 1890-92

From the minute study of the lives of learned and important personalities given therein we learn many things about the society and economy of Spain We are told by the author indirectly that trade relations of Spain with North Africa, Egypt and 'Irāq were stronger than with other eastern countries, Andalusian merchants went as far as Persia, Khurāsān and India and at the same time foreign merchants came from distant countries like Khurāsān, 'Irāq, Syria and Egypt. The author also writes the biographies of market officers and of the *mufti* of markets, who taught the people of *hisbah*, the social laws of the market, and mentions the great flood of the year 222 H. (837 A.C.), and import of books etc.

1 Ibn Khallikān, I, 480 , cf Gayangos, Vol I, 546.

2 Ibn Hazm, *Tratado sobre el amor*, fol 38, 96*b* quoted by F. P Boigues, *Ensayo*, p 105 n 2 3 , cf Dozy, *Histoire des Mus*. III, 308 , Gayangos, I, 194, 458 , Ibn Bashkuwāl, 567,

This *Tārīkh 'Ulamā'* is supplemented by Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf bin 'Abd al-Malik bin Bashkuwāl of Cordova (494—Ramaḍān 578 H./1101-January 1183)[1] in a work entitled *Kitāb al-Ṣilah fī Tārīkh A'immat al-Andalus* (Biographical notices of the leading men of Spain) a very important and well-known work, in the composition of which the author consulted about four hundred books, one hundred of them being those of his teacher Abū Muhammad bin Ibn 'Itāb. Only this book out of some fifty works,[2] which Ibn Bashkuwāl wrote, so far known, has survived It has been edited by F Codera and published in two volumes by the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, Madrid, in 1882 and 1883

It gives the biographical notices of the learned men of Spain (who lived between the year of the conquest of Spain and the time of the author, specially of those who lived in the fifth century of the *Hijrah* era) and contains valuable material, which explains the causes of the downfall of the Banu Umayyah and the establishment of the petty dynasties

Like Ibn al-Faradī, Ibn Bashkuwāl also gives some indications about the social and economic activities, specially of trade relations of Spain with foreign countries and writes about the lives and activities of the merchants, both native and foereign, who visited Spain, the *muhtasib* and *muftīs* of markets and about the industries like those of skin works.

The *Bughyat al-Multamis fī Tārīkh Rijāl ahl al-Andalus* (The Desire of the Inquisitor for the History of the People of al-Andalūs) composed by Abū Ja'far Ahmad bin Yaḥyā al-Dabbī (d. January 1203)[3] of Murcia is a very valuable biographical dictionary of the learned Spainish Muslims It is the enlarged, improved and corrected edition of *Judhwat al-Muqtabas fī Tārīkh al Andalus* (the Firebrand of the Seeker concerning the history of Spain) of al-Ḥumaydī (420-488/1029) of Cordova settled at Baghdād. The *Bughyat* has been edited by Codera and J. Ribera and published by the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, Madrid, 1884-1885. It deals with the biographies of the Andalusian Muslims and the foreigners, who visited Spain from the period of the conquest to the year 595 H./1198-9 A.C. Its contents to a great

1. Brockelmann I, P. 580 ; Ibn Abbār, *Takmilah*, no. 179 pp. 54 - 58, F. P. Boigues, *Ensayo*, p. 247 & n°.

2. Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilah*, no. 179 ; Ibn Khallikān, I, 305-6.

3. Brockelmann, I, 580 ; Codera, Prologoel texto arabe ; *Journal Asiatique*, II serie III, p. 374 ; F. P. Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 212, pp. 257-8.

extent coincide with the information and wordings of *Kitāb al-Ṣilah* of Ibn Bashkūwāl. Like other writers on biographies, al-Dabbī also includes in his work the biographies of merchants and market officers, the life of al-Ghazzāl, the famous diplomat of the tenth century and the recall of the order of al-Ḥakam II for the destruction of vines.

The *Kitāb al-Ṣilah* of Ibn Bashkūwāl was completed by another scholar of Valencia named Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin 'Abd Allāh bin Abū Bakr Al-Qudā'ī of Valencia known as Ibn al-Abbār (1199-1260 A C.), who migrated to Tunis from Valencia when it fell in 636 H (1238-9) to the Christians and served Abū Zakariyā as his *kātib* (secretary) and his son al-Mustansir as his *wazīr*. He was put to death on 15 or 29 *Muḥarram* 658/January 1260 on a charge of conspiring against the ruler. He named this book *Kitāb al-Takmilah li Kitāb al-Ṣilah*,[1] which has been edited by F. Codera and Zaydin and published in two volumes by the Bibliotheca Arabico Hispana, Madrid, in 1887 and 1889 Its supplement has been edited by M Alarcon and C A Gonzalez Palencia and published in *Miscelanea de Estudios y Textos arabes*" (Madrid, 1915) pp. 147-690, nos. 2153 to 2892

Ibn al-Abbār wrote many other books. The *Mu'jam fī Aṣḥāb al-Qāḍi al-Imām Abī 'Alī al-Ṣadafī* (The Dictionary of the Fellows of Abī 'Alī al-Ṣadafī) is antoher biographical dictionary by him It was edited by F Codera and Zaydin and published by the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana in 1886 His third biographical book called *al-Ḥullah al-Siyara* (La capa o tunica recamada de ore) was edited in part by Dozy and published from Leyden in 1847-51.

The biographical works of Ibn al-Abbār also supply us some valuable material for the economic life, specially commercial activities, of Muslim Spain It therefore draws the attention of every student of economics and history.

The literary works on agriculture in Arab Spain are very rich, scientific and full of agricultural techniques. These types of works were written within the tenth and the following centuries but very few of the earlier works came to us. We find some references to such works in those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The following is a short but very important work of the tenth century.

1 Brockelmann, I, p. 580 ; Ibn Khallikān, I, 77 ; De-Slane, II, 347-50 ; Boigues, *Ensayo*, pp 291-93.

The Kitāb Awqāt al-Sanat (The book of calendar) composed by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Arīb bin Sa'īd (died towards 370 H./980-981 A. C.) of Cordova in 961 A. C. when 'Abd al-Raḥmān III died and his son al-Ḥakām II succeeded. The calendar was composed on the model of Latin Calendar and in the addition of the local Christian festivals the writer was helped by Bishop Recemundo known as Rabī' bin Zeid. The author, who was the Secretary to al-Ḥakam II and perhaps to his father 'Abd al-Raḥmān III also wrote some more books—one on astronomy called *Kitāb Tafṣīl al-Azmān wa-maṣālih al-Abdān* and dedicated it to al-Ḥakam II surnamed al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh as attested by Ibn Sa'īd,[1] and two others *Kitāb al-Anwa* or *calendār* and *Ṣūrat yabdā* (*Simulaichre*), which have been utilized very much by Ibn al-'Awwām in writing the sections of his book on calendar,[2] horse[3] and so on. The fourth work that the author had taken up was the compendium of Ṭabarī, the continuation of the famous chronicle of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310 H./922-3)[4] and the addition to it of the history of North Africa and Spain. A part of that book has come to us which contains very good information about the court and the courtiers of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. The name Ibn Sa'īd has been written in different ways at different times by Banqueri, who edited and translated into Spanish Ibn al-'Awwām's book on agriculture.[5]

The *Kitāb al-Sanat* was edited with Latin translation by Dozy and published in 1873 A.C. under the title *'Calendrier de 'Cardove de L' anee* 961'. Comparing the Arabic text with the Latin translation of it, Levi-Provencal observes that the two do not tally with each other.[6] Speaking about '*texto latino de Recomundo*' included in the *Histoire des Sciences mathematiques en Italie*,' tomo I of *Libri* and *La ciudad de Dios* of Francisco Javier Simonet and referring Saavedra, Boigues says, "all the difficulties arising out of the Latin title are, solved by F. P. Boigues[7]

1. Maqqarī, (ed de Leyde), II, p. 125 quoted by Dozy, *calender* ; p.
2. Banqueri, II, p. 492
3. Banqueri, *Agricultura*, II, pp. 428, 440 , For *Kitāb al-Anwa* Leve-Provencal *Histoire*, III, p. 239 n[a]
4 E. Levi-Provencal, *Historiae*, III, 1953, p. 240 ; F. P. Boigues, *Ensayo*, p. 88.
5. Azib or Garib see Banqueri, II, pp. 430, 432, 434, 438, 439, 440, 441, 492. Libri wrote by mistake in his *History of the Science of Mathematics in Italy* that this book on agriculture was written by Harib ben Caid in the thirteenth century quoted by Maceira, A. G., *Aputesy noticias sobre la Agricultura de los Arabes Espanoles*, Zamora, 1876, p. 28 ; cf. Dozy, *calendrier*, p. III ; F.P. Boigues, *Ensayo*, p. 89.
6. *Histoire*, III, p. 240.
7. *Invasion de los arabes*, p. 14 quoted in *Ensayo*, p. 89 n.1

It deals with the science of agriculture, meteorology and astronomy and gives a good picture of the life and activities of the cultivators, herdsmen and agricultural industrymen, of their daily actitvities and monthly routine While he writes about some social activities, festivals of the Muslims or the Christians, he mentions also movements of stars and celestial bodies, fall of rain, blow of wind and so on At the end of each month's calendar he mentions agricultural and industrial activities of the peasants, viz, sowing, ploughing, planting, reaping preparing scent, wine or medicine, collection of corn, fruits, flowers, abundance of birds and animals and milk This book gives the idea of the agricultural and pastoral life in the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and of what was followed also in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, because when Ibn al-'Awwām wrote the section on calendar for his work on agriculture he often quoted 'Arīb bin Sa'īd in support of what he wrote This short book should be utilized thoroughly in writing the chapters on agriculture and agricultural industries of the economic history of Spain under the Umayyads.

From the works on the science of cultivation and plantation which have come to us, we learn that the eleventh century, specially its latter half, was the most important period for the agriculturists of Muslim Spain Among others the most important reason for the development of theoretical and practical knowledge of growing more was the break up of the Empire of the Banū Umayyah and the division of Muslim Spain into several independent principalities. Trade being partially stopped and communications between two principalities being difficult, transportation of goods specially of food products from the surplus areas to the deficit ones became impossible. Hence, each principality had to think and to do her best for being self-sufficient and for that it engaged all its man power and rational spirit in the improvement of the country specially the growth of food production of the limited territory The scientists came to the forefront and instructed the cultivators in the methods of levelling the ground, manuring the land and irrigating the field by artificial means when and where rain failed and river water was scarce. Among these naturalists who generally flourished in Toledo, Seville and Granada in the latter half of the eleventh century, we can easily mention the name of Ibn Baṣṣāl, Ibn al-Wāfid, al-Ṭighnarī al-Gharnāṭī, Abū 'Umar Aḥmad and Abū al-Khayr Ashbilī all of whom were known and were contemporary to each other.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm bin Baṣṣāl lived at Toledo during the time of Māmūn, the Banū Dhū al-Nūn ruler, whom he served as his botanist in the garden, planted in the valley of the Tagus. The author of the *'Umdat al-Ṭabīb fī Ma'rifat al-nabāt li-kull Labīb*, the disciple of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān, known as Ibn al-Lunqah of Toledo, who died at Cordova in 498-9 H/September, 1104-6 A. C.)[1] saw him working and planting in the garden of the Sulṭān [2] Ibn Baṣṣāl was an expert agriculturist both in theory and practice. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Malik al-Tighnarī was once reported by Ibn Baṣṣāl himself about his practical art of plantation. In order to cure the disease of some plants of orange, apple and jasmines, which he had in his garden at Toledo he cut all of them, the new branches, which grew again from their old roots, were free from disease and he planted many new ones.[3] He composed an excellent book on agriculture called *al-Qaṣd wa-l-Bayān* and dedicated it to Mā'mūn of Toledo.[4]

After the fall of Toledo in 1085 A C. in the hands of the Christians a great exodus of Muslims to the south specially Cordova and Seville took place Ibn Baṣṣāl seemed to have accompanied Azarqiel, Ibn Lunqah and others when they left Toledo for the South, where, prhaps at Cordova or Seville, he had conversations with the author of *'Umdat*, a desciple of Ibn Lunqah [5] He visited Sicily, Egypt and other Mediterranean regions and also performed *hajj* Accordingly he was also called al-Ḥājj Nothing more is known about his life

His work on agriculture became very famous and was immensely utilized by later authors, including the well-known agriculturist, Ibn-al-'Awwām of Seville, who utilized the larger recension; [6] his minor book has been edited and translated into Spanish very recently by a specialist on medieval agricultural works of Spain, namely, D. Jose Maria Millas Vallicrosa and published at Tetuan in 1955

1. Cf. Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilah*, no. 2283 , R Fr Jose Lerchundi, (*Crestiomatia arabigo espanola*, Granada, 1881, no. 98, pp 108-9) writes Abī Ja'far bin Luyūn al-Tājibi ; Millas (Ibn Baṣṣāl -*Libro de Agricultura*, Tetuan, 1955, p 15 n[4]) writes Ibn Luengo

2. Asin, *Glosario de voces romances registradas por un botanico anonimo hispano-musulman* (siglos-XI-XII), Madrid, 1943, pp XIII-XIV ; Millas, Ibn Baṣṣāl, p. 14

3 *Zahr al-Bustān wa Nuzhat al-Adhhān*, Ms of Aziman, fol. 143 quoted by Millas, Ibn Baṣṣāl , p. 16 n[a]

4 P. Emilio Garcia Gomez, *Agricultura arabigo espanola* (*cuestiones biobibliograficas* in *Al-Andalūs* X, 1945], p. 137 ; Millas, Ibn Baṣṣāl, p. 17.

5. Millas, Ibn Baṣṣāl, pp. 14, 15

6. *Ibid., Ibid.*; p. 18.

Ibn Baṣṣāl's contemporary and fellow citizen was the famous Abū al-Muṭarrif 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad al-Lakhmī commonly known as Ibn Wāfid of Toledo (389-467 H/999-1074-5 A.C.). He was born at Toledo in *Dhū-al-Ḥijjah* 389 (December, 999)[1] and died on Friday, the 10th of *Ramaḍān* 467 H. (April 1075). He was taught at Cordova by distinguished teachers like Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf bin 'Abbās al-Zahrawī[2] He studied books on medicine, jurisprudence and literature, and mastered the works of Aristotle and Galen[3] Ibn al-Wāfid specialized in medicine and wrote important works like *Kitāb fī al-Adwiyah al-Mufridāt* (The Book of Medicine), *Mujarrabāt fī al-Ṭib* (The Book of medical experience), *Kitāb al-Wasād fī- al-Ṭib* (The Book of Pillow on Medicine).[4] He was also a great botanist and agriculturist, and was employed by Mā'mūn of Toledo to plant his famous botanical garden near Toledo in the Valley of the Tagus between the palace called Galiana and the river.[5] There he had the occasion of meeting the famous agriculturist Ibn Baṣṣāl. Ibn Sa'id the *qādī* of Toledo and the author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam* was his distinguished friend,[6] and Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Lunqah of Toledo was his famous disciple[7] This famous agriculturist and botanist wrote a book on agriculture also, which in its entirety has not come to us. Its Spanish translation, perhaps in part, saw the light in *Al-Andalūs*, Vol VIII, edited by Millas Vallicrosa under the title '*El Tratado de Agricultura de Ibn Wāfid.*' Its Arabic text in part has been discoverd by the famous scholar, my teacher, Professor Emilio Garcia Gomez in a *Compendius Agriculture Treatise*, published in great disorder and with many mistakes at Fez in 1358 H. Under the title *Kitāb fī al-Falāh li abi al-Khayr al-Andalūsī*' whose pages 2-83 correspond to the Spanish translation mentioned above. This is the Arabic text, says my Professor, for whose loss Cesar E. Dubler much lamented while comparing and writing critical notes on the sources of Herrera's work and also

[1] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilah*, II, P 551, Ibn al-Qifṭī quoted by Millas Vallicrosa in *Al-Andalus*, VIII, 1943, P 284], Millas, *Estudios sobre Historia de la Ciencias espanola*, Barcelona, 1949, p 180 n.11. F. P Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 11 p 151

[2] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilah*, II, no 1557, p 551, Millas, *Estudios*, p 180.
[3] F P Boigues, *Ensayo*, p 151
[4] Ibn al-Abbār, II, no 1557 p 551, F P Boigues, *Ensayo*, p. 151.
[5] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilah*, II, p 551, F P Boigues *Ensayo*, p. 151 ; Millas *Estudios*, p 180 & n 10, Millas, Ibn Baṣṣāl *Agricultura* Tetuan, 1955, p 14n[a].
[6] P L Cheikho, *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, Bayrut, 1912, pp 83-4 ; *Al-Andalus*, VIII, 1943, p 283, Millas Vallicrosa, *Estudias*, p 179
[7] *Takmilah* of Ibn al- Abbār in M *iscellanea de Estudios y textos arabes*, Madrid, 1915, no 2283, p 200 ; Millās Vallicrosa, Ibn Baṣṣāl, p. 15 n2.

D. Millas Vallicrosa while editing the Spanish translation.[1] In writing his famous work on agriculture, Herrera utilized Ibn Wāfid's Spanish version under the name of Aben Cenif; but Dubler could not identify this Aben Cenif, who is none else but Ibn Wāfid.[2] Millas complains against the Muslim agriculturists (from Ibn Baṣṣāl to Ibn al-'Awwām) for not making any reference to Ibn Wāfid's book, specially against Ibn al-'Awwām, who compiled an encyclopaedic work on agriculture and consulted many other Muslim and non-Muslim authors on agriculture but completely ignored Ibn al-Wāfid.[3]

Another contemproary, rather, friend and disciple, of Ibn Baṣṣāl was Abū' 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Malik. He was called al-Ṭighnarī because he hailed from Ṭighnar a village near Albote in Granada.[4] He was known sometimes as Ibn Ḥamdūn al-Ashbilī, because he lived also in Seville and as al-Ḥājj of Granada, because he performed *hajj* He won name as a great literary man during the time of Amir 'Abd Allāh bin Balkin bin Bādis, ruler of Granada and served him as a story-teller and poet, and was alive in 480 H./1087 A C.[5] He took lessons in the art of plantation from Ibn Baṣṣāl whom he refers in his book specially on the occasions when he discusses the cures of the diseases of plants, and the plantation of pomegranate, fig, grape and almond.[6] He wrote a book on agriculture called *Zahar al-Bustān wa Nuzhat al-Adhhān* (the flowers of garden and the pleasure of intellect) in 12 parts containing 360 chapters, and dedicated it to prince Abū Ṭāhir Tamīm (d. 1125 A C), son of Yūsuf bin Tāshufīn, who was the Almoravid governor of Granada, during the time of 'Alī bin Yūsuf.[7] It is available in manuscript forms in a few private and public libraries of Granada, Rabat and Tetuan.[8] Though its edition was arranged long ago by Dona Joaquina Eguerras, of the Escuela de Estudios Arabes de Granada,[9] it has not yet been published. Its another edition with

1. *Al-Andalus*, X, 1945, pp. 128-129 ; Millas Vallicrosa, Ibn Baṣṣāl, p. 12.
2. Millas Vallicrosa, *Estudios*, pp 184-5 ; *Al-Andalus*, VI, 1941, pp. 145, *Al-Andalus*, VIII, pp 288-290.
3. Millas Vallicrosa, *Estudios*, p. 184 ; *Al-Andalus*, VIII, 1943, pp. 287-288 ; X, pp. 288-90.
4. Millas Vallicrosa, *Ibn Bassāl*, p. 16 ; *Al-Andalus*, X, p 138 , *Ibn al-Khaṭib* (*Kitāb Ihaṭah*, Egypt, 1319, p. 207) calls him Muḥammad Malik al Tafri of Elinia.
5. Ibn al-Khaṭib *Kitāb Iḥāṭah*, pp. 207, 208.
6. Millās Vallicrosa, Ibn Baṣṣāl, pp. 16-17 ; *Al-Andalus*, VIII, p. 288.
7. Cf R. Fr. Jose Lerchundi Simonet, *Crestomatia arabigo espanola*, Granada, 1881, p. 109 ; *Al-Andalus*, , X, p. 138.
8. *Al-Andalus*, X, pp. 138-9 ; *Tamuda*, I, 1953, pp. 85-6
9. Lerchundi Simonet, *Crestomatia*, p. 198, quoted by Millas Vallicrosa, Ibn Baṣṣāl, p. 18 n[1] ; *Tamuda* I, 1953, p. 85 n.[1]

the works of Ibn Hajjāj and Abū al-Khayr is under preparation by Professor H Peres of the Faculty of Letters of Argel.[1]

Among other writers of the same period are two more agriculturists of Seville, Abū 'Umar Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Ḥajjāj and Abū al-Khayr The former lived in Seville towards the year 1073-4 A.C. and read the ancient and contemporary books of the Greeks and the Arabs, which he often cited in his book written on agriculture known as *al Muqna'* (The Sufficient).[2] No manuscript of this book has come to light but it had been so widely used by Ibn al-'Awwām in his *Kitāb al-Falāhah* that a text of the said work can be prepared if all the quotations from Ibn al-'Awwām's work are taken together, and compiled in a book form [3] Ibn Hajjāj was undoubtedly a great agriculturist but according to George Sarton he was more a grammarian than an agriculturist [4] Abū al-Khayr was also a famous agriculturist of Seville and was largely consulted by Ibn al-'Awwām [5] But his present book *'Kitāb fī al-Falāh* on agriculture, published from Fez in 1358 H. is full of mistakes and does not show much originality It is only a compilation from the books of Ibn Wāfid, Ibn Bassāl and one Abū al-Ḥasan, who lived and studied in Seville in 494 H (1100-1 A C) as rightly pointed out by Professor E Garcia Gomez in his critical study of the Biobibliography of the Arab Spanish agriculture [6] A critical and accurate edition of the two is greatly needed Henry Peres as mentioned above would perhaps shortly fulfil our expectations in this respect [7]

The greatest Spanish Muslim agriculturist flourished at Seville in the twelfth century He was Abū Zakariyā Yahyā bin Muḥammad bin Ahmad bin al-'Awwām al-Ashbili, the author of the most important encyclopaedic work on agriculture known as *Kitāb al-Falāhah* It was edited and translated into Spanish as early as 1802 by Jose Antonio Banqueri Another Spanish translation was published in 1878 by Claudio Bontelon A French translation was printed

1 H Peres, *Bibliotheque arabe francaise*, Argel, 1946, V, p 10 notes on *Kitāb al-Falāh*, quoted by Millas Vallicrosa, Ibn Baṣṣāl, p 17 n '
2 Banqueri, *Libro de Agricultura*, Madrid, 1802, I, 61
3. Cf J M Millas Vallicrosa, *Aportaciones para el Estudio de la obra agronomica de Ibn Hayyāt y de Abu-l-Jayr* in *Al-Andalus*, XX, 1955.

4 Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Washington, 1927, I, 776.
5 Banqueri, I, p 61
6 *Agricultura arabigo espanola* (*Cuestiones biobibliograficas*) in *Al-Andalus*, X, 1945, pp 128-132, 134, 136
7 *Bibliotheque arabe francaise*, V, Argel, 1946, p. 10 , Millas Vallicrosa, Ibn Baṣṣāl, p 17n⁴.

by J. J. Clement Mullet, Paris, 1867. But the Arabic text is not free from defects, the Spanish or French translation is therefore not accurate and correct Its critical edition and an accurate translation are needed badly Sufficient material is now available which will facilitate this difficult but valuable work The importance of this work and the necessity of its critical edition have already been recognised by no less an authority than Professor Emitio Gracia Gomez himself [1]

Among the sources of his book on agriculture Ibn al-'Awwām mentions the works of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Baṣṣāl, Abū al-Khayr al-Ashbilī, Abū 'Umar Aḥmad bin Muhammad ibn Ḥajjāj, Gharnātī, al-Khatīb Abū 'Umar ibn Ḥajjāj, 'Arīb bin Sa'īd (S'ad) of Cordova, *Falāhah al-Nabātī* (The Agriculture Nabatea), Qasṭūs, Qūthāmī (Kutsami) etc But Banqueri often confuses the authorities of Ibn al-'Awwām He mentions one name and repeats it with slight difference as if they were two different persons. This confusion occurs throughout the book specially when reference is made to Ibn Bassāl and 'Arīb bin Sa'īd, the former having been written as Ibrāhīm ben Mohammed ben Bisal (Bassāl, Bassāl), Abū Abdalah Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn el-Fasel, Espanol (al Fassal al-Andalusi), and the latter as Azib ben Saaid and Garib Ebn Saad (Saaid). Such mistakes and confusions in an important book like the one under discussion are very unfortunate.

From the study of the above noted works on agriculture it is evident that their authors namely Ibn Bassāl, Ibn al-Wāfid, al-Ṭighnarī al-Gharnāṭī, Abū 'Umar Aḥmad, Abū al-Khayr Ashbilī and Ibn al-'Awwām laid emphasis more on plantation of fruit trees than on cultivation of cereals This is because the hilly tracts of the country and slopings of the hills and mountains which form major part of the country and were lying deserted could only be utilized by planting new fruit trees imported from the East. They spoke largely of the skill and methods of plantation Next, they laid emphasis on the irrigation and manuring system. Rain being scarce and river water not being supplied properly to all the banks and their adjacent areas, they excavated wells and introduced hydraulic machines to raise the water from the depth of the wells as well as the rivers to the highlands of the country. They discuss the signs of recognizing good and productive lands and the manufacture of manures in order to increase the fertility

1. Cf. *Al-Andalus*, X, 1945, p 141.
2. Banqueri, I, pp. 61-62.

of the unproductive and deserted land These authors not only spoke about the theory of plantation, irrigation, manuring and cultivation but also acted up to what they wrote Ibn Wāfid, Ibn Baṣṣāl and Ibn al-'Awwām appear to be the foremost among them They often described their experiences in the field Their theoretical knowledge and practical experience turned the country into a green land full of trees, cereals, gardens and orchards

We know that the need of the development of trade and commerce in the country led to the establishment of a separate department of market called *hisbah*, formerly attached to the police department The-officer-in-charge of this department was the market officer known as *ṣāhib al-ahbās or muhtasib* from the ninth century, as Abū Yahyā, the comrade of the chief *qāḍī* Muhammad bin Salmah, who resigned in favour of his brother al-Nādir bin Salmah, during the time of Amīr 'Abd Allāh, was addressed as *sāhib ahbās* (market officer)[1] and another market officer, who lived during the time of the chief judge, Ahmad bin Bāqī bin Makhlad of Cordova in the first half of the tenth century was called *muhtasib* by al-Khushanī (d 971 A C)[2] We also know that there were theologians and learned men who were expert in market laws and who gave lessons on the subject to the people of *hisbah*, artisans, merchants and shopkeepers They had made some rules and regulations on the basis of the *Qur'an, hadīth* and customs of the country for the guidance of the people of *hisbah* and the merchants and had circulated them in booklet forms by preparing as many copies of such booklets as were necessary to supply them to each locality and market, or at least to each town. But unfortunately no trace of such pamphlets and booklets of the ninth and tenth centuries or even of the eleventh century has yet been found But two books on *hisbah* of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries written by Ibn 'Abdūn and al-Saqatī respectively and a third one by an Andalusian Ibn al-Ra'ūf, have fortunately reached us They speak of the frauds used in industrial products and in the sale of goods in the market and the rules and regulations that were necessary to be observed by the artisans, merchants and the market officers called *muhtasibs* Let us now discuss briefly the economic importance of the books mentioned above

Al-Hisbah of Ibn 'Abdūn was published in the Journal Asiatique in 1934 Its French translation by Levi-Provencal and the Spanish

1 Ribera, *Historia de los Jueces de Cordoba por Aljoxani*, Madrid, 1914, p 165 text/204 Tr

2. *Ibid*,p.196 text/244 Tr.

translation by Professor Garcia Gomez and Levi Provencal appeared in 1947 and 1948 respectively. The edition of *Al-Ḥisbah* was revised by Levi-Provencal and published at Cairo in 1955 under the title '*Documents Arabs Inedits, premier serie, Trois Traites Hispaniques de Ḥisba*' with the Arabic texts of the *Risālah* of Ibn 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, perhaps an Andalusian who flourished sometimes in the middle ages, and the *Risālah* of 'Umar bin 'Uthmān al-Jarsifi (of the present Guercif in eastern Morroco), who lived perhaps about the end of the middle ages Ibn 'Abdūn lived between the last part of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth The details of his life are not known What little we know is from the pen of the writer himself Ibn 'Abdūn lived during the time of the 'Abbāsid ruler Mu'tamid, who succeeded his father Mu'taḍid in 461 H (1068 A C) and saw that the houses built in the cemetries of Seville were demolished at the order of the Government by Abū Ja'far ibn al-Farrā' in the beginning of the reign of Mu'tamid The author also knew one *muhtasib* Ibn Sihāb of Seville [1] The importance of the book has been graphically described by the above mentioned learned translators in the Introduction, and needs no more clarification Many facts, specially concerning commerce and marketting, such as business rules, frauds etc which interest us, are found in this book We also learn from this book that the sale of wine was not allowed, women had separate markets and baths, to make more profit in the sale of fish and meat was forbidden, musicians (*mulhi*) were not allowed to roam about without the permission of the *qādī*, because they were accompanied by thiefs and people of bad character

The two short *Risālahs* of Ibn 'Abd al-Ra'ūf and 'Umar bin 'Uthmān al-Jarsifi are also important and throw light on the economic and social life of Medieval Spain and Al-Mughrib

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b n Abī Muḥammad al-Saqaṭī, who lived at Malaga, prehaps in the fourteenth century, was a *muhtasib* and composed a book on *hisbah*, which was edited by G. S Colin and E Levi-Provencal and publ shed under the title, *Un Manuel Hispanique de Hisba*, from Paris in 1931 Details of the life and work of the author are not known to us All that we know about him

1 E Levi-Provencal Y E Garcia Gomez, *El-Tratado de Ibn 'Abdaun*, pp 8n 94, Abu Ja'far Ibn al-Farrā' was most probably as suggested by the translators Aḥmad bin Muhammad bin Sa'id al-Amawī known as Ibn al-Farrā, educated at Cordova, which he left for Seville in the eleventh century when distrubance broke out in Cordova. Ibn Bashkhuwāl,'*Al-Ṣilah* no 92, p 40 quoted by the translators, p 8,n.8, Brockelmann. S. I, p 662

is mentioned by the author himself He lived at Malaga and once accompanied a mill man to a neighbourly mountain where the latter had gone to collect white dust in order to mix with flour. On another occasion the author, who was himself a *muhtasib*, sent his servant with wheat to a nearby mill The mill man, who was addicted to deceit and theft did not let even the *muhtasib's* servant go unrobbed So he invited the servant to have meals with him Meanwhile the mill man manipulated food in order to rob him of his wheat behind his back. This delayed the servant and the delay aroused suspicion in the mind of the *muhtasib*, who came in search of his servant. He knew what had happened and punished the mill man duly [1]

These two stories of fraud assure us that the author belonged to Malaga and was a *muhtasib* The same report we received from other sources His book was utilized by later authors sometimes copied verbatim, without due acknowledgement 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (1040-1096/1631-1685) in his work *'Kitāb al-Uqnūm fī Mabādī al-'Ulūm* summarizes Saqatī's work omitting long passages and difficult terms He follows Saqaṭi very closely and always refers to his *al-Hisbah* as the work of the ancient *muhtasib* of Malaga On comparision made by Colin and Levi-Provencal some passages of the two books have been found very similar specially the fol 58 of *Uqnūm* and the pages 62-63 of *al-Ḥisbah* [2] Abū al-'Abbās bin Sa'īd author of *al-Taisīr fī Ahkām al-Tasīr*, on the other hand does not follow Saqatī so closely and literally but always refers to him by his country's name as " the man of Malaga "[3]

Although Saqātī lived and worked more than three centuries after the period we are concerned with still the customs and practices of the *muhtasibs* and the merchants of the fourteenth century reflect their earlier practices in the tenth and eleventh centuries with a little deviation and alteration The author here speaks generally about the laws and practices of the industry men and the shopkeepers to ensure that the customers got the goods of good quality and actual weight at reasonable prices In short, we are informed about the instructions given to the *muhtasib* for strict vigilance such as periodical inspection, methods of inspection of different articles, *mnhtasib's* seal, official measures and weights, "deceits of different workshop holders, mill

1 Saqaṭī, pp 22-23
2 *Ibid*, p XI, nos 1 & 2
3 *Ibid.*, p XIII

men, dalāl (broker, contractor) sale of bread and slaves and the *muḥtasib's* power to put one into prison.

In Medieval Spain every important transaction was done by entering into contracts or by registering sale deeds, for example, sale of a house or a ship, share holder business (industrial, commercial or agricultural), employment of servant, male or female, purchase of milk or oil on daily, weekly or monthly basis Before the actual transaction was made both the parties entered into some contracts under laws and customs prevalent in the country, which both of them were obliged to observe throughout the period of contract On disagreement after the signing of the contract the aggrieved party filed a suit against the opperessor and the case was decided on the basis of the contract and the hearing of the two parties and their witnesses For such sale deeds and contracts they had definite rules and regulations according to which the forms were prepared, duly filled in and signed Two copies were made Important works on the subject of contract were also written The well known works among the early ones were the *Dīwān* of Ahmad bin al-Hindī (932/May 1009) of Cordova, and *al-Mushtamil fī al-Shurūt* of Ibn Abī Zamanīn (936-1007 or 1009 A C.) of Elvira Among the early works were also *Kitāb al-Wa thaiq wa al-Sijillāt* of Muhammad bin Ahmad bin 'Abd Allāh bin al-'Aṭṭār, *qāḍī* of Toledo (d 979 or 1008 A C)[1] and another work by Mūsā bin Aḥmad, whose works were utilized by 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Fihrī (d. 1070 A C) but did not reach us Then there was the work of Muhammad bin Ahmad bin 'Abd Allāh bin Shari'ah al-Lakhmī al-Bajti of Seville (died towards 356/966) though his work on contract is also no longer extant [2] Among the important works written on the subject in the eleventh century, we count *al-Muqna' fī 'Ilm al Shurūt* of Aḥmad bin Mughīth of Toledo (406-*Ṣafar* 459/1015 January 1067), and *al-Ṣifr-al-Thānī min al-Wa tha'iqwa al-Masā'il al-Majmu'ah* of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh (d. 1069 A. C.) of Alpuente (Valencia) More over, we have one book on contract of the twelfth century *al-Maqṣad al-Mahmūd fī Talkhīs al-'uqūd* of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Yahyā bin al- Qāsim (d 1189 A C) *qāḍī* of Algeciras, and another of the fourteenth century the *Kitāb Akrvyat al-Sufun* (book on the hiring of boats) dated 724 H (1324 A C) by Shaykh al-Faqīh Abī al-Qāsim

1 Rafael Castejon Calderon, *Los Juristas Hispano-Musulmanes*, Madrid, 1948, p 140

2 Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh-i-'Ulamā*, no 1718, p 102, Al-Dabbī, *Tārīkh-i-Ulamā*, no 15, p 39, Ibn al-Khayr, I, p 252, quoted by Calderon, *Los Juristas*, p 140, no 268, 2 (1)

Khalaf bin Afrās A brief description of the peculiarities of these works is as follows

Abū 'Umar Ahmad bin Sa'id bin Ibrāhīm al-*Hamadānī* known as Ibn al-Hindī was born at Cordova in *Muharram* 320 H (Jan 932 A C), and died in *Ramaḍān* 300 H (May 1009 A. C) He was counted among the best pupils of Qāsim bin Aṣbagh (d 340/951) and Ibn Masarrah (d 931) and was a great favourite of al-Ḥakam II (d 976 A C) He was well versed in history, jurisprudence and public affairs and a great expert in writing papers on contracts His work on contracts is known as *Diwān-i-Kabīr* in which he also included stories and poems, which earned him the favour of al-Ḥakam II He was very famous at that time and was consulted by Ibn Khayr [1] It is no longer extant

Ahmad bin Mughīth al-Sadafī of Toledo known as Abū Ja'far (406-*Ṣafar* 459 H/1015- Jan 1067 A C) was a great theologian and learned man of the time He was well versed in *hadīth* jurisprudence and contract system [2] Among his teachers were Ibn Zuhr, Ibn Arfa Rasahu, Ibn al-Fakhr[3] and Qāḍī Muhammad bin Bakir al-Kin'ānī [4] Among his friends was Abū 'Abd Allāh Yūsuf bin Muhammad bin Bakir-al-Kin'ānī (d *Dhū'l-hijjah* 475 H. April-May 1083) [5] He was consulted on judicial matters along with other theologians of Toledo by 'Abd al-Rahmān bin Aḥmad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Tajibī known as Ibn al-Maghshāṭ of Toledo (died at Malaga in *Ramadān* 500 H/June 1107) [6] He composed an excellent book on the contract system called *al-Muqna' fi 'Ilm al-Shurūt*, in which he collected the opinions of Abū Bakr Khalaf bin Aḥmad, Abī Muhammad bin 'Abbās and others[7] An incomplete manuscript perhaps of the same book under the supposed heading *al-Wa thā'iq Musta'mal* (dated *Rabī'al-Awwal* 538 H /Oct /143 A C),[8] copied by Sulaymān Muhammad bin al-Khazanjī, is available in the Gayangos collection of Arabic

1 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣilah*, no 19 pp 14-5 , Ribera, *Disc cit*, p 48, Casiri, II, 140 , Gayangos, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, II, p 171 , F P Boigues, *Ensayo*, no 65, p 100 n , al-Tawadi, *Glosa a al--Tasuli Co'nentrario a la Tuhfa de Ibn Asim*, Cairo, 1925, I, p 52

2 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣilah*, no 122, p 62 , Salvador vila, *Abenmoguit*, Madrid, 1931 p 7

3 Ibn Farhūn, *Dibāj*, Fez, pp 55, 214 quoted by Salvador Villa, p 6

4 *Al-Ṣilah*, II, no 1390 , p 620,, Salvador villa, p 7

5 *Ibid* , II, no 1390, p 620 Salvador vila, p 7

6 *Al-Ṣilah*, I, no 737, pp 338-9 , Salvador vila, p 7

7 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Silah*, no 122, p 62 , Hāji Khalfā', VI, no 12813, p 96 , Salvador vila, p 7 , cf Brockelmaan S I , p 664 , Ribera, Disc y op , i, 16

8 Gayangos Collection no XLIV, fol 103 b , Salvador vila, *Abenmoguit, Formulario Notarial* Madrid, 1931, p 8, gives wrong date of its transcription in 536 H. (1141 A C)

manuscripts, Academia de la Historia, Madrid. It contains 111 folios of which 103 folios are on contracts, 3-36 (excluding 18 and 19) folios deal with marriage contract and fol 36 onward including 18 and 19 folios speak of sale-deeds and contracts concerning agriculture, industry and trade. The part which deals with marriage has been translated into Spanish under the title Ahenmoguit, *Formulario Notarial*, and published from Madrid in 1931 The part dealing with sale and contract has not yet been edited or translated Besides the forms of contracts current in the eleventh century, it possesses a lot of economic information about agriculture, industry and trade of the time

'Abd Allāh bin Futūh bin Abī al-Fath 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Fihrī of Alpuente, province of Valencia, was surnamed as Abū Muhammad He was a pious man of great learning and knowledge and died on the 20th *Jumādā* II, 462 H (11 March 1070 A C), Ibn Bashkuwāl says that he composed a very good and valuable book under the title *Kitāb Ḥusn fi al-Wathā'iq al-Ahkām* [1] A manuscript of the same author's book named *al-Ṣifr al-Thānī min al-Wathā'iq wa al-Masā'il al-Majmū'ah* based on the works of Muhammad bin 'Abd Allah bin Zamanīn (d. 1007-1009 A C),[2] Muhammad bin Ahmad al 'Attār (d 979 or 1008), and Mūsā bin Ahmad (d 377/987), dated 534 H. (1139-40 A C) is preserved in the Escuela de Estudios Arabes, Madrid [3] It contains 148+3+2 folios Some pages of the manuscripts are partly defaced by water Having been written in Maghribī letters often without points and diacritical marks it needs careful reading with patience, because there is every danger of falling into some mistakes The important forms of the contracts and sale deeds are those of gardens and cultivaton, hiring of beasts of burden and boats, construction and sale of mills, share-holder business, share in carrying loads etc [4]

Abū al-Hasan 'Alī bin Yahyā bin al-Qāsim al-Ṣinhājī originally from Rīf, Morocco, lived in Algeciras, where he served later as the

1. Brockelmann S I, 661, Ibn Bashkuwāl *Al-Ṣilah*, no 611, p 286

2 Brockelmann (S I p 66) wrongly says that Ibn Abī Zamanīn died in 428/1036

3 J Ribera y Miguel Asin, *Manuscriptos Arabes y Aljamiados de la Junta*, Madrid, 1912, pp 57-69, ms no 11, cf Levi Provencal, *Histoire*, III, p, 252 n, A G, Palencia; *Historia de la Literature Arabigo-espanola*; Barcelona, 1945 p 280, Brockelmann D I p. 661

4 Cf J Ribera y M Asin, *Manuscriptos Arabes y Aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*, Ms. no 11.

qāḍī of the town He was a man of piety and learning and well-versed in theology. He was expert in public affairs and wrote on contracts for the guidance of the people He died at the age of about 60 years in Rabī 'al-Awwal 585 H (April 1189 A C.) His known work on the contract system is the *al-Maqṣūd al-Maḥmūd fī Talkhīṣ al-'Uqūd*[1] of which a manuscript, copied perhaps in the thirteenth century, is preserved in the Escuela de Estud os Arabes [2] It contains 125 folios. It is written in bad but readable hand and contains important material, the detailed list of which is given by J Ribera and M Asin The most important from the economic point of view are the contracts of the sale of ships, hiring of ships and animals, salary of the servant for home or field work, hiring of salt pits, gardens and houses, construction of mills and share-holder business A thorough study of this book gives not only an idea of the forms of contract used in those days but also a great deal of information regarding the economic activities of the Spanish Musulmans

Al-Faqīh Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf bin Afrās,[3] who lived in the early part of the fourteenth century most probably in Egypt,[5] made a thorough study of the laws and regulations of the hiring of boats and wrote a *Risālah* under the title ' *Kitāb Akriyat al-Sufun* on the 23rd of *Rajab* 724 H (June 1324 A C) A manuscript of this short *Risālah* containing 14 folios is preserved in the Escurial library It is attached to the ms of *Kitāb al-Nifāq* no 1155 dealing with the food and allowances of women given by their husbands written by 'Umar bin Rashīq, a theologian of Spain [4] Foll 1-41 comprise the *Kitāb al-Nifāq* and foll 41*b*-54*a*, the *Kitāb Akriyat al-Sufun* We do not know much about Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf bin Afrās All that we know is from the pen of the author himself He wrote this *Risālah* on the hiring of boats and the wages of the mariners in response to the request of one of his friends because there was no such work which his friend could consult [5] Among his authorities the author mentions the names of Muhammad bin 'Umar of Alexandria, whom he once met in a boat of cargo, Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Maisir

1 Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Takmilah* in *Misclanea de Estudios y Textos Arabes*, Madrid, 1915, p 233, no 2378

2 J Ribera y M Asin, *Manuscriptos Arabes y Aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junia*, Madrid, 1912, Ms no 5, pp 17-33 , Cf Levi Provencal, *Historie*, III, p 242n , A G Palecia, *Historia de la Literatura*, 1945, p 281

3 In some places it is written in the manuscript as Farrās

4 Casiri, no M C L The present author is preparing a critical edition of the two books and hopes to bring them to the public in near future.

5. scorial Ms. no. 1155, fol. 41.*b*

of Alexandria[1], Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who was the companion of the author[2], Ibn al-Mawwāḏh, Abū Muḥammad bin Abī Zayd, Ibn Sa'īd bin Abī Hishām, Faḍl bin Salmah, 'Abd Allāh, bin Nāfi', Ibn Sa'īd al-Qāsim, and others and the books which he consulted were *al-Mukhtaṣar*, *al-'Atbiyah*, *Kitāb* of Ibn al-Mawwāḏh and *al-Mudawwinah*. He repeatedly mentions the sailing of a ship along the coast of North Africa, from Sicily and Egypt to Tripoli, Sūs, Asfax and across the Red sea to Jaddah. The author speaks about the laws and regulations of Medieval Muslim navigation, protection of ships and merchandise, the rent of hired ships, wages of mariners and compensation for goods of the merchants, damaged in the course of the voyage etc.

The records of courts and municipalities of those times are not extant, which would have supplied some valuable data of economic and social activities. We have, however, used some books written on jurisprudence and other branches of Arabic literature which largely fills up the gap caused by the loss of the archives and official records,[3] as has been rightly pointed out by the learned scholar Levi-Provencal.

The Kitāb fī al-Sunan wa fī Ahkām al-Qur'ān by Qāsim bin Aṣbagh (d 951 A C) the *Muntakhab al-Ahkām* by Ibn Zamanīn (d 398 or 399/1007-1009 A C), *Kitāb al-I'lām bi Nawāzil al-Ahkām* by Ibn al-Aṣbagh, who lived in the later part of the eleventh century, contain the records of the social and economic cases brought to the court as well as *fatwās* (religious edicts) of learned religious heads regarding certain problems brought to them. These religious edicts which were collected in book forms later on have great social and economic value for us The agricultural, industrial and commercial disputes occasionally referred to in these books provide us with a lot of details of the economic condition of those days In view of their importance, a short description of those works is given below

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin 'Abd Allāh bin 'Īsā bin Abī Zamanīn was born in a well-educated noble family in Elvira in 324 H (936 A.C.) His father, who died in 359 H (November 969-November 970), was a learned and pious man and his brother Abū Bakr (died in 428 H. October 1036-October 1037) was the *qāḍī* of Elvira.[4] Ibn Zamanīn was a poet and a great jurist. He died at Elvira in 398 or 399 H.

1. *Ibid.*, *ibid*, *ibid.*, fol. 47*b*
2 *Ibid*, *Ibid.*, *ibid*, fol. 48*a*
3. *Histoire*, III, pp 241-242, 116n. 2
4 Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī bin Muḥammad bin Farḥūn, *Kitāb al-Dibāj*, Egypt, 1351, pp. 270, 271.

(1007-1009 A. C)[1] Among his associates was the great poet Abū Isḥāq of Elvira who highly admired him in his *dīwān*. He wrote many books on poetry and jurisprudence.[2] His *Muntakhab al-Ahkām* (a selection of judicial laws)[3] and *al-Mushtamil fī al-Shurūṭ* (concerning business contracts)[4] are extant but have not yet been published The social and economic value of the *Muntakhab al-Aḥkām* cannot be ignored It contains many references to questions and their answers on agricultural, industrial and commercial disputes, which sometimes throw a great light on the actual economic life in the tenth century Spain. There are two manuscripts of the *Muntakhab al Ahkām* preserved in the National Library of Madrid, nos. 5043 and 4869 (3), The first one of 108 folios is complete but moth-eaten, its marginal notes being defaced due to the ravages of time The second one is incomplete and contains only 28 folios which tallies up to four lines of fol 40 of the first manuscript.

The manuscript no 4869 (1) entitled the *al-'Iqd al-Munaẓẓam lil hukkām fi mā Yajri baina aidihim minal-wa thā'iq wa al-Ahkām* (The arranged necklace for the judges concerning the documents and judgments that pass before them) is by Abū al-Qāsim bin Salmān bin 'Alī bin 'Abd Allāh bin Salmūn Alqinini, who was born at Granada in 685 H.(1286-7 A C) and is called Qutsamī by Ibn al Khaṭib[5] It contains 133 folios The first 45 folios excluding foll. 27-29 which are blank are interesting and throw light on the contract system of agriculture, hiring of boats and beasts of burden and the like.

Codera mentions a manuscript called *Ahkām al-Sūq* written by Shaykh Yaḥyā bin 'Umar bin Lababah[6] which is preserved in the library of al-Zaytūnah mosque of Tunis The book seems to be very valuable specially for the data concerning market

1 Brockelmann referring Ibn Farhūn (262/76) wrongly says that he died in 428 H/1036 which is the year of the death of the brother of Ibn Zamanīn

2 Ibn al-Faraḍī no 1666, pp 80-81 , Al-Dabbī, no 160, p 77 , cf Calderon, *Los Juristas*, pp 138-9 , F P Boigues, *Ensayo*, pp 98-9

3 Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, no XC, VIII, Gg 772=4869 , MS of Argel, Nacious no 1368, MS of the Luchesiana de Girgenti, no XX de of Amari , Brockelmann, S I , Calderon, *Los Juristas*, p 138

4 Lo'Pez Ortiz, Derecho Musulman, p 38 , F P Biogues, *Ensayo*, p. 99 [A. Fair, 251] ; Calderon, *Loss Juristas*, p 138, Al-Dabbī [no 160, p 78] writes *Kitāb fī al-Shurūṭ 'ala Madhhab Mālik bin Anas* [sic].

5 Casiri, II, 115

6. *Hision Historica*, p. 71.

'Īsā Abū al-Aṣbagh bin 'Abd Allāh al-Asadī originally from Wādī Banī 'Abd Allāh (Valdepenas[1]) or al-Brajala[2] in the jurisdiction of Jaon resided at Cordova He was born in 413 H. (April, 1022—March 1023)and died on the 5th of *Mnḥarram* 486 H. (5th of February 1093) [3] He took lessons from Abī Muḥammad Makkī bin Abī Ṭālib Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin 'Itāb, Abī 'Umar bin al-Qaṭṭān, Abī Marwān bin Mālik, Abi al-Qāsim, Ibn Shammākh and others.[4] He studied law which was his favourite subject and for which he travelled to different provincial towns of Spain and North Africa [4] He heard the theologian Hishām bin Sawwar at Jaon, Yaḥyā bin Zakariyā al-Qaliy'i at Granada, and Qāḍī Asad at Toledo.[5] In Ceuta, he was heard by the chief judge Abū Muḥammad bin Manṣūr, Qādī Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm bin Aḥmad al-Basrī, etc, and at Tangier, by the *qāḍī* of the town[6] and among his other listeners was Abū al-Ḥasān Aḥmad bin Aḥmad al-Azdī [7] He was expert in writing papers on documents and served in the court of justice as secretary to Qāḍī Abī Zayd al-Ḥashā of Toledo and Qāḍī Abī Bakr bin Mansūr of Cordova for a long time as a member of advisory council in the court then as assistant *qādī* and finally as the *qādī* of Granada.[8] But he left this job when Abū Ya'qūb Tāshufīn (Yūsuf bin Tāshufīn 1061-1107 A C) became very severe and strict in matters of justice [9] He was a great thinker and an excellent writer He composed an excellent book on contracts,[10] *Kitāb Ḥusn Samah al-I'lām bi Nawāzil al-Aḥkām*,[11] and also a *Fihrist* according to Ibn Khayr [12]

On the whole, the sources discussed above together with some secondary sources noted in the bibliography are rich in economic raw materials Materials on agriculture, specially plantation system of the Spanish 'Arabs, are so abundant that it was necessary to make

1 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣilah,* II, no 939, p 430 , F P Boigues, *Ensayo,* no 124. p 160

2 Ibn Farḥūn, *Kitāb al-Dibāj*, Egypt, 1351, H , p. 181

3 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣilah,* II p 431

4 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣilah* II, pp. 430-431 , Ibn Farhūn, *Kitāb al-Dibāj*, p 181

5 Ibn Farḥūn, *Kitāb al-Dibāj*, pp 181-182

6 Ibid , ibid , p 182

7 Al-Ḍabbī, no 1145, P 390

8 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣilah*, II, p. 431.

9 Ibn Fashun, *Dibāj*, p 182

10 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣilah*, II, p 431

11 Ibn Fashūn, *Dibāj*, p 182

12 F P Boigues, *Ensayo*, p 160

the report concise. Material on industry and commerce is sufficiently available and can be used to the fullest extent. But materials on the financial system of the Muslims of Spain giving any practical details is scanty, the instruments of credit system of Medieval Muslim Spain not being mentioned at all We know only this much that the Jews worked as creditors in the Medieval Muslimdom, namely 'Irāq and Egypt, and in Christendom, like Constantinople, Italy and France

Notwithstanding the best efforts to tap all the possible available sources for maintaining balance in the relative importance of the different aspects of our study, a more comprehensive survey of the public finance of that period could be forthcoming provided the sources would not have been scarce

THE FOUNDATION OF CALCUTTA

BY

DR KH A HAYE, KAKUL

Modern Calcutta was born out of a group of three hamlets—Chhutanati, Govindpur and Kalighat, which the English East India Company had purchased[1] from Prince 'Azīm-ush'-Shān,[2] in 1694,[3] on an annual rental of Rs 13,000.

The Portuguese who had been the first among the early Europeans to enter Bengal in 1530[4] frequented Chittagong and Satgaon for trade Satgaon was a great centre of trade in the province But by 1540 the river Hugli got silted up and Satgaon lost its importance as a trading centre Most of its population shifted to Hugli, but a number of families migrated also to Betor[5] A few of them came to settle on the eastern bank as well, and they eventually laid the foundation of the village Govindpur Soon after they established a separate cloth market to the north of Govindpur and named it Chhutanati.

In course of time the Bengal Government built forts near Betor But before long Betor, too, like Satgaon, lost its importance, its trade shifting to the eastern bank and making Chhutanati a great centre of trade Thus Calcutta was built on the remains of the two centres of trade—Satgaon and Betor

The site of modern Calcutta was marked out in 1690 by Job Charnock, Governor of the Bengal Agency of the Company, for a permanent settlement in Bengal The place was 27 miles south of Hugli and was known as Chhutanati

1 *Ray's Early Annals of the English Settlements in Behar* p 112 *Bengal- Past and Present*, vol II, p 151

2 The grandson of Aurangzeb. He was the Mughal Ṣūbahdār in Bengal from 1697 to 1712

3 The *Indian Record Series—'Old Fort William'* by 12 C Wilson, p. 30

4 The *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* by R C Wilson, Book III, p 132

5 A place on the western bank of the river near Hugli.

In 1686[1] a dispute[2] arose between Nawāb Shāistah Khān, the Mughul *Ṣūbahdār*, and the Company's servants, whereupon Job Charnock finding the Hugli Agency insecure, shifted to Chhutanati with all the ships, troops and property [3] But when the Mughul *Ṣūbahdār* extended his hand of authority there, he withdrew further south to Higili On June 4, 1687, a truce was made and the Mughul Ṣūbahdār permitted[4] the English to stay at Ulberia But both these places were unhygienic and unhealthy for a permanent settlement . In September of the same year, therefore, he returned to Chhutanati. But a year later Captain Heath[5] ordered all the English settlers in Bengal to quit the province It appeared that the British connection with the province would cease to exist for good

In 1690, these differences[6] were patched up and the English returned to the province Job Charnock marked out Chhutanati as the most suitable place for their headquarters and arrived there with his council and factors and accompanied by 30 soldiers,[7] which, in fact, was the whole military establishment sanctioned

The place was more or less a wild and uncultivated expanse of no man's land where anyone who so desired, could go, enclose a tract of land and make a settlement They lived in bamboo sheds, thatched huts and straw hovels The site had both advantages and disadvantages It was defenceless and open to attack from all quarters except

1 *Ray's Annals*, p 95

2 The main reason for the dispute was that the officers of the Nawāb of Bengal wished to get their 'itching palms to be lubricated by golden oil' (Ormes, *Historical Fragments—Ray's Annals* p 93) Besides , a number of local merchants had in 1685 brought a suit against the English Factory at Qāsimbazār and the Qāḍī given a decree for Rs 4300

3 Substance of the letters written to the Company by her Agents in Bengal—1685—1708—'*Old Fort William in Calcutta*, by Wilson

4 The Mughal Ṣūbahdār's pardon ran thus —

'Consider yourself what manner of evil has been enacted by you, and those rash fights made with the king's forces and with yourself, and fired 3000 cannon shots and plundered and took prizes the ships of Moors and afflicted God's people If they should fully in every particular be made known to the king, the offence in no wise would be forgiven, but an aged and merciful Viceroy will not exact punishment'—*HEDGES DIARY* II pp 70-71

5 He had brought reinforcement to Bengal from England He took on board all the English personnel and sacked Balsore on 4th December, 1688 He made an attempt on Chittagong too, but failed to capture it Then he fell back on Madras

6 During this interval the trade of the Province had been almost ruined and the Mughal revenue considerably diminished The English too were not slow to realise their folly, and Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay in December 1689, sued for peace Thereupon they were again granted permission to trade in Bengal free of all duties in return for a payment of Rs 3,000 a year

7 *History of India* by Mill and Wilson, Vol 1. p 101

the eastern bank. There were swamps which rendered it so unhealthy and fever-stricken that death overshadowed every living soul.[1]

But Job Charnock had realised the value of its strategic position; the Company could carry on lucrative trade without much interference from the Mughul *Ṣūbahdār* and his officers. Moreover, it was accessible from the sea.

It was not long before a number of stone buildings arose, and in less than a century, the new settlement made remarkable progress both in population and industry In course of time it attracted the trade of the Dutch and French settlements as well The Indian and Armenian merchants flocked there as they considered themselves safe and secure in the English settlement.[2]

Within a decade after Job Charnock's return to Bengal in 1690 Calcutta had grown into a busy mart with 1100 English men[3] The erection of Fort William, a few years later,[4] further improved their position so that the Court of Directors, while describing the Bengal Presidency remarked —

> "The consideration of the great investments made yearly in Bengal, our being now possessed of a strong fortification and large tract of land and prospect thence of raising a considerable revenue in due time and of our having been made independent of other factories hath inclined us to declare Bengal a Presidency, and we have constituted our said Agent to be our President there Governor of our Fort which we call Fort William.[5]

From 1699[6] the Council at Calcutta began to pay Rs 1195[7] a year as rent to the Mughul Government and was free to tax and govern the population of the settlement From that time onward the English territory continued to extend by treaties, by purchases and even by force of arms. An authority on the Indian affairs has remarked :

"The truth is that from the day on which the Company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their arms became the principle of self-preservation, and at the

1. *Wilson's Annals*, p 1288
2 General Letter from Fort George to the Court, May 25, 1691, CC No. 5770 *'Old Fort William in Bengal'*
3. *Hamilton's East Indies* II pp 7-8.
4 Its erection began in 1696 and reached completion in 1710
5. Letter from the Court of Bengal—March 6, 1696 *'Old Fort William*
6. The Indian Record Series—*'Old Fort William.'* p. 30.
7 *Bengal, Past and Present*, Vol 1, p. 155.

end of everyone of those numerous contests in which they were involved by jealousy, avarice or ambition of their servants, they were forced to adopt measures for improving their strength which soon appeared to be the only mode by which they could avert the recurrence of similar danger [1]

In 1700 Calcutta was declared capital of the Presidency and Sir Charles Eyre appointed the first President and Governor of Fort William In less than fifty years there grew up round the English factory, warehouses, godowns and a fort, a flourishing and prosperous town with a population that was estimated at 100,000 in 1735, while the broad pool, almost a deserted place when Charnock first set his foot there, now thronged with shipping [2]

Murshid Qulī Khān, Deputy *Ṣūbahdār* of Bengal in the first decade of the eighteenth century encouraged foreign trade of the province, but he was jealous of the growing political influence of the English In 1713 he ordered them either to pay the annual duties of 2% on their merchandise or make a constant renewal of presents both to him and his officers But on 4 January 1714, he received instructions from Farrukh-Siyar, the Mughul Emperor, to abstain from interfering with the freedom and privileges of the English It was indeed a blessing for them

In 1715, the Company sent a mission[3] to Delhi with presents consisting of glassware, clockwork, brocades, woollen cloth and silk of the value of £30,000 The mission included John Surman, Edward Stephenson and Doctor William Hamilton Farrukh-Siyar was then lying ill Hamilton treated him successfully and obtained in return for his service the following concessions for his masters —

(i) free trade for the Company in Bengal,
(ii) permission to purchase 38 villages in the neighbourhood of Calcutta,
(iii) permission to coin the Company's *sikka* in the mint at Murshidābād for three days in a week,
(iv) all persons indebted to the Company to be delivered over by the *Ṣubahdār*

In 1716 the Company agreed to pay Rs 15,000 to Murshid Qulī Khān, Rs 5,000 to the treasurer and Rs 5,000 to his under-officers in

1 *Early Records of the British India* compiled by Wheeler, (1878) p 163
2 *Wilson's Annals of Bengal*—Part I, p 23
3 *Early Records of British India*—compiled by Wheeler, p 170, *Rays Annals*, p 153.

order to adjust matters with the government and obtain *sanads*[1] to conduct business unhampered.

In 1726 the Court at Home decided to open a Mayor's Court at Calcutta for the administration of justice

The attack on Bengal by the Marathas in 1742 provided the English with an opportunity to obtain permission to dig up a ditch and to throw up an intrenchment round their settlement.

In 1754 the Company's military force was regulated by the first legislative enactment. The commerce of the city continued increasing during all this time Big edifices and factories arose and, in course of time made it the heart of the province.

The goodwill or otherwise of the local as well as the central Mughul governments often changed with the wind it finally convinced the English of the need of seeking of some other means of protection of their Bengal trade

The idea of establishing a fortified station somewhere near the mouth of the Ganges with a view to avoiding the oppressive exactions of the *ṣubahdār* and to putting an effective check upon the ships of interlopers had first been suggested by William Hedges.[2]

In 1693 Sir John Gold Brough, who had succeeded Job Charnock, realised the importance of the establishment of a fort there He applied to the *ṣubahdār* for permission to erect a fort, but it was delayed till 1696

In 1695[3] one, Ṣūbha Khān, a zamindar of the Burdwan district, raised the standard of rebellion against the rājā of Burdwan[4] Rahīm, Khān, an Afghān discontent, joined him, and they both raised troops and had the rājā murdered These disturbances on the frontiers alarmed the European establishments in Bengal, and, professing friendship to the local government, they asked for permission to fortify their respective factories The Nawāb finally gave in, whereupon they raised walls of masonry and bastions around their factories.[5]

The English Company built a fort and named it after William III[6]. Sir Charles Eyre who had been sent to Bengal in 1700 with instructions

1 Written permits
2 Governor of the Bengal Agency before Job Charnock *Wilson's Annals in Bengal*
3 *Early Records of British India* compiled by Wheeler, p 162.
4 His name was Krishna Rao
5 *The Indian Record Series*, Vol I.
6. He ruled over Britain till 1702.

to put the Company's affairs on a sound footing, started the construction of the fort in right earnest, but he returned to England before long and left the work to his successor, John Beard, who was succeeded by the Rotation Government in 1704 It was under the Rotation government that the two western bastions and the greater portion of the river-side wall were added to the Fort The three succeeding Governors—Anthony Welden, John Russel, and Robert Hedges, completed the fort in 1717

In 1702, the construction of the Government House was started in the centre of the Fort, and it was completed in four years The north-western and the south-western bastions were put together just about the death of 'Alamgīr I in 1707 Subsequently, additions were made to increase its warehouse accommodation

The Fort comprised the Governor's House, lodgings for the factors and writers, some store-houses for the Company's goods and magazines for ammunition Its garrison consisted of 200 to 300 soldiers In 1705 it was turned into barracks for military purposes and in 1757 converted into a Custom House

Job Charnock came out to India in 1656[1] in the service of the English East India Company He served the Company in Bengal in various capacities He was chief[2] of the Patna and the Qāsimbazār sub-Agencies up to 1666 In 1685 he became the chief of Hugli He is called the founder of modern Calcutta It was under his governorship that the English in 1690 settled at Chhutanati, the north corner of modern Calcutta He possessed no uncommon intelligence or political acumen, but he made 'silent stubborn obstinacy' his great strength

While agent of the Patna agency he had learnt to understand the Indian dialects, habits and customs He rescued from *satī* an Indian woman, the widow of a Hindu Brahmin, and spent many a happy year of conjugal life with her He adopted the local etiquette, manners and customs and was influenced by local superstitions He is said to have worshipped the "Five Saints" after the manner of the people of Bihar He was a man of ripe experience, shrewd intelligence, tact and wisdom He had satisfied himself that under the prevailing conditions it was necessary to find a fortified station if the English were to stabilise their position in the province

1 *Early English Adventurers to the East* by Arnold Right, p 291.
2 *Hedge's Diary* Vol II p 14
3. *Wilson's Annals*, Book III.

In 1684 the Court wrote to the agent and Council at Hugli to apply to Nawāb Shāistah Khān,[1] and, if need be, to 'Alamgir for the grant of a piece of land for a fortified station. But the Nawāb knew full well how dangerous and impolitic it would be to grant to a maritime nation like the English a permanent place of defence in the province He not only gave them a flat refusal but also wrote to the Mughul Emperor suggesting the same reply. A number of other causes combined to bring about an open rupture between the English and the Mughul Government, resulting in the forcible evacuation of the English from Bengal

Job Charnock appears to be not an altogether honest man. Bribery and use of force were his chief instruments for the transaction of business in India He forced the Indian merchants to pay 2% commission on goods bought from them and the weavers to accept light coins for their goods. If any poor ignorant Indian transgressed the laws, he was sure to suffer the severest penance

> 'The penalty of the execution was generally done when he was at dinner, so near his dining room that the groans and cries of the poor men served him for music [2]

The Company however reposed full confidence[3] in Charnock's honesty, wisdom and sense of duty Once Richard Trench Field brought a complaint against him, but he was not heard, rather he was dismissed from service The Company's remarks about Job Charnock on that occasion were

> "The experience we have of Mr Charnock for 34 years past and finding all that hate us to be enemies to him, having wrought such a confidence in our mind concerning him that we shall not upon any ordinary suggestions against him, change our ancient and constant opinion of his fidelity to our interest [4]

This loyal servant was held in high esteem by the Company through his stay in India He seldom completed one grade before he was promoted to the next, but the gain was reciprocal. He too spared no pains to strengthen the hold of his masters in Bengal and in his effort he had often to suffer trials and tribulations. He died in 1693.

1 The Mughul *Ṣūbahdār* of Bengal
2 Hamilton's *New Accounts of the East Indies Roy's Annals* p 83
3. General Letter from the Court to Bengal, London, 1693, *Letter Book* No. 9.
4 Court's Letter to the Fort. 15 February, 1689—*Hedge's Diary*—Vol I. p 76

A FARMĀN OF TIMŪR SHĀH

By

Syed Masud 'Alı, Shıkārpūr.

سم‌الله حیرالاسماء [1]

(مهر سمور ساه) [2]

سم‌الله الرحمن الرحیم

یا الله

حکم سد ار عنایات الهی [3]
به عالم دولت بیمور شاهی

سواد[4] و رقم مبارک سطح آفتاب سعاع[5] آنکه حکام و عمال‌حال و استقبال
الکابه شکار پور به الطاف روز افزون شاهانه امرار گسته بدانند که دریں
وقت لطف نام نواسه ملا عمر درویس بعرعرض‌اسرف رسانده که ملا عمر مجاور
آستانه داود داهی سکار یور بوده وهمه اوقات معاس او ار بدورات مرار واز
حاصل زمین متعلق بآن سگذرانیده ـ و سر بداسه وچهار دختر داشته ـ
بعد ار فوت او به موجب وصیت عیسی نام را که به خدمت مرار مامور کرده

1 The left hand corner has some faded writing in gold script
2 The seal contains the verse which is given in [2] below
3 The verse which is said to have been written in beautiful 'nastaliq', has now entirely faded

4 The place bears signature in red ink

5 This phrase too has faded in the original, and is taken from a copy in the possession of the family.

بود که هرچه از املاک و ندوراب مرار بعمل آید ، صرف حود و دختران او نماید ـ بهمان نحو وصیت او عمل می کرده و بعد ار عیسی نام علام و مبول و تاجو ولدان او حند اوقات رسد دختران رامی دادهاند ـ و درثانی گفتگو درمیان اورده دختران درویش عمر راحواب داده چیرے بآنها نمی داده اند ـ بعد ازان در نرد عالی جاه علام صدیق خان علام سرکار اسرف رحوع سده بعد ار تحقیقات حاصل مرار وعیره بالمناصفه درمیان آنها مرار داده بودست ـ تاحین‌حکومت اومداده اند ـ حال نمیدهند ـ بنا برآن معرر فرمودیم که هرگاه مراتب مدبور بیان واقع باشد قرار بالمناصفه سده و طرفین مبول دارند ـ بهمان نحو عمل کنند و هرگاه گفتگوئے داسته باسند آنهارا در حضور اهالی سرع انور رحوع نمایند وار مرار حکم سریعت عرا و سوب گفتگوئے آنهارا کوتاه و حق بحقدار برسانند که خلاف سرع انور و ناحدی حمر نسودمی ٦ سهر ربیع‌الثانی سنه ١١٩٥ ھ ،

6 On the reverse of the 'farmān' extending along the bottom edge are seals of the local governors of Shikārpūr which are partially visible, and read as follows

الطیف الدح افل خلق ی الله عده گل محمد عده محمد بهادر ۱۱۹۳
ملاحظه صد شکر که مطلب برار دولت ار علامی ساه حدا داد
عده حدا داد ـ

Translation :

In the name of God Which is the Noblest of all names.

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful.

O God

It has been ordained by the benevolence of God, the Almighty, that the world should be the kingdom of Tīmūr Shāh

The ink of auspicious writing (which is) like the rays of the sun lays down that the officers and the authorities of the present and future of the area known as Shikārpūr be honoured with daily increasing royal favours and know that at this time the maternal grandson of Mullā 'Umar *darwaīsh*, has submitted it to our exalted self that Mullā 'Umar was the *mujāwir* of *ā'stānah-i-Damūdwahī* at shikārpūr,[1] and all the time (he) depended for his maintenance upon the offerings of the *mazār* and the revenue of the land which had been attached to it , and (he) had no son but four daughters After his death, a person called 'Īsā (who) was appointed to the service of the *mazār* accoding to his will so that whatever he may get by way of the property and the offerings of the *mazār*, he may appropriate it to himself and his daughters He acted in the same manner (and) in accordance wtith his will And after the death of 'Īsā, his sons called Ghulām, and Tājū made payments to his daughters for some time, then later on (they) entered into an argument, gave refusal to the daughters of *darwish* 'Umar, and have not paid them anything since then Afterwards they petitioned before 'Ālījah Ghulām Ṣiddīq Khān,[2] a slave of this exalted kingdom After an enquiry he settled the income of the *mazār* on an equitable basis between them, and they have made payments during his regime but are not giving (anything) at present Our exalted self has therefore decided that according to the rights that have already been mentioned and the decision (that) has (already) been reached upon an equitable basis which the parties have accepted they should act accordingly, and if they have to say anything (in this behalf), it should be submitted in the presence of the officials of the

1 A part of the twon is called "Dad wai Mohalla " where the descendants of the *mujāwir* are still living

2 A " *mahallah*" in the town is known an' Ṣiddīq Mārī' صدیق ماڑی after the name of Ghulām Ṣiddiq Khān, some time governor of the town

most bright *Sharī'ah* and after adjudication (on basis) of the brilliant *Sharī'ah* and the proof reached on the basis of their talk (they) should acquiese, and the dues should go to the rightful person, so that it may not be forced upon any one contrary to the bright *Sharī'ah*.

On the 6th of the month of *Rabī'-al-thānī* 1195 A. H

This *farmān* of Tīmūr Shāh son of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, which aims at redressing the wrong done to a boy by his kinsmen in depriving him of his ancestral property, brings to light fresh information on his reign which is not to be found in contemporary sources.

It is dated 1195/1781

Tīmūr Shāh was married to the daughter of 'Azīzu'd-dīn in 1179/1757-58, and when Ahmad Shāh Abdālī was returning to Qandahār after the expedition, he conferred the governorship of Lahore and Multan upon him But Tīmūr Shāh was soon deprived of this territory by Raghūnāth Rāo, the brother of Bālājī Rāo, who entrusted the provinces to Ādīnā Beg Khān before he returned to Poona [3] This incident, coupled with subsequent events led Ahmad Shāh Abdālī to march towards India for revenge, and ultimately to the battle of Panipat in 1761 When Ahmad Shāh died 1187/1773,[4] he had already conferred the title of *Amīr of Sind* on one of the chiefs, the head of the Kalhorā tribe [5]

Sind at this time was passing through a critical phase of its history and witnessed unusual scenes of killing and murder that brought several persons to the throne within the course of a few years. At the time of Abdālī's death, the province was ruled by Miān Muhammad Sarfarāz Khān Kalhorā as its governor He died in 1189/1775 and was succeeded by h's brother Muhammad Khān who later on died in prison The next ruler was Muhammad Khān II who was soon followed by Mīan Ghulām Nabī son of Miān Nūr Muhammad 'Abbāsī in 1189/1775-76 who was later on killed in an encounter with the Balūchīs near 'Umarkot in 1191/1777, and was succeeded by the most notable Kalhorā ruler Miān 'Abd-u'n-Nabī son of Miān Nūr Muhammad 'Abbāsī in 1191/1778, who arrested and killed all the five claimants to the throne. 'Abd u'n Nabī ruled in peace and tranquility for about a year but his vanity prevented him from sending

1 *Tarikh-i-Ibrāhim Khān* Elliot, Vol. VIII, Gupta *Studies* in Indian History Part III. p 100
2 *Ibid*, p 110
3. *Ibid*, p 119
4 *Lubb-i-Tārikh-i-Sind* (Persian) by Khān Bahādur Khudādād Khān Jāgīrdār, (1318/1900, Riyaz-i-Hind Press Amritsar) p 123
5. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol V, y 484

tribute to the Abdālīs and therefore on representation made by 'Izzat Khān who was one of the claimants to the throne, Tīmūr Shāh sent an army under Mahfūz to reduce him to submission.[2] 'Abd u'n Nabī was headstrong enough not to submit, and marched ahead with his prime minister, Mīr Bājar Khān and fought a battle against the Abdālīs at Shikārpūr in which the Afghāns were defeated Having come to know of his defeat, Tīmūr Shāh wanted to send a fresh army, but this time 'Abd u'n Nabī was sagacious enough to apologise and pay arrears of tribute and obtain peace But with his unusual shrewdness 'Abd-u'n Nabī scented danger in the growing prestige of his able lieutenant Bājar Khān , and took a reckless step by putting him to death in 1194/1780 and thus introduced an era of chaos and disorder in the province The murder of Bājar Khān caused grave concern in the country and led the Tālpūrs who formed an influencial section in the country to attack 'Abd u'n Nabī and force him to go out in quest of help to his brother chiefs He went first to Qalāt and succeeded in obtaining assistance from its Khān who sent Balūchī troops to fight against Miān Ṣādiq 'Alī son of Miān Ghulām Husayn 'Abbāsī whom the nobles had raised to the throne in his absence He also received help from the Khān of Bahāwalpūr and also from Tīmūr Shāh who sent his general Sardār Madad Khān to his help, and who in turn ravaged the entire Sind, burnt houses and massacred the old and the young to an extent that even his name caused panic in the people With all this help and the ensuing devastation, 'Abd u'n-Nabī was reinstated on the throne but he again resorted to killing and murdered Mīr 'Abdullah Khān and Mīr Fath Khān Tālpūr mainly to do away with two notable persons of his kingdom and thus again infuriated the Tālpūrs, the Balūchīs and the other nobles who had rallied to his support on the previous occasion They collected a force under Mīr Fath 'Alī Khān, Mīr Sūhrāb Khān and Mīr Tahārā Khān, and fought and defeated him in a battle at Halānī (District Nawābshāh), so that he had again to make a petition to the Khān of Qalāt and Tīmūr Shāh who got him again reinstated. But 'Abd u'n Nabī had to leave for ever on the third occasion in 1193 /1783 when he is said to have gone to Jodhpūr where some of his descendants still survived After the defeat of 'Abd u'n Nabī, the three Mīrs, Mīr Fath 'Alī Khān, Mīr Sūhrāb Khān, and Mīr Tahāra Khān obtained orders from Tīmūr Shāh in 1194/1784 to govern Sind which they divided in seven parts out of which four parts went to Mīr Fath 'Alī Khān and his brother, two parts to Mīr Sūhrāb Khān

and one to Mīr Tahārā Khān. The three Mīrs assumed royal powers at their respective seats of government, Ḥyderabād, Mirpūr Khās and Khairpūr respectively.[3] The Mīrs threw off their allegiance in 1789, and when Tīmūr Shāh died in 1793, he still had a claim to Sind though tribute had not been paid for some years.[4] The contemporary sources are silent as to the place where the order was issued by Tīmūr Shāh to confer the government of Sind upon them This *farmān* therefore provides the very useful missing information and bears testimony to Tīmūr Shāh's visit to Sind evidently for this purpose. It is therefore evident that during the course of his journey, he passed through and stayed at Shikārpūr which offered an opportunity to the young boy to make a petition before to him and secure redress against his hostile kinsmen and thus make him issue the *farmān* enforcing his rights according to *Sharī'ah*

The date of the *farmān* is very significant (1195/1781) as it is the same date which marks the advent of the Mīrs in Sind

'ĀLAMGĪR'S PATRONAGE OF HINDU TEMPLES

By

Jnan Chandra, Bombay

In my article 'Awrangzīb and Hindu Temples,[1] I have referred to ten *farmāns* of 'Ālamgīr I to show that he always honoured the Mughul tradition of patronising Hindu institutions and temples and did nothing which could bring any blame on his personality, in regard to the treatment of the various sections of his people

Here I am giving two more *parwānahs*[2] in support of this view Once five *hawelis* of a *math* (monastry)—*Jangambari* of *Varānāsi*—were assessed by the revenue officials and a rent of Rs 500 was realised from the owner and deposited in the Government treasury The *sanyāsis* (proprietors of the said *math*) appeared before 'Ālamgir I and filed a complaint. The Emperor refierred the matter to the senior *qāḍī*. With the *parwānah* of the senior *qāḍī* the complainants approached the local *qādī*, who ordered the revenue officials to refund the amount and to give possession to the *sanyāsis* of the said buildings of the *math*

The text of the *parwānahs* runs as below·

1 *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society* Vol V Pt. IV

2 Both these papers are unpublished For the Persian texts of these papers I am thankful to Shri Devi Narain, Advocate, of Varansi, who had appeared for the *Jangams* and had copied out the Persians text from the original for his personal reference

مہر شاہ عالم گیر ۔

به مہر رفعت و اقبال پناه ، تہورو اجلال دستگاه مرزا محمد امین بیگ فوجدارو رفعت و ایالت پناه بنیاد بیگ امین و

نبالت و نجابت پناه مبارک حسین واقعه نگار
از قرار تاریخ ٥ ۔ جمادی‌الاول سنه ۱۰۸۰ ھ

شرح آنکه چون ارجن مل و جامع جنگماں ساکنان بلدۀ محمد آباد عرف بنارس به حضور مقدس معلی رفته بروانه حسب الحکم والا به مہر اقبال و افاضت پناه شریعت و کمالات دستگاه اقضی القضاه قاضی عبدالوهاب آوردند ، بایں مضمون که متصدیان محال (حماه) بلدهٔ بنارس محمد آباد بدانند که چون دریں ولا ارجن مل (و) جامع جنگماں بدرگاه خلائق پناه آمده بوساطت استادهائے حواشی بساط خلافت و جہانداری بعرض اشرف اقدس رسانیدند که رافع بمع محل مسرل حویلی هریکے معلومة الحدود ملک خود در حکم باژی داردو قابض و متصرف ست ۔

درینولا متصدیان بیت‌المال آنجا بگفته معاندان ضبط نموده کرایهٔ آں منازل را بجبر از رافع می گیرند چنانچه مبلغ صماره (۵۰۰) از رافع گرفته اند وایں معنی باعث سرگردانی و پریشانی رافع گردیده ۔

حکم والا شرف صدور یافت که نزد ایں خادم شرع بفرستند ۔

لهذا حسب‌الحکم الا علی نگارش می یابد که هرچه از وجه کرایه از رافع گرفته باشند واپس بدهند و حویلی هائے مذکور را بدستور سابق برافع واگذارند و هیچ وجه متعرض و مزاحم حال رافع نشوند که بجائے و مقام خود آباد بوده باشند ۔ بنا بران بانعد هر کدام که به مضمون پروانه مطلع‌سد مقرر نمودیم که متصدیان بیت‌المال مطابق پروانهٔ مزبور عمل نموده مبلغ پانصد روپیه بابت کرایه حویلیهائے مذکور که درسرکار ضبط سد به ارجن مل مذکور واپس بدهند و مزاحم حویلی هائے مذکور بس بعد هیچ وجه نشوند که بجائے خود آباد بوده بدعائے دوام دولت ابد پیوند اشتغال داشته باشد باسند ۔

تحریر فی‌التاریخ صدر مہر نوراللہ مفتی ۔

Translation

Seal of 'Ālamgīr, the Emperor

With the seal of the protector of greatness and prosperity, master of bravery and majesty, Mirzā Muhammad Amīn Beg *faujdār*, and the seal of the protector of greatness and authority Bunyād Beg *amīn* and the seal of the protector of magnanimity and nobility Mubārak Ḥusayn Wāqi'ah-Nigār, from the decision dated 5 *Jamādi-ul-Awwal* 1085 H, it is clear that Arjun Mal and a group of *Jangams*, residents of the city of Muḥammadābād, alias Banaras, appeared before the sacred and glorious court of the Emperor, and in compliance with the royal order they brought a *parwānah*, bearing the seal of the protector of prosperity and usefulness, the master of *Shari'ah* and proficiency, the greatest of *qāḍīs* Qāḍī 'Abdu'l Wahhāb, to the effect that the *mutaṣaddīs* of Banaras city should know that whereas Arjun Mal and a party of the *Jangams* attended in these times the protection-giving Court and submitted an appeal to the most high and sacred (Court) through those who stand by the corners of the carpet of *khilāfat* and kingship that the appellant had proprietary rights and possession over five *hawelīs* in Jangambārī, the boundary of each being clearly known, and that in these days, the *mutaṣaddīs* of that place have at the instigation of their enemies, confiscated those *hawelīs* and realize their rent by force and have taken from the appeallant Rs 500 up till now This action has become a source of trouble and anxiety for him The Emperor ordered that the case be referred to this servant of the *shari'ah* Hence, in accordance with the orders of His Majesty, orders are being issued that the amount taken from the appealant as rent should be refunded to them and the *haūelīs* should be allowed to remain in their possession as they had been before, and that the appellants should not in any way be interfered with in this matter so that they may continue to live at the old place

We, therefore, order that every one who is informed of the contents of the said *parwānah* and the *mutaṣaddīs* of the *Baitul-Māl* should accordingly refund to Arjun Mal, etc the sum of Rs 500 taken by them as rent of the said *hawelīs* which were confiscated to the Government, and should not interfere in any way in future with the (possession of) the said *hawelīs* so that they may live at their own place and engage themselves in praying for the permanence of the eternal Government. Written on the above-mentioned date.

Seal of Nūrullah muftī

از قرار بتاریخ پنجم شهر جمادی الاولی سنه ۱۰۸۰ھ آن که چون ارجن مل و جماعت جنگمان ساکنان بلدهٔ محمد آباد عرف بنارس بحضور مقدس معلی رقته پروانه حسب‌الحکم والا به سهر افادت و افاضت پناه فضیلت و شریعت و کمالات دستگاه اقضی القضاه قاضی عبدالوهاب آوردند باین مضمون که متصدیان مهات (حماة) بلدهٔ محمد آباد عرف بنارس بدانند که چون درسولا ارجن مل و جماعت جنگمان بدر گاه خلائق پناه آمده بوساطت استادهمای حواشی بساط خلافت و جهانداری بعرض اسرف اعلی رسانیدند که راقم پنج منزل حویلی که هریکے معلومه الحدود ملک خود در محکم باڑی دادو قابض و متصرف است درنیولا متصدیان بیت‌المال آنجا بگفته معاندان ضبط نموده کرایه آن منازل را بجبر از راقم می گیرند چنانچه مبلغ پانصد روپیه از راقم گرفته اند واین معنی باعث سرگردانی و پریشانی راقم گردیده ـ

حکم والا سرف صد وریافت که نزد این خادم شرع بفرستند ـ

لهذا حسب‌الحکم الاعلی نگارش یافت که هرچه از وجه کرایه از راقم گرفته باشند واپس بدهند و حویلی هائے مذکوره را بدستور سابق نزد او واگذارند و بهیچ وجه متعرض و مزاحم احوال راقم نشوند که بجائے و مقام خود آباد بوده باشد ـ

بنا بران مابعد هرکدام که بمضمون پروانه مطلع شد مامور نمودیم که متصدیان بیت‌المال مطابق پروانه مذکوره عمل نموده مبلغ پانصد روپیه بابت کرایه حویلی هائے مسطوره که در سرکار ضبط شده به ارجن مل مذکور واپس بدهند و مزاحم حویلی هائے مذکوره من بعد بهیچ وجه نشوند که بجائے خود آباد بوده بدعائے دولت ابد پیوند اشتغال داشته باشند ـ

The paper bears the seal of Nūr-ullah Muftī and is dated 5 *Jamādī I*, 1085 A.H.

Translation :

It was declared in the judgment on the 5th *Jamād-i'l-Awwal* 1085 H that Arjun Mal and the party of the *Jangams*, residents of the city of Muḥammadābād, known as Banaras, appeared before the most high and sacred Court and according to the order of His Majesty, they brought *parwānah* bearing the seal of Qāḍī 'Abdu'l Wahhāb, the greatest of *qāḍīs*, the protector of usefulness and prosperity, the master of *Sharī'ah* and proficiency, to the effect that the *mutaṣddīs* of the city of Muhammadābād alias Banaras should know that Arjun Mal and party of *Jangams* attended in these times the protection-giving Court and submitted an appeal to the most high and sacred Court through those who stand by the corners of the carpet of *khilāfat* and kingship that the appellants had proprietary rights and possession of five *hawelīs* in Jangambārī, the boundary of each being clearly known and in these days the *mutaṣaddīs* of *Baitul-Māl* of that place have at the instigation of their enemies confiscated those *hawelīs* and realise their rent by force and had taken from the petitioner Rs 500 up till now This action has become a source of trouble and anxiety for them The Emperor ordered that the case be referred to this servant of the *Sharī'ah*

Hence, in accordance with the orders of His Majesty, orders are being issued that the amount taken from the appellants as rent should be refunded and the *hawelīs* should be allowed to remain in their possession as they had been before, and that the applicant should not in any way be interfered with in this matter so that he may continue to live at his old place

We, therefore, order that everyone who is informed of the contents of the said *parwānah* and the *mutaṣaddīs* of the *Baitul-Māl* should accordingly refund to Arjun Mal the sum of Rs 500 taken by them as rent of the said *hawelīs* which were confiscated to the Government and should not interfere in any way in future with the (possession of) the said *hawelīs* so that they may live at their own place and engage themselves in praying for the permanence of the enternal Government

" It was declared on the 5 *Jamādī-ul-Awwal* 1085 H that Arjun Mal and a group of *Jangams*, residents of the city of Muḥammadabād, known as Banaras, appeared before the Emperor (' 'Ālamgīr), and

according to the orders of the Emperor, they brought a *parwānah*, bearing the seal of senior *qāḍī*, 'Abdu'l Wahhāb, to the effect that the officials of Banaras city should know that Arjun Mal and the group of *Jangams* appeared recently before the Emperor and made a representation through the *darbārīs* present in the *darbār* that they had five *ḥawelīs*, the boundary of each of which was known, in their possession and that in these days, the revenue officials of the place had, at the instigation of their adversaries, taken those *hawelīs* in their possession and were taking by force the rent of the *ḥawelīs* from the complainants and had accordingly taken Rs. 500 from them, by which the complainants have been put to trouble.

" The Emperor ordered that the case be referred to the *Qāḍī*.

" Hence, in accordance with the orders of the *Sarkār*, it has been ordered that the amount of the rent taken from the complainants, should be returned to them and the *ḥawelīs* should be allowed to remain in their possession as they have been before and that the complainants should not in any way be interfered with, so that they may continue to live at their old place

Now I have informed the revenue officials of the contents of the said *parwānah* and have ordered them that they should return Rs 500 taken by them for the *Sarkār* on account of rent of the *hawelīs* and should not interfere in future with the said *hawelīs*, so that they (the *Jangams*) may live there and may pray for the welfare of their Emperor

Copy in accordance with the original, and there was a seal of the *Bandah Dargāh* on the original This was sealed accordingly [1]

The document bears the seal of Tabarruk Ḥusayn

1. High Court papers regarding appeal filed in the case between Malik Arjun Swāmi and N. K. Banerji and Others. Ex. No. 9